An exploration of how masculinity/ies is/are perceived to influence the help-seeking behaviours of men who have survived rape: The rape counsellors' perspectives.

By

Fatima Abegail Cholo

15146911

A mini-dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Research Psychology

In the Department of Psychology at the

University of Pretoria

Faculty of Humanities

Supervisor:

Dr Jarred H. Martin

06 SEPTEMBER 2021

Declaration

I understand what plagiarism is and am aware of the University's policy. In this regard, I declare that the mini dissertation hereby submitted to the University of Pretoria for the degree of Master's of Arts in Research Psychology is my original work. Where other people's work has been used (either from a printed source, internet or any other source), this has been properly acknowledged and referenced following the requirements as stated in the University's plagiarism prevention policy. I have not used another student's past written work to hand in as my own. I have not allowed, and will not allow, anyone, to copy my work to pass it off as their work.

F. A CHOLO

Initials & Surname

06 SEPTEMBER 2021

Date

Ethics statement

I, **Fatima Abegail Cholo**, student number **15146911**, have obtained ethical approval for the research titled: **An exploration of how masculinity/ies is/are perceived to influence the help-seeking behaviours of men who have survived rape: The rape counsellors' perspectives**. On November 09, 2020, I received ethical approval (reference number: **HUM043/0320**) from Prof Innocent Pikirayi, the Deputy Dean of Postgraduate Studies and Research Ethics in the Faculty of Humanities at the University of Pretoria.

Abstract

The existing literature indicates a significant need for research on how masculinity/ies function(s) in maladaptive ways for men, such as a barrier to seeking professional help. This study attempted to fill the gap in the existing literature by critically exploring the influence of masculinity/ies on the help-seeking behaviours of men who survived rape. This study specifically aimed to explore rape counsellors' views, understanding and experiences of how masculinity/ies operate(s) in the peculiar help-seeking behaviours of men who survived rape. To this effect, this study employed a qualitative methodology and a phenomenological research design. This study used a purposive sampling method to recruit nine rape counsellors working with men who survived rape in the Moshate Men's Rights Organisation and the MatrixMen Organisation. Data were collected using individual telephonic unstructured interviews with the rape counsellors. The data was analysed using social constructionist thematic analysis, underpinned by Raewyn Connell's theory of multiple masculinities. The current study held a social constructionist point of view of reality. The major themes that emerged from this study include, *firstly*, masculinity/ies and the rape of men. Under this theme, two sub-themes emerged, namely, (1) masculinity/ies and (2) sexuality. *Secondly*, masculinity/ies and help-seeking. Under this theme, five sub-themes emerged; namely, (1) restrictive emotionality, (2) self-reliance (or independence), (3) there is a stigma towards men and seeking psychological services, (4) lack of training and (5) lack of support. *Thirdly*, the understanding of the rape of men. *Lastly*, socio-economic factors and help-seeking. Three sub-themes that emerged under this theme are (1) economic factors, (2) few support systems and services and (3) misrepresentation of the rape of men.

Keywords: Rape counsellors; the rape of men; masculinity/ies; help-seeking behaviours; gender.

Table of Contents

List of terms

Masculinity/ies refers to behaviours, traits, practices, and meanings that are typically and expected to be taken upon by men, and are measured against what is considered non-masculine, such as femininity/ies, subordinated and marginalised masculinities (Whitehead & Barrett, 2001).

Men who survived rape refer to victims of the rape perpetrated by men and women.

Rape is defined according to the definition provided by the South African Criminal Law (Sexual Offences and Related Matters) Amendment Act 32 of 2007, which defines rape as "any person ('A') who unlawfully and intentionally commits an act of sexual penetration with a complainant ('B'), without the consent of B, is guilty of the offence of rape" (p. 11).

Rape counsellor(s) refers to services provider(s) or practitioner(s) providing counselling or psycho-social support to rape survivors. They include but are not limited to counsellors, social workers, nurses, and psychologists.

.

List of tables

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background of the study

The reluctance to seek psychological help among men[1] who survived rape has become a significant concern in South Africa (Kotze, 2017; Meinck et al., 2017; Vanja, 2017) and across the world generally (Kansiime et al., 2018; Masho & Alvanzo, 2010). These studies (Donne et al., 2018; Gonzalez et al., 2005; Kansiime et al., 2018; Masho & Alvanzo, 2010; Monk-Turner & Light, 2010; Tsui et al., 2010) explored the attitudes of men who survived rape towards seeking psychological help. The studies provided considerable evidence that the majority of men are reluctant to seek counselling and psycho-social support after being raped (Donne et al., 2018; Gonzalez et al., 2005; Kansiime et al., 2018; Masho & Alvanzo, 2010; Monk-Turner & Light, 2010; Tsui et al., 2010). For instance, the study of Forbes (n.d), undertaken among rape survivors[2] in Counselling Centre in Cape Town, revealed that out of 288 rape survivors who sought help at the centre, only 4.2% (12 out of 288) were men. A study conducted by Masho and Alvanzo (2010), undertaken among men survivors of sexual assault in Virginia, the United States, revealed that among 91 survivors, only 18% (16 out of 91) sought psychological help after being raped. King and Woollett (1997) studied 115 men who survived sexual assault in the SurvivorsUK organisation. Their study revealed that 77% (88 out of 115) of the survivors did not seek help after their sexual assault (King & Woollett, 1997).

The apparent reluctance to seek psychological help by men who survived rape is an important issue because of the well-documented impact of rape and rape trauma on the survivors' psychological well-being (McDonald & Tijerino, 2013; Walker et al., 2005a). In recent studies (Donne et al., 2018; Kansiime et al., 2018), rape counsellors and men survivors

---

[1]In this study, the researcher used, where possible, the terms man and woman instead of male and female because the anatomical configuration of male or female means different things depending on who you are, where you are, and to whom you are talking. We may be born males or females, but we become men and women in a socio-cultural context. However, it was not possible to use the terms man and woman exclusively; when citing other authors' work, the researcher has remained faithful to the language they used, as such, the terms man and woman, and male and female were used interchangeably depending on the study being discussed.

[2] In this study, the researcher, where possible, used the term 'survivor' instead of 'victim'. According to Abdullah-Khan (2008), those who survived rape and sexual violence prefer to be called survivors because this term implies a much greater degree of agency and empowerment. On the other hand, the term 'victim' inherently presupposes a constant state of helplessness and weakness for those who suffered any form of victimisation (Rock, 2002). However, in this study, it was not possible to use the term 'survivor' exclusively; when citing other authors' work, the researcher remained faithful to the language they used, as such, the terms survivor(s) and victim(s) were used interchangeably depending on the study being discussed.

identified several barriers towards seeking psychological help among men who survived rape. The barriers include but are not limited to fear of being labelled homosexual, shame, stigma related to the use of psychological services, and myths surrounding the rape of men (Kansiime et al., 2018).

These studies (Adams, 2016; Gennrich, 2013; Heath et al., 2017; Kansiime et al., 2018; Mahalik et al., 2003; Onyango & Hampanda, 2011; Vogel et al., 2011; Weiss, 2010a) cited gender(ed/ing) social and cultural norms (which orientate around traditional and conservative modes of hegemonic masculinity/ies) as the main factor that deter men who survived rape from seeking help. For instance, Adams (2016), Gennrich (2013) as well as Heath et al. (2017) found that seeking help requires an admission of needing help, relying on others, and engaging in emotional vulnerability. The patterns mentioned above of emotionality and behaviours undermine more common and hegemonic norms of masculinity/ies, which expect men to be self-reliant, independent and to be able to control their emotions. However, the studies of (Heath et al., 2017; Kansiime et al., 2018; O'Brien et al., 2005; Perkins, 2015; Yousaf et al., 2015) revealed that hegemonic norms of masculinity/ies[3] (such as real men are do not express emotions, are self-reliant and are physically strong) are unhealthy because they deter men who survived rape, and men generally from seeking professional help. Men and boys often are pressured to conform to those unhealthy standards of hegemonic masculinity/ies and therefore reject healthy beliefs and behaviours to demonstrate and maintain their masculine status (O'Brien et al., 2005). Seeking counselling after rape requires men who survived rape to reject various masculine norms, which underwrite the socio-cultural and psychological socialisation of how a masculine man should act (Connell, 2005).

The studies of (Heath et al., 2017; Kansiime et al., 2018; O'Brien et al., 2005; Yousaf et al., 2015) explored the influence of masculinity/ies on the help-seeking behaviours of men who survived rape in other countries. However, some of these studies utilised a small sample size (see Kansiime et al., 2018; Perkins, 2015), and therefore, their findings are limited to be transferable to other contexts, including the South African context. Moreover, most studies used a quantitative methodology to determine the relationship between the subscription to norms of hegemonic masculinities and psychological help-seeking behaviours of men who survived rape (see Perkins, 2015; Yousaf et al., 2015). In South Africa, most studies on

---

[3] In this study, the researcher defined hegemonic masculinity/ies according to Connell (1995) definition of hegemonic masculinity/ies. According to Connell (1995, p. 77), hegemonic masculinity/ies refers to "the configuration of gender practice which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of the legitimacy of patriarchy, which guarantees (or is taken to guarantee) the dominant position of men and the subordination of women and other men who are considered to be weak."

masculinities and men sexual victimisation have explored one form of masculinity/ies[4]: hegemonic masculinity/ies (e.g. see Glover, 2017; Javaid, 2016; Morrell et al., 2012; Perkins, 2015; Ratele et al., 2010). A weakness of the studies mentioned above is that they imply that either masculinity/ies is/are a fixed trait, through suggesting that in the population studied, there is/are just one masculinity/ies, or among the individuals studied, there is/are only one form of masculinity/ies occupied (Morrell et al., 2012).

Connell's theory of multiple masculinities notes multiple forms of masculinities across socio-cultural contexts and historical times (Connell, 1995). In other words, the theory suggests that different men occupy multiple masculine positions depending on their contexts and time (Connell, 1995). However, this research study contends that the existing literature overlooked the influence of ideologies of masculinity/ies on the help-seeking behaviours of men who survived rape from rape counsellors' perspectives (Morrell et al., 2012; Perkins, 2015). This study employed a qualitative methodology to understand the meanings and contextual perspectives of rape counsellors on masculinity/ies and the help-seeking behaviours of men who survived rape. Thus, a qualitative methodology was appropriate for this study to elicit the detailed and nuanced responses necessary to explore the theme of masculinity/ies, the rape of men, and the help-seeking behaviours of men who survived rape. Moreover, the existing studies on the rape of men and masculinity/ies mainly used a quantitative methodology to determine the prevalence rate of the rape of men (e.g. see Perkins, 2015; Yousaf et al., 2015). Although such studies are essential in that they show the extent of the rape of men, they do not provide a holistic understanding of the rape of men. In other words, such studies that used a quantitative methodology do not provide insights on how men across their socio-cultural contexts make sense and experience their rape. Therefore, the current study employed a qualitative methodology to explore experiences, perspectives, and understandings overlooked in quantitative research. This study, specifically, explored rape counsellors' perspectives and understandings on how masculinity/ies operate(s) in the help-seeking behaviours of men who survived rape. Thus, a qualitative methodology generated a detailed and contextual understanding of the rape of men, masculinity/ies and help-seeking behaviours. Moreover, the findings of this study would add to the existing body

---

[4] In this study, the researcher used, where possible, the term 'masculinity/ies' in plural instead of masculinity in the singular. According to Morrell (2001) and Jewkes et al. (2015), multiple meanings, behaviours, roles, and identities of masculinity/ies coexist in different social and cultural contexts. Therefore, we need to talk about masculinities in the plural to highlight the multiplicity of meanings, behaviours, roles, and identities consumed in the term (Kimmel & Bridges, 2011).

of knowledge relating to men sexual victimisation and masculinity/ies supplementing the existing studies.

1.2. Problem statement

The accurate prevalence rates of the rape of men and sexual assault in South Africa is generally unknown (Jewkes et al., 2011a; Vanja, 2017). Rees Mann, the founder of the South African Male Survivors of Sexual Abuse (SAMSOSA), stated that this appears due to the social stigma faced by survivors, myths surrounding the rape of men, lack of disclosure by the survivors, and the neglect of research on the rape of men (as cited in Kotze, 2017). Although the accurate prevalence rates of the rape of men is unknown, the South African Police Service (2012, 2017) reports and the studies of (Dunkle et al., 2013; Jewkes et al., 2009; Optimus Study South Africa, 2016) showed that the rates of the rape of men in South Africa are high. For instance, the Medical Research Council has reported that in 2009, about one in 30 men (3.5%) in South Africa were victims of rape (Jewkes et al., 2009). In contrast, the South African Police Service (2012) report has shown that out of all sexual offences cases reported from 2011 to 2012, 11.4% (5916) of the survivors were adult men.

Jewkes et al. (2009) and the South African Police Service (2012) findings do not only provide valuable insights and an evidence base of the extent of men sexual victimisation. However, the findings also point out that South African scholars and researchers have largely ignored the rape of men (Adams, 2016; Vanja, 2017). Weiss (2010a) argues that this is partly due to how the rape of men and masculinity/ies have been constructed and understood historically. In addition, the studies of Javaid (2014) and Jewkes et al. (2011b) argue that most studies on rape, more especially feminist studies, are studies on the rape of women, and deservedly so, and this resulted in a relative dearth of studies on the rape of men (Morrell et al., 2012).

Studies on the rape of women are understandable because the rape of women is an everyday experience for most women in South Africa (Adams, 2016; Jewkes et al., 2011b; Vanja, 2017). However, studies on the rape of men are also essential to widen the analytic lenses of the phenomenon of rape more broadly and its gender(ed) dynamics. Despite the greater awareness of the rates of the rape of men (e.g. see Adams, 2016; Dunkle et al., 2013; Jina et al., 2020; Machisa et al., 2017), the rape of men remain surrounded by taboo, myths and negative stereotypical thinking (for example see Javaid, 2014; Kassing & Prieto, 2003; Murphy, 2019).

The existing few South African studies on the rape of men have focused on the rape of men in institutionalised settings such as prisons, police cells, and military institutions (Booyens, 2008; Jewkes et al., 2009). In some ways, this has further reproduced the idea that

the rape of men only happens in prisons (Adams, 2016; Hester et al., 2012). However, in contrast to this idea, the studies of (Adams, 2016; Dunkle et al., 2013; Jewkes et al., 2009; Pretorius & Hull, 2005) show that the rape of men in South Africa also happens in non-institutionalised settings. Therefore, the rape of men is not just confined to prison and correctional systems.

For instance, according to the Medical Research Council of South Africa survey in 2009, about one in 30 men (3.5%) were raped in non-institutionalised settings (Jewkes et al., 2009). Moreover, the study by Pretorius and Hull (2005), undertaken in South Africa, explored the experience of men who were raped in non-institutionalised settings. Despite this evidence, the rape of men remains hidden and not acknowledgeable as a psycho-social problem. Hester et al. (2012) asserted that the cultural silence to the rape of men creates further misunderstandings and misinterpretations of the rape of men, even among the survivors themselves.

These studies (McDonald & Tijerino, 2013; Walker et al., 2005a, 2005b) elaborate on the effects of rape on the survivors, highlighting the importance of seeking professional help after rape. These effects are categorised into physical, psychological, and emotional effects. According to McDonald and Tijerino (2013) and Walker et al. (2005b), greater violence and weapons are often used during the rape of men to restrain them. For example, in the study by Walker et al. (2005b), 89% of men who survived rape (32 out of 36) reported that the perpetrator(s) used physical violence during the assault (Walker et al., 2005b). As a result, they sustained physical injuries such as knife wounds, broken bones, and burns (Walker et al., 2005b). The physical effects of rape on men who survived rape include Sexually Transmitted Illnesses (STIs), bleeding, and soft tissue injury, among other effects (McDonald & Tijerino, 2013; Walker et al., 2005b). The most common psychological and emotional effects are shame, anger, hostility, embarrassment, depression, suicidal ideation and attempts, anxiety, and Rape Trauma Syndrome (RTS), among other effects (McDonald & Tijerino, 2013). In addition, Frazier (1993) argues that men who survived rape are more likely to react with anger immediately because anger is perceived as a masculine way to deal with trauma.

It is noteworthy that the rape of men also affects the survivors' masculine and sexual identities (Walker et al., 2005b). The findings from Walker et al. (2005b) study support this effect. In their study, 68% of men who survived rape (27 out of 40) reported long-term difficulties with their masculinity/ies, and 70% of men (28 out of 40) reported long-term problems with their sexuality (Walker et al., 2005b). For instance, the survivors reported feeling powerless, feminine, losing control, and questioned whether they were homosexuals after being raped (Walker et al., 2005b). The feelings reported by the survivors can be understood to be influenced by the ideologies of hegemonic masculinity/ies, which expect men to be

physically strong, in control and not engaging in same-sex sexual interaction (Abdullah-Khan, 2002; Adams, 2016; Sivakumaran, 2007).

Abdullah-Khan (2002) and Sivakumaran (2007) found that some men used rape to construct and embody ideologies of hegemonic masculinity/ies such as being dominant and physically strong. Men who perpetrated rape against other men were perceived to enhance and maintain their masculine status by controlling other men (Abdullah-Khan, 2002; Sivakumaran, 2007). In this sense, the victims were constructed as less masculine because they were vulnerable and powerless to fight off their attacker(s).

Regardless of the detrimental effects of rape, most men who survived rape in South Africa do not seek professional psychological help or any form of psycho-social care and support (Forbes, n.d; Kotze, 2017). For example, the study of Forbes (n.d) undertaken among rape survivors in Counselling Centre in Cape Town revealed that out of 288 rape survivors who sought help at the centre, only 4.2% (12 out of 288) were men survivors. Rees Mann (as cited in Kotze, 2017) also estimated that a man is 10 times less likely than a woman to seek counselling after rape. This peculiar help-seeking behaviour raises pressing concerns given the detrimental effects that men experience after being raped.

Studies by Adams (2016), Kansiime et al. (2018) as well as Vanja (2017) undertaken among counsellors, social workers, and psychologists investigated factors that deter men who survived rape from seeking help. Their findings revealed that most men who survived rape do not seek counselling because asking for help is often coupled with longstanding gender(ed) and sexist tropes of vulnerability, weakness, and, ultimately, femininity/ies (Adams, 2016; Kansiime et al., 2018; Vanja, 2017). Therefore, men who seek psychological services risk appearing unmanly in the eyes of others.

Moreover, the rape of men is characterised by myths, taboos, and negative stereotypical thinking, such as real men cannot be raped (Javaid, 2014; Kassing & Prieto, 2003; Murphy, 2019). Traditionally, men are expected to occupy several sex-rolled caricatures of masculinity/ies, including being physically strong, in control, invulnerable, and heterosexual (Adams, 2016). According to the rigid norms of masculinity/ies, men who survived rape did not act manly, showing physical strength and being in control, and, therefore, they are not man enough (Davies, 2002). In other words, these rigid norms of masculinity/ies stigmatise men who survived rape to claim some of those more socially dominant and desired constructions and tropes of masculinity/ies (Kansiime et al., 2018). Therefore, men who come forward and disclose their rape experience to others risk having their masculinity/ies and sexuality questioned (Kansiime et al., 2018).

With that said, for some men, rape becomes not just an experience of profound psychological trauma and pain, but at the same time, an act of psycho-social emasculation, typically informed by the rigid societal norms and gendered expectations of masculinity/ies

(Doherty & Anderson, 2004; Javaid, 2018). In this regard, the question, which therefore orientated this study, was to explore further what role gender, generally, and masculinity/ies, in particular, play in influencing help-seeking behaviours of men who survived rape from rape counsellors' perspectives.

This study explored rape counsellors' perspectives and understanding of the rape of men, help-seeking behaviours and masculinity/ies because they are the first point of contact for some men who survived rape (Javaid, 2018). Therefore, the counsellors possess qualities and conform to specific belief systems that influence the help-seeking behaviours of men who survived rape. As such, rape counsellors are a good data source. Moreover, studies that explore the perspectives of rape counsellors who work with men who survived rape would generate information on effective treatment and intervention strategies for organisations and rape counsellors to work successfully with men who survived rape.

1.3.   Research question

The research question for this study was, 'How do rape counsellors perceive the influence of masculinity/ies on the help-seeking behaviours of men who survived rape?'

1.4.   Justification, aim and objective of the study

1.4.1. Justification

The literature reviewed in this study indicates a significant need for research on how masculinity/ies functions in maladaptive ways for men, that is, as a barrier to seeking professional help (Letsela & Ratele, 2009; Morrell et al., 2012). In this regard, it is essential to note that the existing studies that looked at the influence of masculinity/ies on men's attitudes towards seeking psychological help have primarily focused on centring the survivors' accounts (e.g. Adams, 2016; Levant et al., 2013; Perkins, 2015; Tsui et al., 2010; Turchik et al., 2013). On the other hand, studies that explored the perspectives of rape counsellors and the police on the issue at hand are studies that were conducted in other countries such as the United Kingdom (e.g. Heath et al., 2017; Kansiime et al., 2018; O'Brien et al., 2005; Yousaf et al., 2015). Therefore, the findings of such studies cannot be transferred to the South African context. Furthermore, some of these studies have used a relatively small sample size, limiting the transferability of their findings to other settings and people (Kansiime et al., 2018; Perkins, 2015). Moreover, the studies of (Adams, 2016; Heath et al., 2017; Kansiime et al., 2018; Levant et al., 2013; O'Brien et al., 2005; Perkins, 2015; Tsui et al., 2010; Turchik et al., 2013; Yousaf et al., 2015) adopted a quantitative methodology.

Although the studies mentioned above revealed the relationship between the rigid norms of masculinity/ies and the help-seeking behaviours of men who survived rape, they do not provide a rich understanding of how conventional notions of masculinity/ies influence help-seeking behaviours of men who survived rape. Therefore, what is currently under-represented in the South African literature is a more finely tuned qualitative analysis of how those more traditional, conservative and dominant modes of masculinity/ies influence the help-seeking behaviours of men who survived rape (Morrell et al., 2012; Pitfield, 2013). Moreover, few studies explicitly localise analytical attention to South African rape counsellors' perspectives who are at the 'coal face' in supporting men who survived rape (Morrell et al., 2012). In this regard, this study aimed to explore how ideologies of masculinity/ies influence the help-seeking behaviours of men who survived rape by drawing directly from the perspectives and experiences of rape counsellors in South Africa.

1.4.2. Aim

This study aimed to explore rape counsellors' views, understanding and experiences of how masculinity/ies operates in the peculiar help-seeking behaviours of men who have survived rape.

1.4.3. Objective

The objective of this study was to elicit rape counsellors' views, experiences, and constructions of how masculinity/ies is perceived to influence help-seeking behaviours of men who survived rape.

1.5. Significance of the study

The current study hoped to make tentative contributions to theory, method, and practice in several ways. Firstly, by generating detailed and contextual understandings of rape counsellors' perceptions of how masculinity/ies inform the help-seeking behaviours of men who survived rape, this study adds to the existing body of knowledge relating to masculinity/ies and men sexual victimisation. Moreover, the findings of this study help to illustrate how gender and masculinity/ies inform and underwrite rape trauma, reporting, and recovery, and, with this, how dynamics of gender and masculinity/ies could be potentially negotiated by rape counsellors to provide more effective support interventions to men who survived rape. Secondly, this study endeavours to contribute to a better understanding of how norms of hegemonic masculinity/ies influence men who survived rape help-seeking behaviours in South Africa. In doing so, this study contributes theoretically to discourses on unacknowledged and unreported rape experiences. Thirdly, this study contributes to the research methodology. In

this study, data were collected using qualitative unstructured interviews. The existing literature on the rape of men in South Africa focuses on quantitative research. As such, a nuanced and qualitatively inflected study on the ways rape counsellors' understand how notions of masculinity/ies operate in the help-seeking behaviours of men who survived rape was ignored (Morrell et al., 2012). Therefore, this study addresses this gap. Lastly, the findings of this study provide information to rape counsellors in non-governmental organisations (NGOs) in Gauteng to better adapt and promote their services to address the peculiar help-seeking behaviours of men who survived rape and, in particular, the inhibitive role that masculinity/ies play as a barrier to help-seeking men.

1.6.   Theoretical framework

The theory of multiple masculinities informed and guided the current study. Connell's theory of multiple masculinities is located broadly within the social constructionist paradigm. The social constructionist paradigm focuses on how individuals construct and apply knowledge in social contexts (Gergen, 1985). The fundamental premise of the social constructionist paradigm is that knowledge is a human construction and that the learner is an active participant in the learning process (Gergen, 1973). In the social constructionist paradigm, knowledge is constructed through social interaction, and such knowledge is shared rather than an individual experience. Social constructionist reality is perceived as an ongoing, dynamic process and is reproduced by individuals acting on their interpretation and their knowledge. Hence, social constructivists argue that there is no single reality, but multiple realities (Gergen, 1985). Social constructivist research aims to understand social phenomena from individuals and groups experiencing phenomena.

The theory of multiple masculinities initially developed by Raewyn (formerly Robert and often cited as R.W.) asserts that masculinity/ies is/are not a fixed trait but configurations of practice generated in particular situations in a changing structure of relationships (Connell, 1995). Therefore, multiple forms of masculinity/ies exist, that individual men draw on according to race, age, class, ethnicity, culture, socio-economic position, religion, and geographic location (Connell, 1995). Moreover, the theory of multiple masculinities characterises masculinities into four categories to show how men position themselves to hegemonic standards and other masculinities (Connell, 1995). The four masculinity/ies are hegemonic, complicit, marginalised, and subordinated masculinities (Connell, 1995). In addition, these forms of masculinities are related to hegemonic masculinity/ies.

Although multiple forms of masculinities exist, not all forms of masculinities are equal. Multiple forms of masculinities exist in a hierarchy, with hegemonic masculinity/ies subordinating all other forms of masculinities (Connell, 1995). Hegemonic masculinity/ies

subordinates all other forms of masculinities because it rejects femininity/ies and homosexuality (Connell, 1995). As such, this form of masculinity/ies holds more power and privileges over other forms of masculinity/ies using a combination of force and consent (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). Therefore, hegemonic masculinity/ies is/are the most culturally honoured way of being a man in a patriarchal society (Connell, 1995). Following hegemonic masculinity/ies is complicit masculinity/ies and marginalised masculinity/ies in the middle. Subordinate masculinity/ies is at the bottom of a male gender hierarchy because it is easily associated with femininity/ies (Connell, 1995).

In South African literature, traits associated with masculinity/ies include but are not limited to independence, heterosexuality, invulnerability, sexual prowess, emotional stoicism, competitiveness, physical strength, leadership, and control (Chimanzi, 2016; Lindegger & Maxwell, 2007; Ratele, 2014; Ratele et al., 2007). Real men are defined by their ability to endure pain, be self-reliant, and reject anything that makes them look feminine (Ratele, 2008). Willingness to take risks is also a trait typically defining real men (Shefer et al., 2010). However, these traits associated with masculinity/ies varies across time and within social, cultural, and geographical contexts (Connell, 1995). Moreover, not all men achieve these traits and men who do not achieve these hegemonic standards are considered unmanly and are subjected to be ridiculed (Connell, 1995; Graaff & Heinecken, 2017). Men who survived rape, gay men, and effeminate men do not achieve these hegemonic standards of masculinity/ies (Adams, 2016; Gifford, 2004).

The phenomenon of rape is complex, involves multiple meanings, interpretations, and experiences (Javaid, 2018). Moreover, the phenomenon is specific to individuals and is informed by individuals' interactions with their realities. Therefore, the experiences and understanding of rape are bound to individuals' socio-cultural contexts, age, race and historical time (Javaid, 2018). In other words, although a commonality exists in being a rape survivor, the understanding and experiences of rape differ across individuals because individuals' culture, context, time, age, and race, among other factors, play a role in how rape survivors understand and experience their rape. Therefore, the theory of multiple masculinities was appropriate for understanding the implicit and complex multi-dimensional phenomenon of rape.

In light of the reluctance help-seeking behaviours of men who survived rape and its links to masculinity/ies, the researcher, in this study, believed it was necessary to analyse further, what it means to be a real man in today's society. In other words, to explore how the construction of masculinity/ies is/are reproduced, normalised, and contested in relation to the rape of men. The researcher suggested that in examining masculinity/ies and gender identity of men, it is possible to shed light on the peculiar help-seeking behaviours of men who survived rape. The researcher believes that by understanding the constructions of masculinity/ies, we

could work as a society to create better intervention strategies that would encourage men who survived rape to seek professional help.

1.7.   Research methodology

1.7.1. Data

This study used telephonic unstructured individual interviews to collect the data from nine rape counsellors. Unstructured interviews are interviews where the researcher(s) have not set predetermined questions or answer categories (Zhang & Wildemuth, 2009). The current study intended to gain an in-depth understanding of rape counsellors' perceptions and their experience working with men who survived rape. Therefore, the intensive and in-depth data required by the research goal led to the selection of unstructured interviews as a data collection method. Furthermore, the current study holds a social constructionist point of view of reality; therefore, unstructured interviews were an appropriate data collection method because it asserts that, to make sense of participants' world, the researcher(s) must approach it through the participants' perspectives and, in the participants own terms (Denzin, 1989).

Moreover, in this study, the researcher intended to gain an in-depth understanding of rape counsellors' experiences of working with men who survived rape. Therefore, unstructured interviews enabled the researcher to obtain intensive and in-depth data. Although the interviews were unstructured, the researcher employed a focal theme to initiate and guide the interviews to ensure that they remain primarily orientated to the research question of this study. Namely: *How do masculinity/ies influence men who were raped from seeking psycho-social services and counselling?* The researcher conducted all interviews in English, and the duration of the interviews was 58 to 120 minutes. The researcher recruited the participants from two NGOs, namely the Moshate Men's Rights Organisation and the MatrixMen Organisation.

1.7.2. Data analysis

This study used a social constructionist thematic analysis as its method of analysing the data. The thematic analysis identifies, analyses, and interprets themes within qualitative data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The thematic analysis was appropriate for analysing rich data as this study used in-depth unstructured interviews as its data collection method. The researcher followed the six guidelines of Braun and Clarke (2006) iteratively to search and identify themes from the participants' transcripts. The thematic analysis allowed the researcher to describe and make sense of shared perspectives and experiences about the issue at hand. This study assumed that individuals construct masculinity/ies through social interactions across social-

cultural contexts and historical times. (Scotland, 2012). As such, different men who survived rape subscribe to multiple constructions of masculinity/ies. Identifying common themes and analysing them ensured insightful exploration of rape counsellors' perspectives on how masculinity/ies influence help-seeking behaviours of men who survived rape.

1.8.   Dissertation structure

This mini dissertation consists of four chapters. The present chapter was a general introduction to the research study and provided the problem statement, research question, aim and objective, and justification and significance. Chapter one concluded by introducing the theoretical framework guiding the study and a summary of the research methodology utilised in the study.

Chapter two presented a discussion of the literature review. This chapter started by critically discussing the varying definitions of rape. Next, it looked at the extent of rape in South Africa, the rape of men in South Africa, and the rape of men in the media. This chapter also discussed psychological services available for rape survivors in South Africa, their roles, and challenges faced by post-rape care centres. Following this was a discussion on the peculiar help-seeking behaviours of men who survived rape and the potential barriers to psychological services. Finally, chapter two concluded with a discussion on masculinity/ies.

Chapter three discussed the theoretical framework used in the study. Chapter three began with a brief overview of a social constructionism paradigm that served as the current study's epistemological framework. Following was a discussion of Connell's theory of multiple masculinities which was the theoretical framework informing this study. Further, chapter three explored masculinity/ies studies. Finally, this chapter concluded by exploring criticisms and reformulations of the concept of hegemonic masculinity/ies.

Chapter four provided a detailed description of the research methodology and a discussion of how this study was carried out. Then, a detailed discussion of the research approach and design was presented and discussed the sample, sampling method, data collection method, and analysis method employed in the study. Further, it discussed the steps taken in this study to ensure trustworthiness and the ethical principles relevant and applicable to this study. Finally, this chapter concluded with the researcher's reflexive account.

Chapter five presented the findings of the study, analysis, and discussion of the findings.

Chapter six was the final chapter. It provided a summary of the key findings and offered concluding remarks on the issue at hand. Moreover, this chapter discussed the limitations and strengths of the study. Finally, it concluded with a presentation of recommendations.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Introduction

This chapter provided an outline and critical discussion of how various disciplines define the phenomenon of rape. This chapter specifically explored how the English common law, evolutionary psychological perspective, feminist perspectives, legal jurisdictions, and the World Health Organisation (WHO) define and explain rape. Following was a discussion of the extent of rape in South Africa, the rape of men in South Africa, the rape of men in the media, psychological services available for men who survived rape in South Africa. This chapter also explored the help-seeking behaviours of men who survived rape and barriers experienced by men who survived rape when accessing psychological services. This chapter concluded with a discussion on masculinity/ies, which included defining masculinity/ies, exploring the constructions of masculinity/ies in South Africa, masculinity/ies and rape, and implications for rape counsellors.

It is worth noting that the recent literature on the rape of men in South Africa is limited. Therefore, most of the literature reviewed in this study on the rape of men mainly emanates from other countries, such as the United States of America and the United Kingdom, where the rape of men has received greater academic attention.

2.2. Defining rape

Definitions of rape differ significantly under laws across the geographical place in time and across disciplines. Although the definitions of rape have shifted and evolved throughout history, various laws and disciplines are limited in defining the phenomenon of rape broadly to date. (Karina, 2011). For instance, rape is still defined and understood as a gendered crime. However, defining rape as a gendered crime, such as sexual penetration against a woman, is problematic because a woman having sex with a man without his consent is also rape.

Further, such narrowed definitions of rape (e.g., the English common law definition) are unjust and cause harmful myths, stereotypes and prejudices about the rape of men, sexuality and masculinity/ies of men who survived rape even to date. In this study, the researcher argues that if laws and disciplines define rape as a gender-neutral crime, this will help undermine myths and stereotypes and make a difference in the problematic ways that the rape of men and the rape of women generally are perceived by the public (McKeever, 2018). Below is a discussion of various definitions of rape.

2.2.1. The English common law

Throughout history, women and girls were regarded as the properties of men and treated as livestock (Singh, 2004). Their values as the properties were measured by sexual purity or

virginity (Karina, 2011; Menon, 1983). Hence, rape against a woman was understood to devalue her because it takes her virginity or sexual purity. Earlier on, the English common law constructed rape as the destruction of a man's property (the victim's fathers, brothers or husbands) (Karina, 2011). Thus, when a woman was raped, it was regarded as a crime against a man and not a woman (the victim) (Ross, 1993; van der Bijl, 2010). For instance, a perpetrator(s) who was/were caught committing rape against a woman was/were to face penalties that mostly involved fines or other compensation paid to the father or husband of the victim (Karina, 2011). The early definition by the English common law helped to explain rape during the war in South Africa and across the world. For instance, during the war, men committed rape against women to dominate their enemies, fathers, husbands or brothers of the victim (Bryden & Grier, 2011; Motsei, 2007). However, the English common law failed to describe the phenomenon of rape broadly because it provided an understanding that rape only happens (or only matters when it happens) to sexually pure or virgin women and girls (Karina, 2011). As a result, the definition provided by the English common law negatively influenced specific populations, including married women, sex workers, and men, to disclose and report their rape (Artz & Smythe, 2008).

Later, the English common law recognised that specific categories of women (for instance, married women and sex workers) could also be raped, thus reformulating the definition of rape to include elements of coercion and lack of consent (Menon, 1983). As such, the English common law redefined rape as "unlawful sexual intercourse with a woman without their consent, by force, fear or fraud" (Menon, 1983, p. 834). Although the redefinition encourages other groups of women (e.g., married women) to come forward and report the rape (Artz & Smythe, 2008), the definition is still limited in defining the phenomenon of rape broadly. The English common law redefinition of rape is limited because it defines rape as a gendered crime. According to the definition, women are the sole possible victims of rape. However, in reality, men are also possible victims of rape. For instance, these studies (Dunkle et al., 2013; Jewkes et al., 2009; Optimus Study South Africa, 2016) provide a shred of solid evidence that supports that men are also possible victims of rape. In this study, the researcher argues that the English common law definition of rape partly constitutes the reason why men who survived rape are reluctant to come forward and disclose their sexual victimisation to date because the English common law does not acknowledge them as possible victims of rape (Bierie & Davis-Siegel, 2015).

2.2.2. Psychoanalyst and evolutionary psychological perspectives

Under the psychoanalytic perspective, rape is sexual interaction and not an act of violence (Donat & D'Emilio, 1992). According to this perspective, men who perpetrated rape possess

uncontrollable sexual urges that motivate them to rape in a specific context (Clarke & Stermac, 2011). Therefore, a man perpetrator is perceived as mentally ill or as a diseased psychopath. For instance, Karpman (1951) argues that sexual psychopaths are a social menace, but they are not conscious agents that deliberately and viciously perpetrate rape. Instead, they are the victims of a disease from which many suffer more than their victims (Karpman, 1951). The idea of the perpetrator as a diseased psychopath became a dominant view held in the public, criminal justice system, and post-rape care centres (Lanyon, 1986; Scully & Marolla, 1985). However, the psychoanalytic perspective is insufficient in explaining the phenomenon of rape because this perspective emphasises that rape only occurs because of sexual gratification, and thus it ignores other motivations to commit rape (McKibbi et al., 2008). Also, Langevin et al. (1985) argue that research on the relationship between individual pathology and rape had been conducted with incarcerated men. While such research helps to demonstrate causal links between pathology and rape, it is inconclusive and inconsistent because it focuses solely on incarcerated men who have readily admitted rape to receive prison therapy and parole (Scully, 1990). Moreover, the belief that rape perpetrators suffer more than their victims disregarded the impact of rape on the survivors. As a result, this led to various medical responses and psychotherapies to find solutions for perpetrators problems, and thus ignore survivors of rape (Rada, 1978).

Evolutionary psychological perspective theorists worked with perpetrators to explore other motives and dynamics to commit rape (McPhail, 2015). For example, McKibbin et al. (2008) identified five types of perpetrators under this perspective. The first type is the disadvantaged rapists who commit rape because they have no other way of securing sexual intercourse, such as those with low socioeconomic status (McKibbin et al., 2008). The second type is the specialised rapists who commit rape because they are sexually aroused by violent sex (McKibbin et al., 2008). The third type is the opportunistic rapists who take advantage of an opportunity to commit rape, such as when the victims lost self-control under the influence of alcohol (McKibbin et al., 2008). The fourth type is high-mating-effort rapists who perpetrate rape because they are aggressive, dominant, have high self-esteem, and are characterised as psychopaths (McKibbin et al., 2008). The last type is partner rapists who rape their partners because of increased risk of sperm competition, which often results when the rapist suspects that their partners are sexually unfaithful (McKibbin et al., 2008). Thus, the evolutionary psychological perspective helped in identifying other motives for perpetrating rape. However, it is clear that this perspective still fails to explain the phenomenon of rape broadly because even under this perspective, men are the sole perpetrators of rape.

2.2.3. Legal jurisdictions' perspective

The legal definition of rape provides an important broader context of how society, media and the correctional justice system understand rape. Many legal jurisdictions worldwide, including the South African legal definition of rape, define and delimit (the crime of) rape to forced vaginal penetration with a penis (Karina, 2011; Pantazis, 1999; Wise, 2012). As the English common law contemporary definition of rape, the South African previous legal definition of rape defined rape as a gendered crime, failing to acknowledge men as the possible victims of rape. As a result, the South African previous legal definition of rape influenced the criminal justice professionals and the society generally responses to and attitudes towards the rape of men to date. For instance, men who survived rape in the study Pretorius and Hull (2005) encountered disbelief when reporting their rape to the police. Moreover, the police held myths and stereotypical ideas that men cannot be raped (Pretorius & Hull, 2005).

In Brazil, for example, rape is legally defined as non-consensual vaginal sex (Karina, 2011). Consequently, non-consensual anal and oral penetrations are unacknowledged as rape. By defining rape in this manner, the rape of men becomes subsumed under the umbrella of same-sex interactions, which were and are still legally criminalised and regarded as taboo in certain countries (Onyango & Hampanda, 2011). Furthermore, the hate and punishment of homosexuality have enormous consequences on men and boys' inclination to seek professional help and report the rape. Therefore, men and boys are reluctant to report the rape because of fear of legal consequences and accusations of being labelled and punished under anti-homosexual legislation and other discriminatory laws (Onyango & Hampanda, 2011).

Today in South Africa, the Criminal Law (Sexual Offences and Related Matters) Amendment Act 32 of 2007 defines rape as "any person ('A') who unlawfully and intentionally commits an act of sexual penetration with a complainant ('B'), without the consent of B, is guilty of the offence of rape" (p. 11). Sexual penetration includes "any act which causes penetration to any extent whatsoever by– (a) the genital organs of one person into or beyond the genital organs, anus, or mouth of another person; (b) any other part of the body of one person or, any object, including any part of the body of an animal, into or beyond the genital organs or anus of another person; or (c) the genital organs of an animal, into or beyond the mouth of another person, …" (p. 9). The Sexual Offences and Related Matters Act (2007) introduced gender-neutrality into the definition of rape by recognising anal and oral penetrations by not only the penis but also by other body parts of a person or any object. Therefore, the law now recognises both men and women as possible perpetrators and victims of rape and sexual assault generally. Despite the legal acknowledgement and recognition of the rape of men, the rape of men is still unacknowledged as a social problem (Pretorius, 2009).

2.2.4. Feminist perspectives

In light of the long history of rape being used as a weapon of sexual and gender-based violence and as public and domestic oppression against women, feminist scholars and activists have long been interested in studying and noticing the phenomenon of rape (McPhail, 2015). Unlike psychological perspectives, which focused on rape perpetrators, feminist theory and research focused on rape survivors, specifically women survivors (Brownmiller, 1975). There are varying feminist perspectives on rape; they include the liberal, radical, and socialist perspectives. Following is a discussion of these perspectives (liberal, radical, and socialist).

The liberal feminist perspective defines rape as non-consensual sexual intercourse and focus primarily on the harm that rape inflicts to the individual survivor (Whisnant, 2009). This perspective takes the presence or absence of consent as the difference between consensual sexual intercourse and rape. Therefore, the liberal feminist perspective sees rape as a gender-neutral assault on individual autonomy and links it with other forms of assault (Whisnant, 2009). Indirectly, this view also acknowledges men as the possible survivors of rape. However, by defining rape as non-consensual sexual intercourse, the liberal feminist perspective overlooks different circumstances of consenting to rape (MacKinnon, 1987). MacKinnon (1987) argue that, in reality, some women engage in sexual interactions that they do not want. For instance, in the extreme case of rape, women are forced to consent to sexual interactions through physical violence, economic considerations, or psychological pressure or needs (MacKinnon, 1987).

The radical feminist conceptualisation of rape holds that rape is fundamentally an aggressive and oppressive rather than a sexual act, and its motivation and dynamics arise out of hostility rather than sexual gratification (Brownmiller, 1975; McPhail, 2015). Radical feminists argue that any form of violence committed against women demonstrates men's dominance, unequal power relations between sexes, and patriarchy (Kalra & Bhugra, 2013). The radical feminist conceptualisation of rape played a crucial role in shifting blame away from women who survived rape. Consequently, the sexual history and physical attractiveness of rape survivors, which are perceived to encourage rape, are now becoming less relevant (although evidently, remainders of the practice remain to date) (McPhail, 2015). However, the radical feminist conceptualisation of rape is insufficient in explaining rape broadly because, firstly, it narrows perpetrators' motivations to a singular goal of power and control and perceive rape solely as a violent rather than a sexual act, whereas in reality, there are multiple motivations for committing rape (McKibbi et al., 2008; McPhail, 2015). For instance, McPhail (2015), in a review of literature, found 82 cited motivations for committing rape. As such, rape is not solely motivated by power and control as claimed by radical feminists. Secondly, the radical feminist conceptualisation of rape claims that all men have power over all women, which is an over generalisation and fails to acknowledge male diversity. For example, Connell

(1995, 2005) provides considerable evidence that supports different power levels within male hierarchies. Connell (1995, 2005) shows that not all men are powerful, some men are powerless. Lastly, the radical feminist only explains the rape of women by men and ignores the rape of men by women and the rape of men by other men. The findings of Jina et al. (2020) provide evidence of the rape of men by women, and these studies (Adams, 2016; Gear, 2007; Vanja, 2017) provide evidence of the existence of the rape of men by men.

The radical feminist perspective on rape led to debate within feminists' circles. The theory of social construction (socialist feminism) emerged in the work of Scully (1990) with offenders in prisons. Scully (1990) argued that rape is associated with culturally dominant scripts for reproducing masculinity/ies. According to Scully (1990), men commit rape in their attempts to prove their manhood and establish their masculinity/ies over other men and women. In this way, rape is perceived as a weapon to preserve men's domination and women's subordination. Gear (2007) revealed that the rape of men in prisons and correctional systems is motivated by power and dominance. For instance, men rape other men to assert and prove their masculinity/ies (Gear, 2007). Scully (1990) work formulates three contributions to the phenomenon of rape. Firstly, Scully (1990) conceptualisation of rape acknowledges that there are multiple motivations to commit rape rather than the single motivation of power and control, as claimed by the radical feminist. Secondly, Scully (1990) conceptualisation of rape acknowledges that men have different power levels within male hierarchies and differ with class, race, sexuality, and age, thus gives room for the acknowledgement of men who survived rape. Lastly, Scully (1990) conceptualisation of rape recognises that women can also perpetrate rape, although this is not clear. However, Scully (1990) conceptualisation of rape relies solely on the self-reported motivations of sexual offenders. Understanding rape from this perspective can be problematic because Ward et al. (2006) revealed that most sexual offenders rationalise their behaviours, such as blaming their survivors for minimising their actions.

The feminist perspectives on rape have challenged the myth that rape is simply a sporadic deviation and had a profound impact on ensuring significant improvements in service provisions and policy changes to support women who survived rape (Abdullah-Khan, 2002). However, the feminist perspectives reinforce the inequality, degradation, and oppression of men. As such, feminist perspectives create what Donnelly and Kenyon (1996, p. 448) call the "myth of male invulnerability", which serves to prevent society, including men who survived rape, from acknowledging that men can be victims of rape.

2.2.5. World Health Organisation (WHO) perspective

According to the World Health Organisation (WHO), sexual violence includes rape and is defined as "unwanted sexual comments or advances, or acts to traffic, or otherwise directed, against a person's sexuality using coercion, by any person regardless of their relationship to the victim, in any setting, including but not limited to home and work" (Sigsworth, 2009, p. 3). This definition acknowledges a wide range of behaviours, from rape at gunpoint to sexual coercion, as acts of sexual violence (Sigsworth, 2009). However, according to Sigsworth (2009), this definition does not differentiate between sexual violence and rape, while these concepts can have different meanings and implications across settings.

2.2.6. Implications for rape counsellors

Given the divergent and often conflicting definitions of rape, rape alone suffers from significant definitional contradictions that create inevitable difficulties for rape counsellors during counselling interactions (Fernandze, 2011). Currently, amongst rape counsellors in post-rape care centres, the radical feminist perspective of rape predominates (McPhail, 2015). Since radical feminists are the frontline rape counsellors in post-rape care centres, they provide services, advocacy, and education on rape. Therefore, such centres widely adopt the perspective that rape is motivated by power and control (McPhail, 2015). This perspective is beneficial to working with rape victims because it enables rape counsellors to view each victim's experience individually and consider external factors while empowering the survivors (Green et al., 2015). However, for example, understanding rape from the radical feminist perspective could be deleterious in delivering services and interventions to men who survived rape. It does not explain multiple instances of rape and does not acknowledge men as possible victims of rape (McPhail, 2015). It is, therefore, vital that rape counsellors understand the varying definitions of rape.

2.3.   South Africa as the rape capital

South Africa is known to be one of the countries with the highest prevalence rates of rape. As such, it is the rape capital of the world – a country, which has the highest numbers of rape cases per capita (Jewkes et al., 2010; Morrell et al., 2012; Naidoo, 2013; Optimus Study South Africa, 2016; South African Police Service, 2015). In 2019, the South African Police Service (SAPS) report showed that from April 1, 2018, to March 31, 2019, approximately 41,583 rape cases were reported to the SAPS (SAPS, 2019). SAPS (2019) report showed that the rates of rape increased from 70.5% on April 1, 2018, to 72.1% on March 31, 2019. Further, a study conducted by the Medical Research Council revealed that 27.6% of the men admitted that

they committed rape (Jewkes et al., 2009). Of the number of men who committed rape, 73% stated that they had carried out their first assault before they are 20 years old (Jewkes et al., 2009). Similarly, these news reports (Etheridge, 2019; Khanyile, 2019; Mitchley, 2019; Seleka, 2019; Shange, 2019; Webb, 2017) show that rape is an everyday phenomenon in South Africa.

The SAPS (2019) report, Jewkes et al. (2009) and the news reports illustrate that the rates of rape in South Africa are much higher than the national SAPS statistics and a research study reveals. Given the high rates of rape, rape counsellors would have rape survivors who would seek help from them. As such, a conversation must take place not only with the public but also within the counselling profession about the prevalence rates of rape and steps needed to change from a culture of terror to one of mutual respect and empathy (Green et al., 2015). Further, the high prevalence rates of rape highlight the survivors' complex needs following recent sexual assault. Psychological services and psychoeducation should be available to promote gender equity and change norms of hegemonic masculinity/ies that deter men who survived rape from seeking help (Naidoo, 2013).

2.4.   The rape of men in South Africa

The rape of men was neglected in South Africa until 2007 when it was legally recognised (Jina, 2020). Earlier on, society perceived the rape of men as a phenomenon that occurs solely in institutional settings, such as in prisons and military establishments (Peters, 2009; Pretorius & Hull, 2005). This perception is maintained because research on the rape of men has focused on institutionalised settings (Andersson & Ho-Foster, 2008; Gear, 2007; Jewkes et al., 2009). Moreover, in non-institutional settings, the rape of men has been traditionally viewed as a consensual homosexual encounter (Peters, 2009), whereas in reality, the rape of men does not discriminate on the grounds of sexuality. As a result of this misconception, the rape of men is still regarded as a minor problem and one that does not require research or public interest (Jewkes et al., 2011b). There is a need for research on the rape of men in non-institutional settings to tackle myths and negative stereotypes embedded in society about the rape of men (Pretorius & Hull, 2005).

Different prevalence rates of the rape of men have been cited in the literature, with numbers varying depending on the author's definition of rape and sexual assault and the populations studied (Adams, 2016; Dunkle et al., 2013; Gear, 2010; Jewkes et al., 2009; Jewkes et al., 2011a; Jina et al., 2020; Lindegaard & Gear, 2014; Optimus Study South Africa, 2016). For instance, a recent national South African study on rape justice revealed that 5.1% (110 out of 2152) of the reported rape cases in 2012 were cases of rape of men (Machisa et al., 2017). The study conducted by Dunkle et al. (2013) consisted of 1,737 men in the Eastern Cape and KwaZulu-Natal found that 9% of the men (164 out of 1737) reported being raped by

other men while 3% of them (51 out of 686) self-reported that they had raped other men. Moreover, the study conducted by Jina et al. (2020), undertaken in South Africa, consisted of 209 men who survived rape.

Despite the emerging knowledge about the existence of the rape of men and the legal acknowledgement as a crime, the rape of men is still socially unacknowledged and remain hidden in the South African context (Jewkes et al., 2011b) and across the world (Javaid, 2014; Peterson et al., 2011) to date. The cultural and traditional beliefs, myths, and negative social stereotypes, encouraged by hegemonic masculinity/ies, preserve the dominant perceptions of rape, and discursively work to keep the rape of men hidden (Jewkes et al., 2011b). According to the socially constructed definitions of masculinity/ies, real men cannot or perhaps should not be raped (Abdullah-Khan, 2002; Peters, 2009). Real men are strong and domineering, given that the sexuality and masculinity/ies of men who survived rape are questioned (Abdullah-Khan, 2002; Heilman & Barker, 2018; Peters, 2009; Pretorius & Hull, 2005). Rape counsellors in the study conducted by Kansiime et al. (2018), myths and negative stereotypes on the rape of men are problematic because they do not only blur if not compound the violence and trauma of rape experience for the survivors. However, they also reiterate deeply problematic gender tropes that reaffirm those men cannot (and should not) be survivors of rape (Javaid, 2018).

The counsellors also reported that such myths and beliefs prevent the survivors from disclosing or talking about their victimisation (Kansiime et al., 2018). As a result, most survivors are humiliated, ashamed and withdraw from society because they failed their duty as men (Javaid, 2018). In other words, they were powerless, vulnerable, and not physically strong to fight off their attacker(s) – traits inconsistent with hegemonic masculinity/ies (Gennrich, 2013). Further, such myths and negative stereotypes may influence the responses and attitudes of society towards the rape of men (Ratner et al., 2003).

2.5.   The media and the rape of men

The media has considerable power in influencing people's perceptions and opinions since they are a significant source of information. Therefore, how the rape cases are reported, and the types of stories reported in the media (Wise, 2012) can influence how people make sense of rape and sexual assault. Unfortunately, media coverage of rape is highly selective. Most cases of rape and sexual assault reported on media are cases committed by men against women (Banjac & Dibetso, 2013; Jeweks et al., 2009). Although such reports are necessarily due to the high prevalence rates of the rape of women in South Africa (Vieweger, 2019), this biased reporting publicly represents rape as a problem affecting only women, with the men being only the perpetrators. This representation is problematic because it contributes to stigma

towards men who survived rape and reproduces myths such as real men cannot be raped (Banjac & Dibetso, 2013).

Although there are some reports on the rape of men in the media, in most cases, the stories contain myths and misconceptions, which can mislead readers' understanding of the rape of men and thus influence their attitudes towards the rape (Franuik et al., 2008). Firstly, the rape of men in the media is depicted as humorous, as observed in TV shows such as Game of Thrones. Secondly, the way the rape of men is storied in films or television programmes tends to reinforce views that the rape of men only happens in institutionalised settings, such as prisons (Turchik & Edwards, 2012), as observed in Yizo Yizo, a TV show. Thirdly, when films feature men being coerced to have sex with women, this tends not to be regarded as rape, as observed in Gomora, a TV drama series. Fourthly, the rape of men is portrayed as a homosexual issue (Turchik & Edwards, 2012). For example, a story on the IOL news website (2020) ran with the headline "Gay man dragged into bushes raped in Langa after a man asks for a cigarette", which arguably reinforces ideas that the rape of men is a homosexual problem. Lastly, the language used to describe the rape of men is not appropriate in that it prompts readers to view rape in a certain way and reinforce misconceptions about rape (Franuik et al., 2008). For instance, the headline of these articles (Jones, 2021; Laces, 2017) used the word alleged, which is powerful in that it can imply that the rape did not occur.

2.6. Psychological services for men who survived rape

2.6.1. Service providers

Service providers working with rape survivors include, but are not limited to, counsellors, social workers, lay providers, nurses, psychiatrists, and psychologists. Some of these service providers may or may not be professionally trained to work with men who survived rape (Tsui et al., 2010; Vanja, 2017). For example, in the study conducted by Tsui et al. (2010), it was found that out of 68 service providers, only 17 service providers self-reported that they did not receive any professional training to work with men who survived rape (Tsui et al., 2010). However, despite this fact, service providers are perceived to provide services critical to the health and psychological well-being of rape survivors (Fernandez, 2011).

2.6.2. Post-rape care centres

Post-rape care centres include rape crisis centres and NGOs, which support survivors of rape and sexual assault in South Africa since late 1999 (Pretorius & Louw, 2005). There are approximately 404 adult post-rape care centres in South Africa (Vanja, 2017). Vanja (2017) found that out of the 404 post-rape care centres, 40 centres provide advocacy with direct

service delivery to rape survivors, and amongst the 40 centres, 13 centres target and provide services to only women who survived rape while the 23 centres target and provide services to both men and women who survived rape. Only four centres target and provide services to only men who survived rape. For instance, these organisations (SAMSOSA, MatrixMen, Men for Development South Africa (MEDSA) and Health4Men) provide services to only men survivors of any victimisation, including rape (Vanja, 2017). SAMSOSA and MatrixMen work with only men survivors of abuse, whereas MEDSA works with men as both survivors and perpetrators of violence (Vanja, 2017). These organisations (LifeLine Johannesburg, Agisanang Domestic Abuse Prevention and Training (ADAPT), and Trauma Centre) are gender-inclusive and provide services to both men and women for several types of trauma symptoms related, but not limited to, crime and violence (Vanja, 2017).

Post-rape care centres play significant roles in the lives of rape survivors. For instance, survivors of rape and sexual assault can obtain a wide range of support services, including, but not limited to, psychological, emotional, social, and legal support from post-rape care centres (Lisa, 2015; Ullman, 2007; Westmarland & Alderson, 2013). The findings of Walsh and Bruce (2011) revealed that rape survivors who sought and received psychological help from post-rape care centres were less depressed and had lower levels of posttraumatic stress than those who did not receive the help. Similarly, the findings of Campbell and Martin (2001) revealed that post-rape care centres contributed to the improved health outcomes for the survivors, reduced negative responses and attitudes from the police and health professionals, and safeguarded the survivors against the distress caused by the legal process. In the study of Fernandez (2011), rape survivors who received counselling reported regaining a sense of control, trust and independence following their experiences. Given the roles of post-rape care centres in the lives of rape survivors, barriers to seeking help from post-rape care centres must be identified and addressed accordingly so that the survivors can come forward and receive help.

As discussed above, post-rape care centres are critically important in mitigating the adverse effects of rape and promoting the survivors' engagement with the criminal justice system. However, it is essential to note that most existing post-rape care centres in South Africa target and serve women who survived rape (Vanja, 2017). However, only a few (four) provide services to only men who survived rape (Vanja, 2017). According to Singh (2005), this discourages men who survived rape from approaching these centres because the services may be far from where they stay.

Moreover, many barriers currently exist in post-rape care centres that impede the ultimate goals of survivor support and rape eradication (Vanja, 2017). In South Africa, lack of resources such as funding and service providers training (Gevers & Abrahams, 2015; Vanja, 2017), weak legal and criminal justice systems, inconsistent implementation of policies and

guidelines (Vanja, 2017) are common barriers faced by many post-rape care centres, and thus they struggle to meet particular needs of rape survivors. For example, a lack of funding for post-rape care centres implies that the survivors have to wait for variable amounts of time or travel long distances to receive help separate from the criminal justice system (Green et al., 2015). Moreover, staff shortage is related to a lack of funding (Gevers & Abrahams, 2015; Vanja, 2017), which implies that the survivors have to wait, following the rape or after their disclosure to receive the emotional support needed. Therefore, by providing adequate funding and training, post-rape care centres will achieve their ultimate goals of encouraging rape survivors to come forward and seek help (Vanja, 2017).

2.7. Help-seeking behaviours of men who survived rape

There is a growing body of literature on the importance of seeking professional help in recovering from and moderating the severe and far-reaching effects of rape (Meinck et al., 2017). Despite this, the help-seeking behaviours of men who survived rape and sexual assault in non-institutionalised settings in South Africa are not widely known (Pretorius & Hull, 2005). Although these studies (Adams, 2016; Dunkle et al., 2013; Jewkes et al., 2009; Jewkes et al., 2011a; Optimus Study South Africa, 2016) showed that the prevalence rates of the rape of men in South Africa are high, only a few men who survived rape come forward and seek counselling (Artz et al., 2016; Kotze, 2017). For example, Rees Mann (as cited in Kotze, 2017) asserted that men who survived sexual assault are 10 times less likely than women who survived sexual assault to seek help and report their sexual assault to the police.

Consistent with international literature, men who survived rape are less likely to seek professional help (Donne et al., 2018; Kansiime et al., 2018; Masho & Alvanzo, 2010; Tsui et al., 2010). For example, a cross-sectional study conducted by Masho and Alvanzo (2010), undertaken among the men population of Virginia, found that among the 91 men who survived rape, only 16 men sought professional help. The apparent reluctance of men who survived rape to seek psycho-social support and counselling raises serious concerns given the benefits of counselling and psycho-social support in their lives (see Campbell & Martin, 2001; Fernandez, 2011; Roehrs, 2011; Walsh & Bruce, 2011). Although some men sought help after being raped (see Meinck et al., 2017; Optimus Study South Africa, 2016), it is worth noting that only a few of them sought help. The studies of (Frazier, 1993; Masho & Alvanzo, 2010; Walker et al., 2005b) showed that most men who sought help after their rape had severe physical injuries. Therefore, based on the findings of these studies (Frazier, 1993; Letsela & Ratele, 2009; Masho & Alvanzo, 2010; Walker et al., 2005b), it is safe to conclude that most men who survived rape seek help in cases where they experienced severe physical injuries.

Rape counsellors in SAMSOSA and MatrixMen organisations voiced that many men who survived rape seek help for rape, which occurred when they were young (Vanja, 2017). For example, the findings of Jina et al. (2020), undertaken in South Africa, revealed that 28.7% of boys and adult men who survived rape (60 out of 209) took months to years before reporting their rape to the police. Further, the study revealed that more children than adults' survivors (33.3% versus 24.7%) were less likely to report the rape (Jina et al., 2020). This finding of Jina et al. (2020) is consistent with the findings of Collings et al. (2005). Therefore, although some men who survived rape sought help, the help, in most cases, was delayed. Meinck et al. (2017) argue that the process of disclosure and seeking help is delayed because children rape survivors fear that they will be punished, not be believed, or be blamed if they disclose their rape. Collings et al. (2005) argue that children rape survivors disclose what happened to them in a vague, incomplete, or partial manner, thus delaying reporting the rape. At the same time, Davies et al. (2000) argue that delay in seeking help is related to men's beliefs about masculinity/ies. These studies (King & Woollett, 1997; Machisa et al., 2017) highlight that the long delay in reporting the rape underestimates the prevalence rates of the rape of boys and men, and thus helps to reinforce the myth that men and boys cannot be raped. Therefore, we must make an effort to reach men and boys (and women and girls) who survived rape and sexual assault so that they can come forward and receive psychological help. Meinck et al. (2017) suggested that this could be done through research by exploring and addressing barriers to psychological services.

2.8. Barriers to seeking counselling and psycho-social support

Studies were undertaken to determine barriers to psychological services experiences by men who survived rape (Heath et al., 2017; Kansiime et al., 2018; O'Brien et al., 2005; Perkins, 2015; Tsui et al., 2010; Wester, 2008; Yousaf et al., 2015). These barriers are categorised into socio-cultural barriers, and health system and infrastructural barriers (Kansiime et al., 2018). Following is the discussion of these barriers.

2.8.1. Masculinity/ies and gender(ed) expectations

Service providers in the Kansiime et al. (2018) study shared that many men who survived rape do not seek professional help because of the cultural conceptualisation of masculinity/ies. The service providers asserted that men symbolise strength and authority in certain African cultures and communities. As a result, they are perceived to be invulnerable to any form of violation, including rape and sexual violence. For instance, they are expected to fight back their aggressor(s) or attacker(s) during rape (Kansiime et al., 2018). Therefore, disclosing their

victim status, they admit they were vulnerable and lacked control – traits inconsistent with hegemonic masculinity/ies. Further, Kansiime et al. (2018) study revealed that the notions of masculinity/ies discourage men who survived rape and men generally from seeking help. The process of seeking help is co-attached with the gendered notion of weakness. As a result, many men who survived rape, mostly African men, are reluctant to seek psychological help to avoid appearing weak in the eyes of others (Kansiime et al., 2018).

2.8.2. Myths regarding the rape of men

Myths regarding the rape of men are misconceptions, stereotypes, or false beliefs about the rape of men, the survivors, and the perpetrators (Anderson, 2007). Their functions are to undermine the seriousness of the rape of men and justify the rape (Anderson & Quinn, 2009). They endorse rape, vindicate the perpetrators, and blame the survivors for allowing the rape to happen (Newcombe et al., 2008). Further, myths regarding the rape of men maintain the invisibility of the rape (Kassing et al., 2005). The common myths include: (1) real men cannot be raped, (2) men are the initiators of sex, (3) men must defend themselves against rape, (4) the presence of the victim's physiological responses (such as erection and ejaculation) during the rape is an indication of enjoyment and consent, and (5) men who survived rape are gays (Kassing et al., 2005). These myths undermine men survivors' experiences of rape and contribute to the underreporting of the rape of men because they do not acknowledge men as victims of rape (Turchik & Edwards, 2012).

The rape of men by other men is presently seen as a homosexual or gay encounter (Abdullah-Khan, 2002; Peters, 2009). It is believed that men who survived rape are homosexuals, giving little thought to the possibility that all men, regardless of their sexuality, can be victims of rape. In the face of threat, such as during rape, it is expected that a real man will enact physical resistance, strength, aggression, bravery, power, and dominance (that is, act in a masculine way) to fight off the attacker(s) (Turchik & Edwards, 2012). Therefore, men who survived rape are perceived as partaking in consensual sex or having failed in their duty as real men (Adams, 2016; Javaid, 2014, 2018). In other words, they are perceived as weak and less of a man. The representation that the rape of men is a homosexual encounter is problematic because it encourages the myth that heterosexual men cannot be raped (Abdullah-Khan, 2002). Kassing et al. (2005) show that most men have negative attitudes towards gay men and the rape of men because gay men deviate from the norms of masculinity/ies and are often subjected to less empathy when they are the victims of rape. Walker (2005) and Wester (2008) show that gay men are murdered and assaulted for their perceived violation of the hegemonic masculinity/ies.

Moreover, gay men still suffer from political and cultural exclusion and abuse (Connell, 2013). Therefore, because of these, men who survived rape may feel humiliated and guilt of being raped, especially in a society where myths regarding the rape of men exist (McDonald & Tijerino, 2013). Moreover, they may become reluctant to disclose their rape experiences to maintain their masculinity/ies and not be perceived as homosexuals (McDonald & Tijerino, 2013; Pitfield, 2013).

There is a belief that men who experience physiological responses (that is, erection and ejaculation) during the rape enjoyed the rape or have consented to the rape (Abdullah-Khan, 2002; Katz, 2001); therefore, they are homosexuals (Booyens, 2008). This false belief functions to decriminalise the rape of men in the minds of society (Abdullah-Khan, 2002). However, the extensive body of literature highlight that the presence of the physiological responses during rape does not necessarily indicates enjoyment or consent on the part of the survivors (Bancroft, 1980; Bullock & Beckson, 2011; Groth & Burgess, 1980; Kinsey et al., 1948; Mezey & King, 1989; Redmond et al., 1983; Sarrel & Masters, 1982). For instance, anxiety, pain, terror, or any form of distress can also stimulate the physiological responses (Bancroft, 1980; Bullock & Beckson, 2011; Groth & Burgess, 1980; Kinsey et al., 1948; Mezey & King, 1989; Redmond et al., 1983; Sarrel & Masters, 1982). For example, in the study of Mezey and King (1989), men experienced erection due to extreme anxiety experienced during the rape. Despite this fact, many men who survived rape continue to question their masculinity/ies and sexuality because of the physiological responses even though literature has shown that the physiological response can also occur in a context of distress (Groth & Burgess, 1980; Tewksbury, 2007).

It is noteworthy that these rape myths are not only present in society. However, they are also present in the criminal justice system and post-rape care centres that provide services to men who survived rape. For example, Javaid (2017) found toxic gender expectations of men and preconceptions, such as, men cannot be raped, real men can defend themselves, and women cannot rape men among the police and rape counsellors in Britain, United Kingdom. Similarly, the study of Pretorius and Hull (2005), undertaken among men who survived rape in South Africa, found myths regarding the rape of men and gender stereotypes in the criminal justice system. For instance, in the study, men who survived rape reported that the police did not believe and take them seriously when reporting rape (Pretorius & Hull, 2005). This finding is consistent with the findings of Weiss (2010a).

Javiad (2017), Kassing et al. (2005) and Rumney (2009) note that the presence of these rape myths in the criminal justice system and post-rape care centres are problematic. Firstly, services and interventions may be denied or inadequate, thus rendering men who survived rape uncared for (Javiad, 2017). Secondly, the police and rape counsellors who hold such myths may induce victim-blaming attitudes and homophobic reactions when men who

survived rape report rape which, in turn, influence future reporting (Kassing et al., 2005). For instance, Walker et al. (2005b) found that among 40 British men who survived rape, only five men reported the rape to the police. Moreover, among the five that reported the rape, only one man said that the police were responsive and helpful. The other four reported that the police were uninterested, unsympathetic, homophobic, and did not take him seriously. Moreover, all four men who survived rape regretted their decision to report the rape to the police. Thirdly, rape myths influence societies' beliefs and responses to the rape of men and the survivors (Kassing et al., 2005). In turn, this could discourage the survivors from coming out of the closet and seek help (Javaid, 2015). Lastly, Rumney (2009) argues that the myth that real men cannot be raped may worsen the invisibility and unacknowledge the rape of men as a social problem. Therefore, it is essential to recognise which myths are harmful and eradicate them in public, criminal justice systems, and post-rape care centres.

2.8.3. Stigma

One gender-salient variable that has been identified as a barrier to help-seeking among men who survived rape is stigma. In the study conducted by Kansiime et al. (2018), rape counsellors and men who survived rape mentioned social stigma as a barrier to seeking professional help. For instance, they stressed that men who survived rape are perceived as weak, not masculine enough, and tainted with homosexuality (Kansiime et al., 2018). This stigma occurs because of the expectations of physical strength and heterosexuality attached to hegemonic masculinity/ies (Kansiime et al., 2018; Kassing et al., 2005). As a result, men who survived rape do not report the rape or disclose their rape experience to avoid further shame and stigma from others (Adams, 2016).

2.8.4. Shame

Shame is a feeling that survivors experience after rape, and it is a common emotional and psychological effect of rape (McDonald & Tijerino, 2013). Shame experienced by men who survived rape is intensified by rape myths and the dominant ideologies of masculinity/ies that declare that real men are impenetrable and invulnerable (Tsui et al., 2010). Some men who survived rape feel humiliated, undermined, and emasculated by being overpowered and sexually violated (Warby, 2001). According to rape counsellors in these studies (Kansiime et al., 2018; Tsui et al., 2010), shame discourages men who survived rape from reporting rape to the police and others. The rape counsellors in these studies reported that very often, men who survived rape are ashamed of disclosing their experience of rape because the dominant ideologies of masculinity/ies created a shared understanding of what a real a man should be

(Kansiime et al., 2018; Tsui et al., 2010). Therefore, men, more specifically heterosexual men, may feel ashamed after rape because they did not meet the expectations of masculinity/ies, which are to be strong, to be impenetrable, to be invulnerable, to defend against rape, and to avoid same-sex sexual intercourse (Connell, 2005; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; McDonald & Tijerino, 2013). These ideologies help to perpetuate the silence of the rape of men (Rumney, 2010).

2.8.5. Health system and infrastructural barriers

Other factors reported to play a role in the peculiar help-seeking behaviours of men who survived rape are health system and infrastructural barriers (Kansiime et al., 2018). For example, Kansiime et al. (2018) reported that long distances and lack of transport to post-rape care centres deter the survivors from accessing help. This barrier is especially a concern for many rape survivors living in rural areas. Although rape counsellors in the study of Kansiime et al. (2018) found that long distances and lack of transport deter men who survived rape from accessing psychological services, this finding is inconsistent with the findings of Harvey (2002). In 2002, Rape Crisis, a community-based organisation aimed at assisting the survivors of sexual violence, brought psychological interventions to men who survived rape in Pollsmoor Prison (Harvey, 2002). Harvey (2002) evaluated the effectiveness of these interventions. The study revealed that men who survived rape remained silent about their rape experiences and surprisingly, the implementation of the interventions resulted in an even more significant decrease in the number of men who sought counselling in Pollsmoor Prison (Harvey. 2002).

Kansiime et al. (2018) revealed that the language used in counselling hinders men who survived rape from seeking help. Men who survived rape in the study of Kansiime et al. (2018) stressed that during counselling interactions, rape counsellors use a language that the survivors are not proficient with or do not understand (which is primarily English). As such, language built a communication wall between the survivors and counsellors. However, counsellors in the study highlighted that translators are currently being used in counselling interactions to assist in cases where a client is not proficient in English (Kansiime et al., 2018). In addition, men who survived rape in Donne et al. (2018) study reported that psychotherapies and counselling are expensive. Thus, it becomes difficult for them to access the services.

2.9. Masculinity/ies

2.9.1. Defining gender and sex

When discussing masculinity/ies, we cannot ignore gender and sex. Therefore, it is essential to describe these gender and sex before discussing masculinity/ies. The terms gender and sex are used interchangeably. However, they imply different things. Sex refers to the biological

make-up (Giddens, 1997; Pryzgoda & Chrisler, 2000), whereas gender refers to the shared expectations and norms within a society about what roles, qualities, and behaviours are considered appropriate for women and men (Barker et al., 2011). In other words, gender is a socially constructed aspect of an individual's identity, which implies that gender is something learned, taught, and reinforced by the society in which an individual lives (Galliano, 2003; Hoy, 2012). Moreover, an individual's gender is influenced by numerous factors, including, but are not limited to, social class, race, culture, ethnicity, age, and religion (Spade & Valentine, 2011).

2.9.2. Defining masculinity/ies

Defining masculinity/ies is a complicated process (Connell, 1995; Smith, 1996) because the concept means different things to different people based on class, culture, race, age, and geographical contexts (Gennrich, 2013; Javaid, 2017). Moreover, different authors depending on their field of study use the concept of masculinity/ies differently (Gennrich, 2013; Hearn, 1996; Khan, 2009). Lindeggar and Maxwell (2007, p. 9) define masculinity/ies as a "socially constructed phenomenon, and everyday system of beliefs and performances that regulate behaviours between men and women as well as between men and other men." Whitehead and Barrett (2001, p. 15) define masculinity/ies as "behaviours, languages and practices, existing in specific cultural and organisational locations, which are commonly associated with males and thus culturally defined as not feminine." Kimmel (2004) defines masculinity/ies as a set of social roles, behaviours, and meanings prescribed for men in any given society across time. These authors (Kimmell, 2004; Kimmell et al., 2005; Seidler, 2006) argue that masculinity/ies is/are what men think and feel and how they behave. Morrell (2001) defines masculinity/ies as a specific gender identity that belong to a specific male person. Although there are varying definitions of masculinity/ies, in this study, the concept of masculinity/ies refers to behaviours, traits, characteristics, and practices in relation to socio-cultural context and historical time that differentiates a man from a woman and a heterosexual man from a homosexual man (Whitehead & Barrett, 2001).

Historically, masculinity/ies was perceived as the natural psychological or social extension of the biologically sexed male body (Andersen, 2006; Anderson, 2007). However, it is now broadly understood as a set of interlinked and gender-related attitudes, and behaviours that most men and boys are expected to demonstrate and (re)perform within a given society to prove their manhood (Gennrich, 2013; Shefer et al., 2007). In this regard, masculinity/ies can be best conceptualised as being socially constructed rather than biologically determined and differs across culture, ethnicity, context, class, and age (Connell, 1995, 2005; Courtenay, 2000; Gennrich, 2013). From an early age, boys are raised to understand desirable and undesirable behaviours and are expected to live according to such gender norms (Gennrich,

2013). For instance, boys are raised not to cry (Kansiime et al., 2018; Vogel et al., 2011). As a result, those who cry are relegated to the subordinated masculinity/ies (Langa & Eagle, 2008) and called sissy boys (Connell, 1995).

There is no universal blueprint of masculinity/ies across all cultures and historical moments (Connell, 2000; Morrell, 2001). Masculinity/ies differ across race, age, class, ethnicity, culture, socioeconomic position, religion, and geographic location, as Courtenay (2000) and Gennrich (2013) revealed. For example, although most men in South Africa may agree that a man should be physically tough (Chimanzi, 2016; Lindegger & Maxwell, 2007; Mfecane et al., 2005; Ratele, 2006), how individual men demonstrate toughness is influenced by their ethnicity, age, sexuality, and social class. Depending on these factors, men could use fists, guns, physical labour, or cars to demonstrate masculinity/ies (Cock, 2001). Hence, Connell (2000) and Frosh et al. (2002) argue that we need to talk of masculinities in plural instead of masculinity/ies as a single entity to acknowledge the multiple forms of masculinity/ies.

Although notions of masculinity/ies differ locally, regionally, and globally (Connell, 1995), one form of masculinity/ies is/are culturally glorified and dignified. Connell (1995) defines this form as hegemonic masculinity/ies. Connell (1995) articulates that most societies encourage men to embody hegemonic masculinity/ies, the dominant form of masculinity/ies honoured in society and subordinate women and other men. This form of masculinity/ies marginalises other masculinity/ies such as subordinate, marginalised, and complicit masculinities (Connell, 1995; Ratele, 2008). This form of masculinity/ies is/are discussed in the next chapter, chapter three.

Harrison (1978) observed that men who achieve traditional gender role expectations and masculine ideologies imposed upon them are perceived and taken as manly. However, those who do not achieve such expectations are considered unmanly (Connell, 1995; Harrison, 1978) and are subjected to be ridiculed and even assaulted (Graaff & Heinecken, 2017; O'Brien et al., 2005). Further, Copenhaver et al. (2000) found that most men who do not live up to the traditional gender expectations experience gender role stress. Harrison (1978) asserts that such men who are unable to meet traditional expectations overcompensate by demonstrating hyper-masculinity/ies, such as assaulting others, driving recklessly or abuse alcohol and drugs to prove to others that they are still real men (Connell, 1995; Majors & Billson, 1992; Messerschmidt, 1993).

2.9.3. African masculinity/ies

Numerous African masculinities, such as urban, rural, African, and white, change with historical moments. African masculinity/ies/manhood entails the ability to fulfil expectations from a set of roles, such as being the provider, leader, protector, initiator, and having a family

(or being sexually active) (Nedombeloni & Oyedem, 2014; Walker, 2006). African masculinity/ies also entail(s) a willingness to live according to specific values, such as caring, supportive and attentive, and having integrity (Walker, 2006). However, notions of hegemonic masculinity/ies that expect real men to be rough, pushy, and demanding (Buntu, 2012), challenge these qualities.

Furthermore, in many African communities, there continues to be widespread denial, stigmatisation, and condemnation of homosexuality (Ratele, 2014). Nonetheless, sexual intercourse among men is more common than it is assumed, and most men who penetrate other men do not consider themselves homosexuals. This phenomenon is evident in the prison context where men who survived rape are perceived to be feminised by the rape (and often called Wife), whereas the perpetrators are more masculine (Gear, 2007; Lees, 1997). African masculinity/ies also entail(s) that an ideal boy and man is brave, has strength, can stick fight, and is always ready for war (Mager, 1998; Morrell, 1998).

In many African cultures, initiation practices such as traditional male circumcision test boys' readiness to become real men (Buntu, 2012). Traditional circumcision entails going to a mountain or a bush, which is perceived to symbolise courage, brave, and endurance – qualities associated with hegemonic masculinity/ies (Tseole & Vermaak, 2020; Vincent, 2008). In many African cultures, for instance, the Xhosa culture, the practices of circumcision are believed to be one of the rites of passage that all boys should go through to achieve manhood (Gqola, 2007; Kometsi, 2004; Mgqolozana, 2009). Thus, the teachings at initiation school shape and equip young men and boys to become real men (Tseole & Vermaak, 2020). This initiation is linked to notions of manhood and masculinity/ies, boys who undergo traditional circumcision are regarded as real men, whereas uncircumcised men are regarded as unmanly. Moreover, traditionally circumcised men are afforded certain privileges and social power in society (Gwata, 2009; Ndangam, 2008; Tshemese, 2009). For instance, Gwata (2009) found that traditionally circumcised men are respected and accepted by their communities. Ndangam (2008) found a similar observation; traditionally circumcised men are given the right to address other men at men's gatherings. Therefore, many boys feel pressured to participate in initiation schools, to achieve and maintain their masculinity/ies (Tshemese, 2009).

It is important to note that African masculinities were shaped by various factors, including apartheid, colonialism, imperialism, societal socioeconomic dynamics (Morrell, 1998), religions, and the media (Morrell, 1998). For instance, religions such as Christianity disrupted African masculinities by forbidding cultural practices such as stick fighting and community rivalry; instead, it promoted a more peaceful construction of masculinity/ies based on learning, hard work, and participation in the marketplace (Morrell, 1998). On the other hand,

Christianity promoted that homosexual practice is sinful, demonic, deviant, and immoral (Morrell, 1998).

2.9.4. The construction of masculinity/ies in South Africa

The construction of masculinity/ies can be understood as different self-presentation expected from a man in any given context (Haywood & Mac an Ghaill, 2003). The social construction of masculinity/ies differs across communities and societies; however, there are overlaps (Barker & Ricardo, 2005; Chimanzi, 2016). For example, Morrell (2001) argues that there is no typical South African masculinity/ies. However, for men in South Africa, as in other parts of the world, the chief mandate for constructing hegemonic masculinity/ies is/are to embody several ideals. They include sexual prowess, invulnerable (Lindegger & Maxwell, 2007), heterosexuality (Ratele et al., 2010), financial independence, employment, or having land or livestock (Hatcher & Peacock, 2012), physical strength (Chimanzi, 2016; Ratele, 2006), violent (Lindegaard & Henriksen, 2005), emotional stoicism (Ratele, 2008); body size and physical stature (Bhana, 2005), having a family (Hendricks et al., 2010), and having a girlfriend, heterosexuality (Chimanzi, 2016). Two significant themes emerge in light of the broad characteristics of hegemonic masculinity//ies identified in the studies above. Firstly, hegemonic masculinity/ies is/are constructed by rejecting femininity/ies (Chimanzi, 2016; Ratele et al., 2007). Secondly, hegemonic masculinity/ies is/are constructed by rejecting homosexuality (Ratele, 2014). These two broader themes are discussed below.

2.9.4.1. Rejection femininity/ies

These studies (Bhana, 2005; Chimanzi, 2016; Ratele et al., 2007; Ratele et al., 2010; Shefer & Mankayi, 2007; Sideris, 2004), undertaken among young and adult men in South Africa, illustrate that hegemonic masculinity/ies is/are defined in contrast to anything resembling femininity/ies. Young and adult men who are masculine reject femininity/ies and feminine practices (Ratele et al., 2007). Femininity/ies and feminine practice include vulnerability, caring, emotional vulnerability, dependence on others, and seeking help, among other traits (Ratele et al., 2007). Boys and men who engage in social practices that demonstrate feminine norms undermine norms of masculinity/ies and thus, given subordinated status (Connell, 2005).

For example, Sideris (2004) explored the constructions of masculine identity with seven men in Mpumalanga and discovered that the men expressed a great deal of anxiety about conducting household duties (a typically feminine practice). More specifically, the men perceived domestic duties as threats to their masculine identity and thus, performing domestic

duties was associated with the relinquishment of masculine identity (Sideris, 2004). Moreover, men who perform domestic duties are considered mad, bewitched, and, at worst, a threat (Sideris, 2004). This finding is further demonstrated in Ratele et al. (2010) study, undertaken among 14 to 16 years boys across six different schools in Western Cape. In the study, the young men voiced that performing household duties, such as fixing roofs, are acceptable masculine practices, whereas cooking and taking care of children are feminine duties (Ratele et al., 2010). Further, the young men articulated that if men were to cook, they should only assist so that they are not perceived responsible for performing this feminine duty (Ratele et al., 2010).

These studies (Bhana, 2005; Blackbeard & Lindegger, 2007; Wood & Jewkes, 2001) found that masculinity/ies is/are constructed by not showing weakness or vulnerability and not expressing emotions – behaviours and practices associated with femininity/ies. For instance, being ill, assaulted, and expressing ones' emotions openly as a man is perceived as a sign of weakness and can prevent a man's claims to norms of hegemonic masculinity/ies (Bhana, 2005; Blackbeard & Lindegger, 2007; Wood & Jewkes, 2001). For instance, a study conducted by Bhana (2005) undertaken among young men in Durban revealed that boys who expressed their emotions openly were relegated to the subordinated status and were regarded as unmanly because they failed to meet the standards of masculinity/ies. Further, these boys were also excluded from playing masculine sports like soccer. Therefore, to preserve their masculinity/ies and avoid being subordinated, men who survived rape hide their rape experiences. In turn, this supports hegemonic masculinity/ies ideologies such as real men being unemotional and cannot be victims, while this is not true (Weiss, 2010b).

Furthermore, seeking and receiving counselling is perceived as a sign of weakness and failure. Seeking and receiving counselling is not something that most men would voluntarily choose to do because they do not want to appear weak (Masitha, 2012). Therefore, by successfully practising these unhealthy behaviours to demonstrate idealised forms of masculinity/ies, men can assume positions of power – relative to women and less powerful men in a patriarchal society that rewards this accomplishment.

2.9.4.2.   Rejection of homophobia

Actively rejecting homosexuality is essential for constructing hegemonic masculinity/ies in a patriarchal society (Pochmara, 2008; Ratele, 2014). Homosexuality is constructed as a threat to hegemonic masculinity/ies because it is associated with femininity/ies. As such, it is subordinated and marginalised. The only way to be considered heterosexual is to avoid any form of same-sex sexual interaction (including forced sexual interaction), avoid admitting same-sex sexual desire, discriminating, and oppressing homosexuals, having sex talk, and

having a girlfriend (Chimanzi, 2016). Men who survived rape are relegated to the subordinate masculinity/ies and are considered unmanly because of the belief that real men cannot be raped or engage in same-sex sexual intercourse (Davies & Rogers, 2006). Therefore, by actively rejecting homosexuality, boys and men are defining their heterosexuality while at the same time endorsing harmful hegemonic masculinity/ies ideologies (McGuffey & Rich, 2011).

Although the construction of masculinity/ies differs across cultures and are contextually contingent (Courtenay, 2000; Gennrich, 2013), the existence of hegemonic masculinity/ies, in all cultures place pressure on men to achieve and comply with the norms associated with it (Shefer et al., 2007). The pressure to achieve these norms and societal disapproval if they are not achieved makes hegemonic masculinities a powerful concept. Moreover, ideologies of hegemonic masculinity/ies are perceived as normal. Therefore, men who do not achieve hegemonic masculinity/ies norms are abnormal and problematic in the eyes of a patriarchal society. Attempting to behave inconsistent to norms of hegemonic masculinity/ies results in stigma, disapproval or even violence, and, therefore, it is not something that many men would voluntarily do (Graaff & Heinecken, 2017; O'Brien et al., 2005). However, the fact that hegemonic masculinity/ies is/are fluid and constantly changing provides some hope those harmful hegemonic masculinity/ies norms can shift towards ones that are more positive (Chimanzi, 2016).

2.9.5. Alternative masculinity/ies

There is evidence of alternative masculinity/ies in South Africa contesting the hegemonic masculinity/ies ideologies (Ratele et al., 2007). For instance, Ratele et al. (2007) found positive constructions of masculinity/ies, such as loving, caring and commitment to families' welfare. Similarly, Lindegger and Maxwell (2007) argue that there is some evidence to suggest that it is becoming more desirable for men to perform household duties, avoid getting drunk and assist their wives in taking care of their children. Suttner (2007) also revealed some alternative masculinity/ies in the recent African National Congress (ANC) liberation movement. For instance, Suttner (2007) notes that confident political leaders such as Chris Hani emphasised the importance of loving, caring, raising their children, and encouraging men to talk about their emotions.

In contrast, Morrell et al. (2012) argue that recent political figures do not embody elements of more equitable constructions of masculinities. Instead, they argue that the new political movement in South Africa embodies masculinity/ies that promotes sexual entitlement, violence, and patriarchy (Morrell et al., 2012). Therefore, the idea that the alternative masculinity/ies promote positive practices and behaviours remains unclear.

2.9.6. Masculinity/ies and rape

Masculinity/ies and traditional gender norms are central to how survivors and society generally understand rape and sexual assault. In South Africa, the common law previously defined rape as penile-vaginal penetration perpetrated by a man against a woman without her consent (Pantazis, 1999; Wise, 2012). Therefore, for men, the experience of being a victim of rape or sexual assault is inconsistent with the norms of hegemonic masculinity/ies (Connell, 2005; Kimmel, 2001; Wall, 2011). Boys and men are socialised to be tough, sexually aggressive, sexual prowess, not victims, and always in control (Gennrich, 2013; McDonald & Tijerino, 2013), whereas women are assigned the role of sexual gatekeepers (Hovarth & Brown, 2010). For instance, it is acceptable for a woman to deny sexual intercourse with a man than for a man to deny sexual intercourse with a woman (Davies & Rogers, 2006). Therefore, men who are victims of rape or the rape of men itself challenge ideologies of masculinity/ies that expect men to be sexually dominant, potent, and in control (Davies, 2002).

Moreover, hegemonic masculinity/ies expect men to be leading and always in control in society and being heterosexual (Connell, 1995). As such, patriarchal society expects real men to initiate, want, and pursue sex with women only. Men who admit that they have been raped strongly violate the norms of hegemonic masculinity/ies (Allen, 2002). It is, therefore, not surprising that men who survived rape are reluctant to disclose their rape because disclosing about their victimisation may risk their masculinity/ies and sexuality questioned (Javaid, 2015).

2.9.7. Implications for rape counsellors

The literature on masculinity/ies reviewed in this study has important implications for counsellors who provide psychological services and support to men who survived rape and men generally. In the broadest sense, the reviewed literature in this study recommends that rape counsellors understand certain masculine ideologies and traditional gender roles that men who survived rape endorse to adjust interventions and treatment under such ideological differences (Perkins, 2015). The literature also recommends that rape counsellors assess the extent to which men who survived rape adhere to traditional male gender roles because all treatment decisions should be based on this important clinical information. In addition, the counsellors should familiarise themselves with the pervasive effects that traditional norms of masculinity/ies and gender roles have on the help-seeking behaviours of men who survived rape and their healing process. Finally, rape counsellors should consciously understand their own biases regarding various masculinity/ies ideologies and recognise how their biases can affect counselling interactions (Green et al., 2015).

2.9.8. Conclusion

The literature reviewed in this study indicates that most men who survived rape in South Africa and worldwide do not seek psychological help. Much of the literature reviewed identified ideologies, norms, and practices of hegemonic masculinity/ies as a central barrier to accessing help for many men who survived rape. As a result, men who survived rape and men at large have less favourable attitudes and behaviours towards seeking professional help. Traditional masculine ideologies (such as independence, invulnerability, emotional restrictiveness, and self-reliance) are incongruent with seeking and receiving psychological help. Therefore, men who survived rape are reluctant to seek help because of the fear of appearing weak and unmanly. The following chapter discussed the theoretical framework used by this study.

CHAPTER 3: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1.   Introduction

This chapter discussed the theoretical framework guiding this study. The first section discussed the social constructionist paradigm to highlight how social processes sustain knowledge and how realities are socially constructed, constituted through language. The next section of this chapter was an exploration of Connell's theory of multiple masculinities in more detail as the theoretical framework of this study. Following was the discussion of masculinity/ies studies. Finally, this chapter concluded by looking at some criticisms and reformulations of the concept of hegemonic masculinity/ies.

3.2.   Social constructionist paradigm

Connell's theory of multiple masculinities is located broadly within the social constructionist paradigm. Therefore, the researcher must discuss the social constructionism paradigm before moving to the theory of multiple masculinities. Social constructionism is a movement that emerged as a postmodernist critique of realist epistemology. Its emphasis is on everyday interactions between individuals and using language to construct their reality and reject independent reality and objective truth (Gergen, 1973). It argues that true objectivity is absent in the human sciences because all methods require one set of subjective humans to rate another set of subjective humans (Gergen, 1985). In this view, individuals or groups of individuals socially define this reality. Therefore, multiple realities rather than single realities are constructed. Moreover, individuals or groups socially construct reality using agreed and shared meanings communicated through language (Berger & Luckman cited in Speed, 1991). In this regard, masculinity/ies and the rape of men are not natural givens or subjective experiences, but social identities constructed by individuals or groups of individuals through social interactions. Therefore, men who survived rape will experience rape differently and have different meanings and understandings of rape depending on culture, historical context, and age, among other factors.

Social constructionism argues that knowledge is not objective and external; however, it is inter-subjective, historically, and culturally relative (Gergen, 1973). In this view, knowledge does not reside within the individual's mind, but we construct it through social processes and interactions in which we constantly engage (Gergen, 1985). In line with social constructionism, masculinity/ies is/are not unitary and universal (as biological determinists claim). However, individuals or groups construct masculinity/ies in specific social, cultural, and historical contexts, creating multiple understandings of masculinity/ies. Hence, Connell (2000) speaks of masculinities in plural rather than masculinity/ies in singular.

3.3. Connell's theory of multiple masculinities

Connell's theory of multiple masculinities recognises the existence of multiple constructions of masculinity/ies to reveal how men position themselves to hegemonic standards and other men. In other words, Connell's theory of multiple masculinities asserts that there are differences between what it means to be a man across the world due to various factors including, but not limited to, cultural and historical factors, race, and socioeconomic status (Connell, 1995). Connell's theory of multiple masculinities provides four categories of masculinity/ies: hegemonic masculinity/ies, complicit masculinity/ies, subordinated masculinity/ies, and marginalised masculinity/ies (Connell, 1995). These masculinity/ies are relational, fluid, and constantly evolving over time and within particular social, cultural, and geographical contexts (Connell, 1995). In this study, the researcher assumed that these different forms of masculinity/ies have a specific influence on how men who survived rape behave towards seeking psychological help. Below is a discussion of these forms of masculinity/ies.

3.3.1 Hegemonic masculinity/ies

Connell (1995, p. 77) defines hegemonic masculinity/ies as "the configuration of gender practice which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of the legitimacy of patriarchy, which guarantees (or is taken to guarantee) the dominant position of men and the subordination of women and other men who are considered to be weak." Conceptually, hegemonic masculinity/ies proposes to explain how and why men maintain dominant social roles over women and femininity/ies, and other men and alternative forms of masculinity/ies, including effeminate and gay masculinities (Connell, 1995). Hegemonic masculinity/ies prevails over other forms of masculinity/ies. It is the most honoured way of being a man and requires all men to position themselves to the hegemonic standards. However, it is not entirely dominant; hegemonic masculinity/ies only exists in relation to femininity/ies and non-hegemonic forms of masculinity/ies.

Hegemonic masculinity/ies has/have different attributes across time and within social, cultural, and geographical contexts. However, specific attributes tend to be consistent. First, the most common attributes include men being physically tough, involving using violence to dominate and control others (Cohen, 2010; Lindegger & Maxwell, 2007). Second, heterosexuality on the part of men is linked to homophobia and rejection of same-sex sexual interaction even, forced interaction (Anderson, 2005). Third, self-reliance and independence include unwillingness to admit weakness or dependency (Kupers, 2005). Fourth, inability to

express emotions other than anger. Last, sexual prowess includes an uncontrollable sexual appetite and risky sexual practices such as not using condoms and having multiple sexual partners (Lindegger & Maxwell, 2007; Mankayi, 2008; Masitha, 2012; Ratele et al., 2007). Other attributes generally associated with the hegemonic masculinity/ies relates to the ability to offer protection and solutions, always in control, and rejection of femininity/ies and all feminine attributes. All these attributes are perceived as constituting a natural form of manhood against which all others are judged. Therefore, men and boys must demonstrate these attributes to be accepted in society.

Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) assert that hegemonic masculinity/ies is/are not normal in statistical common sense; only a few, if any, men will attain it because it imposes an ideal set of traits that stipulate that a real man can never be feminine. For instance, men who survived rape (Adams, 2016; Gifford, 2004), gay men, and effeminate men do not enact hegemonic masculinity/ies (Langa & Eagle, 2008). For men who survived rape, their victim status (in other words admitting the victim status), and by not being able to fight back their attacker(s), are perceived as engaging in consensual sexual interactions or not demonstrating physical strength and bravery (Adams, 2016; Javaid, 2014, 2018). All these together challenges and are incongruent with the standards of hegemonic masculinity/ies. However, hegemonic masculinity/ies is/are normative because it embodies the most honoured man's way in a patriarchal society (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). For instance, men who enact this form of masculinity/ies are considered phenomenally successful and admired by their peers (Heilman & Barker, 2018). Therefore, it is understandable that most men strive to conform to hegemonic masculinity/ies or desire to be perceived masculine in societies and cultures where privileges are distributed unequally according to gender and sexuality. This normative power of hegemonic masculinity/ies requires all men to position themselves to it and allows gender inequality to continue to be institutionalised and continued throughout generations, as well as changes in regimes (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005).

Attributes defining hegemonic masculinity/ies are not always negative (Sloan et al., 2015). However, some attributes of hegemonic masculinity/ies interfere with men and boys health and psychological well-being. For instance, attributes of hegemonic masculinity/ies characterised by being self-reliant and independent may influence how men and boys view help-seeking (Courtenay, 2001). Attributes of hegemonic masculinity/ies that expect men and boys to have uncontrollable sexual appetite often results in men and boys engaging in sexual risk-taking behaviours, such as having multiple sexual partners and not using condoms. Thus, attributes of hegemonic masculinity/ies put often results in men and boys at the risk of contracting Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV) and other Sexual Transmitted illnesses (STIs) (Shefer, 2003; Wood & Jewkes, 2001). These attributes also influence most men who survived rape from disclosing their rape and seeking help to avoid appearing weak in the eyes

of others (Weis, 2012). In addition, this has the effect of ensuring that women who perpetrate rape continue to be unthinkable as perpetrators of rape (Kramer, 2011). The attribute of hegemonic masculinity/ies that expects men and boys to act tough often results in men and boys who avoid health-promoting behaviours when sexually assaulted because they perceive health-promoting behaviours as feminine (Courtenay, 2001; Gordon et al., 2013). These studies (Gordon et al., 2013; Griffith et al., 2012; Sloan et al., 2015) show that masculine men would risk their health and well-being to avoid appearing feminine, weak, and not masculine enough to others.

Some men and boys experience pressure to comply with ideologies of hegemonic masculinity/ies, which may contribute to health and interpersonal risks, such as the ones discussed above. However, Anderson (2005, 2008), Connell (2000) as well as Frosh et al. (2002) found that some men and boys, across different contexts, resist and challenge the standards of hegemonic masculinity/ies, despite the observation that it is not an easy process, as it involves facing discrimination and subordination. These men resist and challenge hegemonic masculinity/ies' standards by engaging in non-heteronormative practices and rejecting homophobia and misogyny (Anderson, 2008). For instance, boys in the study conducted by Langa (2012) used religious beliefs, such as sex before marriage is a sin, to challenge and reject norms of hegemonic masculinity/ies that require sexual prowess and sexual risk-taking behaviours on the part of men and boys. Moreover, men who engage in same-sex sexual acts and admit same-sex sexual desire are challenging ideologies of hegemonic masculinity/ies.

However, Frosh et al. (2002) argue that hegemonic masculinity/ies is/are reproduced regardless of whether some men choose to comply with or resist ideals of hegemonic masculinity/ies. Arguably, men who resist hegemonic masculine ideals do little to challenge the gender order that generally subordinates other men and women (Frosh et al., 2002). Moreover, they continue to privilege hegemonic masculinity/ies over femininity/ies and value heterosexuality over homosexuality (Wetherell & Edley, 1999). For instance, men in the study conducted by Wetherell and Edley (1999) distanced themselves from extreme forms of hegemonic masculinity/ies. However, they maintained gender oppressive ways of behaving, such as valuing independence and authoritativeness (Wetherell & Edley, 1999). Therefore, hegemonic masculinity/ies will continue to be the most visible in societies and characterise what it means to be a real man, as Frosh et al. (2002) argued. By looking at the resistance in terms of hegemonic masculinities, some men can now realise that there are numerous ways of being a man and that hegemonic masculinity/ies is/are one way of being a man, but not the only way of being a man.

3.3.2   Complicit masculinity/ies

Complicit masculinity/ies entails men who benefit from patriarchal dividends but do not enact the normative standards of hegemonic masculinity/ies (Connell, 1995). By patriarchal dividend, the researcher means men's privileged position in society. For example, these men are non-violent, sensitive, and perform household duties – practices that are inconsistent with the standards of hegemonic masculinity/ies. However, they are sustaining and reproducing the standards of hegemonic masculinity/ies in that they are aware of both negative and positive traits of hegemonic masculinity/ies and its influences in society but do little or nothing to challenge patriarchy (Gennrich, 2013; Morrell, 1998).

For example, complicit masculinity/ies can be understood in the difference between rugby players (those who run on the field) and the fans (those that sit cheering from the sidelines) (Connell, 1995). The fans cheer and admire the hegemonic version of masculinity/ies of the rugby players even though they do not embody the version themselves (Connell (1995). These fans remain complicit in supporting the hegemonic version of masculinity/ies in that they may do little to challenge it and patriarchy, generally. Likewise, men who are against rape generally but ridicule men who survived rape are also complicit in that they do nothing to challenge the hegemonic version of masculinity/ies and myths surrounding the rape of men, such as real men cannot be raped or be victims of rape.

3.3.3   Marginalised masculinity/ies

Marginalised masculinity/ies entails men who share many hegemonic masculinity/ies traits (such as being violent and avoiding weakness). However, they have no physical power to act in society because they belong to, for instance, oppressed race, class, age, and ethnicity groups. Marginalised masculinity/ies is/are suppressed because it is a threat to hegemonic masculinity/ies and can undermine patriarchal assumptions about the dominance of men over women. For example, unemployed men, immigrants, gangs (Morrell, 1998), disabled men (Connell, 1995; Evans et al., 2011) fall into this form of masculinity/ies.

African masculinity/ies was also an example of marginalised masculinity/ies in the wake of politically dominant 'white' masculinities during the Apartheid era in South Africa (Morrell, 1998). Under apartheid, African masculinity/ies were marginalised due to their inability to achieve the hegemonic standards due to being non-white, lack of economic and political power, inferior educational opportunities and growing up in impoverished communities, among other factors. Factors such as lack of economic power and inferior educational opportunities influence some men to achieve standards of hegemonic masculinity/ies such as being a financial provider to date.

3.3.4   Subordinated masculinity/ies

Subordinated masculinity/ies entails men who fail to live up to the societal and gendered expectations of what it means to be a real man (Connell, 1995). In other words, this form of masculinity/ies deviates from the form of masculinity/ies that is honoured in a particular context, the hegemonic masculinity/ies. Subordinated masculinity/ies is/are positioned at the bottom of the masculine hierarchy, is symbolically assimilated to femininity/ies because it entails many traits similar to femininity/ies (Swain, 2006). Therefore, men who fall into this form of masculinity/ies are afforded less status in society and are not considered masculine (Langa & Eagle, 2008). Men who survived rape (Javaid, 2015b), homosexual men, effeminate men (Connell, 1995; Demetriou, 2001) fall into this form of masculinity/ies because they are unable to achieve the expectations of hegemonic masculinity/ies such as being physically strong, invulnerable, and heterosexuality (Langa, 2012).

Men who survived rape who do not achieve the expectations of hegemonic masculinity/ies are subjected to a feminised and subordinated position. These men may be positioned as subordinated, powerless and feminine, resulting from their inability of fighting off their attacker (s), not showing bravery, courage and strength (Javaid, 2015b). Moreover, men who survived rape are positioned a subordinated status because men's victimisation is equated to femininity/ies, weakness, and lack of control. Therefore, through their rape, men can be constructed as hybridised feminine men. Moreover, men who are subordinated are oppressed and subjugated (Swain, 2006) and often called in derogatory names that are blurred with femininity/ies, such as yimvu (Zulu word for sheep) (Bhana, 2004), sissy (Connell, 1995), and nerds (Gilbert & Gilbert, 1998). Therefore, resisting hegemonic masculinity/ies is/are not something many men would voluntarily choose to do.

According to Messerschmidt (2000), men often find ways to enhance their hegemonic masculinity/ies when their status of hegemonic masculinity/ies is/are being challenged. For example, by not disclosing their victim status to others and not reporting their rape to police or rape counsellors, men who survived rape can preserve their hegemonic masculinity/ies status in that disclosure of powerlessness and weakness are hidden from the public. In other words, men who do not disclose their victimisation protect themselves from having their masculinity/ies and sexuality questioned (Javaid, 2015a). Moreover, they protect themselves from further humiliation, guilt and judgements because something (that is, rape) that is believed to happen only to women has happened to them (Rumney, 2008). However, non-disclosure of their victimisation is problematic because help-seeking can be avoided depending on their context, support they receive, and the amount of stigma they are suffering (Jewkes et al., 2015). Moreover, they may reject opportunities for counselling, therapies and psycho-social support groups (Jewkes et al., 2015). Consequently, these survivors may deny the need for help and thus, not receive the help they merit.

The existence of multiple masculinities means seeking and asking help from other men have the potential to become hegemonic, and therefore lead to men who come forward and disclose their victimisation. However, this is not to say that the standards of hegemonic masculinity/ies are quick to change and will be displaced with positive constructions of masculinity/ies. Instead, this study argues that as we understand differing representations of masculinity/ies, we can challenge existing negative constructions of masculinity/ies and encourage positive constructions of masculinity/ies as a society.

3.4.   Masculinity/ies studies

Masculinity/ies is/are an area of sociology that has since the mid-1950s gained much favour in research (Whitehead & Barrett, 2001). In South Africa, the concept of masculinity/ies has/have been applied to explain complex psycho-social problems such as HIV/AIDS (Masitha, 2012; Newburn & Stanko, 1994; Thomson, 2009), violence against women (see Graaff & Heinecken, 2017; Morrell et al., 2013; Newburn & Stanko, 1994), and gender inequality and injustice (see Groes-Green 2009; Morrell et al., 2012; Morrell et al., 2013) among other problems. This broad usage of masculinity/ies has/have led to applying the concept of masculinity/ies across different disciplines such as education, anthropology, psychology, history, and epidemiology, with each discipline providing a particular emphasis (Glover, 2017). Following is a discussion of examples of studies that employed the concept of masculinity/ies to explore how the hegemonic standards of masculinity/ies negatively influence the health and psychological well-being of men who survived rape and men generally.

Chimanzi (2016) explored the way boys in Grade 7 interact with each other and girls and how they understand the world around them in the context of gender relations. Chimanzi (2016) found that the boys constructed masculinity/ies through sex talk, heterosexuality, having girlfriends, toughness, power, homosocial groups, observing sex roles, and anti-authority. Further, it was demonstrated that these masculine ideals put pressure on boys who behave inconsistently. For instance, boys who did not have girlfriends were unhappy because they could not join the discussions. In addition, many boys and girls expressed their disdain for gays and homosexual acts.

Similarly, Masitha (2012) explored how masculinity/ies and sexuality are constructed among young men in KwaZulu-Natal. For example, Masitha (2012) found that young men are reluctant to use condoms during sexual intercourse and label women who carry condoms as prostitutes– a construction that expects men to be initiators, virile, invulnerable, brave, and

thrill-seeking. In addition, Masitha (2012) found that young men seek to be providers, leaders, and protectors– constructions that expect men to be independent, self-reliant, and strong.

Thomson (2009) applied the concept of masculinity/ies and hegemonic masculinity/ies to explore the links between masculinity/ies and the spread of HIV/AIDS among 15 adolescent boys in KwaZulu Natal. Thomson (2009) found the relationship between masculinity/ies and the spread of HIV/AIDS among the adolescents. Ideologies of hegemonic masculinity/ies that expect men and young men to abuse alcohol and have multiple sexual partners encourage behavioural patterns that contribute to the spread of HIV/AIDS (Thomson, 2009). Moreover, the study revealed that adolescents' boys are experiencing peer pressure to engage in sex from a young age, to have multiple sexual partners, and to have a negative attitude towards condoms. The above are aspects of hegemonic masculinity/ies that exacerbate the spread and impact of HIV (Thomson, 2009).

Similarly, Sikweyiya et al. (2015) explored the effect of HIV on the lives of men living with HIV in South Africa and their constructs of masculinity/ies. Sikweyiya et al. (2015) found that men in the study constructed their masculinity/ies through pleasure-seeking, not using a condom during sex, and having multiple sexual partners – practices associated with hegemonic masculinity/ies. However, after being diagnosed with HIV, they believed they departed from hegemonic masculinity/ies because they could no longer meet hegemonic masculinity/ies standards after being infected with HIV (Sikweyiya et al., 2015). The notions of hegemonic masculinity/ies that men are strong and healthy presented challenges for men living with HIV. Moreover, through being concerned about their health, adhering to antiretroviral treatment, expressing needs and emotions, and seeking help from others, men living with HIV believed that they departed from hegemonic masculinity/ies as these behaviours are inconsistent with its standards (Sikweyiya et al., 2015). Therefore, living with HIV undermines their ability to perform the expected roles, resulting in feelings of powerlessness, distress, and worthlessness (Sikweyiya et al., 2015). Based on the findings from the study by Sikweyiya et al. (2015), HIV-positive diagnosis prevents men living with HIV from claiming some of the tropes of hegemonic masculinity/ies.

Letsela and Ratele (2009) examined constructions of masculinity/ies of South African men to their health-seeking behaviours. The findings revealed that most South African men are reluctant to seek help except in cases of a severe illness (Letsela & Ratele, 2009). For instance, 63% of men (29 of 46) sought health care check-ups, whereas 37% (17 of 46) reported not seeking health care. It could be argued that not seeking help from health professionals supports and embraces norms of hegemonic masculinity/ies, such as real men are tough and invulnerable (Letsela & Ratele, 2009). Therefore, seeking health services is perceived as an unmasculine activity.

Internationally, Javaid (2018) applied the framework of masculinity/ies to understand and explain rape from the perspectives of rape counsellors, caseworkers, therapists, and police officers in Britain, the United Kingdom. The findings of Javaid (2018) explored different ways in which rape is constructed and responded to by society. For example, the study revealed that the rape of men is a process of psycho-social emasculation typically informed by the societal norms and gendered expectations of masculinity/ies (Javaid, 2018). Being penetrated feminises men, assigning them less status because they did not fight back their perpetrator(s) and thus failed to present a gender role rooted in dominance and aggression (Harrison, 1978; Javaid, 2018). While the perpetrator(s), because they acted according to the cultural standards of masculinity/ies, such as to be in control and aggressive, are perceived as manly and were assigned the dominant status (Javaid, 2018). The study conducted by Javaid (2018) also revealed that some men use rape against other men as a tool to construct and embody their hegemonic masculinity/ies. It is believed that men who rape other men achieve power, domination, control, and destroy other men's sense of masculinity/ies (Javaid, 2018). Further, the study revealed that men are generally not expected to be victims of rape but perpetrators of rape (Javaid, 2018). This perception stems from, arguably, traditional norms of masculinity/ies and gender roles maintained and supported in societies.

Javaid (2015) applied the theoretical framework of hegemonic masculinity/ies to explore men and women's experiences of rape and sexual assault in England and Wales, United Kingdom. Javaid (2015) found differences between men and women who survived rape. Firstly, men who survived rape were less likely to seek help from the police when compared to women who survived rape. Men who survived rape are reluctant to seek help because seeking help implies relying on others, admitting a need, admitting that they are weak, vulnerable, and failed to handle the issues themselves. All these traits are inconsistent with the standards of hegemonic masculinity/ies. Secondly, men who survived rape refused to accept the label victim because they perceived it as inconsistent with ideologies of masculinity/ies (Javaid, 2015). Lastly, men who survived rape reacted with more anger after rape because anger is a masculine way to deal with trauma (Javaid, 2015). In other words, anger is the only emotion that real men are allowed to express.

Courtenay (2000) explored the constructions of masculinity/ies and their influence on men's well-being among men in the United States. The study found that men are more likely than women to adopt beliefs and behaviours that increase their risks and are less likely to engage in behaviours that are linked with health and longevity (Courtenay, 2000). For instance, men reported fewer health care visits and physician contacts, suppressed their needs, denied and disregard pain and physical discomfort, made fewer health screenings, denied vulnerability, and regarded themselves as emotionally and physically strong (Courtenay, 2000). These unhealthy beliefs and behaviours that men engage in are a means

for demonstrating masculine ideals that establish them as real men. By successfully demonstrating and practising these unhealthy behaviours to demonstrate idealised forms of masculinity/ies, men construct gender; they can assume positions of power relative to women and less powerful men. It is therefore clear that some constructions of masculinity/ies are mainly unhealthy.

Perkins (2015) examined the relationship between masculinity/ies ideologies and attitudes towards seeking professional psychological help among men in the USA. In this study, Perkins (2015) found a robust negative relationship between ideologies of masculinity/ies and attitudes towards seeking psychological help; men held more negative attitudes towards seeking help for mental health problems. However, the study of Perkins (2015) examined the relationship between masculinity/ies ideologies and attitudes towards seeking professional psychological help. The study does not explain how these variables (hegemonic masculinity/ies ideologies and attitudes towards seeking professional psychological help) relate to each other. Therefore, qualitative research can help explore the negative attitudes towards seeking psychological help to develop more efficacious, targeted interventions.

The concept of masculinity/ies has/have developed diverse applications being utilised across different disciplines to provide a deeper understanding of various social problems in South Africa. However, it is noteworthy that the studies on masculinities in South Africa have focused on men's violence rather than their victimisation (Morrell et al., 2012). As a result, the sexual victimisation of men continues to remain hidden and widely neglected. Studies conducted in South Africa and worldwide have demonstrated the links between the hegemonic version of masculinity/ies and peculiar help-seeking behaviours of men generally (Letsela & Ratele, 2009; Perkins, 2015). However, so far, the researcher could not locate any study that applied the framework of multiple masculinity/ies and the framework of hegemonic masculinity/ies to understand the peculiar help-seeking behaviours of men who survived rape in South Africa. Therefore, the current study employed Connell's framework of multiple masculinity/ies, given the notions that ideologies of masculinities deter men who survived rape and men generally from seeking professional help, to understand the peculiar help-seeking behaviours of men who survived rape.

3.5.   Criticisms and reformulations of hegemonic masculinity/ies

Although Connell's concept of hegemonic masculinity/ies has/have been widely used across various disciplines, it has also been criticised by several scholars, including Connell herself to date. Broadly the criticisms include hegemonic masculinity/ies tendency towards reification (Speer, 2001), its ambiguity and overlap in usage (Beasley, 2008; Flood, 2002; Martin (1998),

its failure to acknowledge the plurality of masculinity/ies (Moller, 2007), and its association with negative traits on the part of the men (Collier, 1998).

The concept of hegemonic masculinity/ies was criticised for its tendency towards reification: who and what type of man represents hegemonic masculinity/ies and what the concept of hegemonic masculinity/ies looks like in reality. Speer (2001) argues that there is no specific hegemonic person. As such, this does little to prove that hegemonic masculinity/ies exists in reality or has an object-like status. In response to this criticism, Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) argued that the concept of hegemonic masculinity/ies is/are not representative of a specific type of man. However, it should instead be perceived as the way men position themselves in discursive practices. In addition to this, Wetherell and Edley (1999) argue that men can adopt hegemonic masculinity/ies when it is desirable but then discursively position themselves to other constructions of masculinity/ies (subject positions) that suits them. Hegemonic masculinity/ies, therefore, is a way that men position themselves discursively by taking up various subject positions to the standards of hegemonic masculinity/ies.

Martin (1998) criticises the concept of hegemonic masculinity/ies for leading to inconsistent applications. According to Martin (1998), some scholars equate hegemonic masculinity/ies with other forms of masculinity/ies that are dominant (the most culturally celebrated or the most common in particular settings) but do not legitimate men's power over other men and women. Examples of this are those masculinity/ies practised by politicians, celebrities, and corporate heads, simply because they are in positions of power. Beasley (2008) and Flood (2002) call this inconsistent application a 'slippage'. They argue that such dominant forms of masculinity/ies do little to legitimate gender inequality; therefore, they should not be labelled hegemonic masculinity/ies (Beasley, 2008 & Flood, 2002). In response to this criticism, Messerschmidt (2016) differentiates hegemonic masculinity/ies, dominant masculinity/ies, and dominating masculinities. Hegemonic masculinity/ies refers to masculinity/ies (locally, regionally, and globally) that legitimate gender inequality (Messerschmidt, 2016). Dominant masculinity/ies refers to masculinity/ies (locally, regionally, and globally) that are most celebrated or common in a particular setting but are not always hegemonic (Messerschmidt, 2016). Dominating masculinities refers to masculinity/ies (locally, regionally, and globally) that include controlling people and events, commanding and controlling particular interactions, and exercising power but do not necessarily legitimate gender inequality (Messerschmidt, 2016). Messerschmidt (2016) argues that although dominant and dominating masculinities can be hegemonic, they should not be categorised as hegemonic if they do not legitimate gender inequality.

Jefferson (2002) argues that the concept of hegemonic masculinity/ies tends to speak of one pattern. That is, hegemonic masculinity/ies are considered singular and universal. In

reality, the concept of hegemonic masculinity/ies is/are not fixed and changes over time (see Jewkes et al., 2015; Moller, 2007; Ratele, 2012). In response to this criticism, Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) call attention to the agency of dynamics within hegemonic masculinity/ies across three levels. They include the local, regional, and global levels (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). The local level implies that meanings are constructed in face-to-face interaction in schools, organisations, and immediate contexts; the regional level implies that meanings are constructed society-wide; the global level implies that meanings are constructed in world politics, media, and business (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) highlight that although the notions of hegemonic masculinity/ies in these three levels differ from each other there are links between these levels (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005).

Collier (1998) criticise the concept of hegemonic masculinity/ies to be solely associated with negative traits and qualities without recognising positive behaviours such as being a father. The negative traits and qualities of hegemonic masculinity/ies depict men as independent, unemotional, aggressive, non-nurturing, and dispassionate. Similarly, Martin (1998) notes the idea that hegemonic masculinity/ies is/are not only a form of masculinity/ies but also a negative form of masculinity/ies.

3.6.   Conclusion

This chapter discussed the theoretical framework guiding the current study. The theory of hegemonic masculinity/ies was discussed in detail. Following was a discussion of studies on hegemonic masculinities in South Africa and across the world, and a rationale for using the theoretical framework in this study. This chapter concludes by discussing the criticisms that hegemonic masculinity/ies receives and how it is reformulated. The following chapter, the methodology chapter, is situated in the theory discussed above.

CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY

4.1.   Introduction

The methodology chapter discussed how the researcher conducted the research. This study adopted a qualitative methodology, with the perspectives, understanding and experiences of rape counsellors in the Moshate Men's Rights Organisation and the MatrixMen Organisation forming the primary data source. This chapter began by outlining the aim and objective of this study. Following was a brief overview of the research question that this study hoped to answer. This chapter discussed the research approach, design, sampling method, data collection technique and analytical method used in this study. Further, this chapter reported on the necessary steps taken to ensure the quality and rigour of this study and addressed the ethical considerations relevant to this study. This chapter concluded by providing a reflexive account of how researcher's biases could have influenced the study's findings.

.

4.2.   Aim and objective of the study

This study aimed to explore rape counsellors' views, understanding and experiences of how masculinity/ies influences or operates in the peculiar help-seeking behaviours of men who have survived rape. The objective of this study was to elicit rape counsellors' views, experiences, and constructions of how masculinity/ies is/are perceived to influence help-seeking behaviours of men who survived rape.

4.3.   Research question

The question that this study hoped to answer was as follows: 'How do rape counsellors perceive the influence of masculinity/ies on help-seeking behaviours by men who survived rape?'

4.4.   Research approach

This study used a qualitative research approach. Burns and Grove (1998, p. 35) define a qualitative approach as an "inductive, holistic, emic, subjective and process-oriented methods used to understand, interpret, describe, and develop theory on a phenomenon or a setting and is a systematic, subjective approach used to describe life experiences and give them meaning." A qualitative research approach is based on interpretivism and constructivism, which stem from the idealism perspective (Sale et al., 2002). Idealism is an ontological view, which asserts that reality is socially constructed, and thus there are multiple realities based on

one's interpretation or construction of reality (Smith, 1983). As a result of being constructed, the reality is perceived as an intersubjective creation (Slevitch, 2011) and is continuously recreated by its participants based on their intersubjective understanding of it (Hellstrom, 2008).

Most importantly, reality exists when the researcher(s) begins to analyse it and stops existing when researchers no longer focus on it (Smith, 1983). Further, a qualitative approach claims that realities are mind-dependent and cannot be described free from people's points of view, values, interests, and purposes (Putnam, 1981). It assumes that the researcher(s) can only offer their interpretation (based on view, values, interests, and purposes) of the interpretations of others (based on their view, values, interests, and purposes). The researcher of the social world can understand the world of research participants only by describing the constituent properties of an individual (Smith, 1983). The meanings of a human expression are context-bound and cannot be separated from the context (Smith & Heshusius, 1986). Therefore, because meanings are context-dependent, there is no such thing as objective truth (Slevitch, 2011).

The social constructionism paradigm interprets the social world and brings hidden social structures and forces into consciousness (Gergen, 1973). Therefore, the social constructionism methodology focuses on understanding phenomena from research participants' perspectives. With this in mind, a qualitative methodology was appropriate for this study because it aims to explore and attain an in-depth understanding of social phenomena from the point of view of study participants (Terre-Blanche et al., 2006; Willig, 2013). Moreover, this study aimed to explore views and experiences, not 'hard facts' as such a qualitative methodology was an appropriate method to answer the research question of this study. Using a qualitative approach in this study facilitated new and unanticipated categories of meanings related to the participants' data.

Qualitative research is characterised by small sample size, limiting the generalisability of study findings to other settings and people (Harry & Lipsky, 2014; Ritchie et al., 2013; Willig, 2013); indeed, the sample size in this study was nine. However, Guba (1981) points out that in acknowledging this weakness, the qualitative study aims not to generalise the study findings but to understand individuals 'life worlds' because social phenomena and behaviours are context and history specific. Hence, Brock and Wearden (2006) argue that using a large sample size in qualitative research can results in the loss of meanings of the participants' data.

However, despite these weaknesses, in qualitative research, subtleties and complexities about the research topic, which are often missed by quantitative research, are explored (Anderson, 2010). For instance, Javaid (2015) employed a qualitative methodology to explore constructions of masculinity/ies and men's experiences of rape, and this study helped identify the complex and contradictory articulation of ideologies and meanings. These

emerged in the sense-making of rape trauma, victimhood, and the peculiar help-seeking behaviours of men who survived rape (Javaid, 2015). In this study, the inductive nature of qualitative research allowed the researcher to go beyond the mere descriptive presentation of the data to reveal hidden dimensions of systemic functioning without imposing any presumptions about the phenomenon (Chilisa, 2012).

4.5. Research design

This study employed a phenomenological research design to explore rape counsellors' views, understanding, and experiences of how masculinity/ies operate in the help-seeking behaviours of men who survived rape. The term 'phenomenology' derives from 'phainomenon', meaning philosophy (Creswell, 2007). The movement founded by the German philosopher Edmund Husserl (1859 – 1938) concentrates on the detailed description of conscious experience (Groenewald, 2004). This movement is based on consciousness's idea directed towards an object (Creswell, 2007). Therefore, the reality of an object is inseparably related to one's consciousness (Creswell, 2007). Generally, phenomenological research focuses on how individuals interpret events and phenomena and make sense of their experiences.

Phenomenology is a philosophy without presuppositions (Creswell, 2007). In other words, it suspends all existing judgments, suppositions, experiences, and assumptions about phenomena before studying them. Husserl (1970) calls this suspension 'epoche' (or bracketing). Phenomenologists, including Edmund Husserl, are concerned with describing and interpreting what research participants have in common, as they experience a particular phenomenon through a pre-reflective consciousness (Creswell, 2007). Therefore, the fundamental goal of phenomenological research design is to describe as accurately as possible, social and psychological phenomena as they are lived. In other words, the 'lived experiences' (Husserl, 1970; Groenewald, 2004).

Moreover, phenomenological design interprets the meanings of the lived experiences without making any assumptions about the objective reality of those experiences (Creswell, 2007). Phenomenological research design is based on a paradigm of personal knowledge and subjectivity and emphasise the importance of personal perspective and interpretation (Lester, 1999). As such, it is a robust research design for understanding the subjective experiences of study participants (Lester, 1999). Further, the phenomenological study examines the experiences of unique individuals in a given situation, thus exploring not what is reality but what is perceived to be reality (Burns & Grove, 1998). In this study, the central phenomenon explored was the lived experience of rape counsellors working with men who survived rape. Creswell (2007) asserts that a qualitative researcher collects data from individuals who have

experienced the phenomenon and develops a composite description of the essence of the experience for all individuals. This description entails 'what' is the phenomenon and 'how'' they experienced it (Creswell, 2007). Therefore, through a phenomenological research design, the researcher can construct the meanings of the rape of men, masculinity/ies, and help-seeking behaviours and arrive at a more profound understanding of how masculinity/ies influence help-seeking behaviours of men who survived rape (Groenewald, 2004).

This study aimed to explore rape counsellors' views, understanding, and experiences of how masculinity/ies operates in the peculiar help-seeking behaviours of men who survived rape. Therefore, a phenomenological design was an appropriate fit for the current study because it emphasises the discovery of the essences of an experience by focussing on meanings rather than facts (Creswell, 2007). Further, the phenomenological design was used in this study because the researcher intended to understand rape counsellors' experiences and perspectives on how masculinity/ies influence help-seeking behaviours of men who survived rape.

Another weakness of a phenomenological research design is that it is too subjective (Bryman, 2008). In other words, the findings of phenomenological research often reflect the subjective interpretations of the researcher(s) who decide what the results reveal (Bryman, 2008). In this study, the researcher was aware of this weakness when concluding the accounts of the participants. Moreover, the researcher provided a reflexive account of how her gender, race, personal biases, and presumptions could have influenced the study findings.

4.6. Sampling

4.6.1. Sample size

Sample size in qualitative research is a debated issue to date. Dworkin (2012) recommend guidance and suggest a sample size from five to 50 participants in a qualitative study. Initially, the current study aimed to recruit 10 rape counsellors working or who have worked with men who survived rape. During sampling, it became clear that the study faced practical challenges. Some rape counsellors from the two organisations were not included in the study because they do not have experience working with men who survived rape.

Moreover, some participants were not readily available to participate in the study. This study consisted of nine rape counsellors or those who have worked with men who survived rape. However, this sample size endorsed the collection of rich and in-depth data from the rape counsellors allowing the interpretation of views to be made in detail without losing meaning (Brock & Wearden, 2006). Moreover, data saturation (defined as a point when the data collected becomes repetitive, and no new data emerges during the data collection) was reached with the ninth participant.

4.6.2. Sampling technique

The researcher utilised a purposive sampling technique (known as a selective, judgemental, and subjective sampling technique) in this study. Purposive sampling is a non-probability sampling technique in which a researcher deliberately selects participants who have experienced the phenomenon interest to the study (Cresswell & Plano-Clarke, 2011). Purposive sampling aims to sample participants strategically so that the selected participants are suited to giving answers to the study's research question(s) (Bryman, 2012). In addition, these participants should have specific qualities required by the study (Bryman, 2012). In this study, the participants were selected based on their experience of working with men who survived rape.

This study employed a purposive sampling because the non-probability nature of the technique allowed the researcher to select intentionally only the participants that fitted the research or those who experienced the phenomenon being explored (Cresswell & Plano-Clarke, 2011). By applying a purposive sampling method, only rape counsellors working with men who survived rape in the Moshate Men's Rights Organisation and the MatrixMen Organisation were included in this study. As a result, the rape counsellors provided information about their experiences working with men who survived rape.

There are numerous weaknesses in identifying and applying the purposive sampling technique in any study. For example, the non-probability nature of purposive sampling means that it can be difficult for the researchers to transfer the study findings to other contexts (Sharma, 2017). However, in this study, a thick description of research participants and contexts was provided so that readers can assess how transferable the findings are and can apply the findings to similar contexts to the study. Another weakness of purposive sampling is that it is highly prone to researcher bias because researchers make subjective assumptions when choosing research participants (Sharma, 2017). Merriam (2009) defines researcher bias as selecting data that fits only the researcher's assumptions and preconceptions. However, Hesse-Biber (2010) asserts that researchers' reflexivity is critical because it assists them to confront their research assumptions by making them more conscious of what beliefs, values, attitudes, and assumptions they bring to the research.

4.6.3. Inclusion and exclusion criteria

The inclusion criteria for the study consisted of various requirements. Firstly, rape counsellors who have experience with working men who survived rape on a one-to-one basis. The researcher believed that they would provide the most appropriate information since they work or have worked directly with men who survived rape. Secondly, rape counsellors who have one or more years of experience working with men who survived rape. Lastly, both men and

women counsellors from any race group because can all provide psycho-social support and counselling to men who survived rape. Rape counsellors who only work with women survivors were excluded from this study because they only work with women survivors; therefore, they may not understand and experience working with men who survived rape. All nine participants were rape counsellors who met the inclusion criteria for the current study.

4.6.4. Procedure and recruitment process

Ethical approval was obtained from the University of Pretoria Humanities Research Ethics Committee to conduct the study at the Moshate Men's Rights Organisation and the MatrixMen Organisation (see Appendix A). Upon receiving ethical approval, the researcher approached the executive of the Moshate Men's Rights Organisation and the MatrixMen Organisation through an email to request permission to conduct this study at their organisations. As a result, a letter of request to conduct the current study was attached (see Appendices B1 and B2). The letter of request described the nature and purpose of the study, inclusion and exclusion criteria, participants' involvement, assurance of confidentiality, benefits of participation, data storage, and the researcher's contact details.

The permission to conduct this study at the two organisations was granted (see Appendices C1 and C2). Afterwards, the executives of the organisations recruited individuals. Individuals were recruited from the Moshate Men's Rights Organisation and the MatrixMen Organisation because, in both NGOs, there are rape counsellors who provide psycho-social support to men who survived rape. The executive of the Moshate Men's Rights Organisation and the MatrixMen Organisation identified individuals who met this study's inclusion criteria. The researcher informed individuals about the proposed research and asked whether they would want the researcher to contact them. The rape counsellors agreed, and individual telephonic meetings were arranged to explain the research's nature, purpose, and participants' involvement. The researcher informed the individuals that their participation was voluntary, and they could withdraw from the study at any stage. The researcher also assured them that any information provided by them would be treated with confidentiality. Afterwards, an information sheet (see Appendix D) and a consent form (see Appendix E) were emailed to request their participation in the study. Individuals who voluntarily consented to participate were asked to sign the informed consent form. Upon signing the informed consent, a copy of a signed form was emailed to the participant for their records. Finally, arrangements for the interview session were scheduled by allowing each participant to choose a suitable date and time.

4.7.   Data collection method

Unstructured interviews (also known as in-depth interviews were used as a data collection method. According to Zhang and Wildemuth (2009), an unstructured interview is an interview where there are no predetermined questions or answers categories. Instead, unstructured interviews rely on social interaction between the interviewer and the interviewee. Moreover, no pre-defined hypotheses and answer categories should be made beforehand (Zhang & Wildemuth, 2009).

This study used interviews as a data collection method because interviews provide a sensitive and meaningful recording of human experiences (Bless & Higson-Smith, 2000). The current study holds a social constructionist point of view of reality; therefore, an unstructured interview was an appropriate data collection method. Unstructured interviews hold that the researcher(s) must approach reality through their perspectives and meanings (Denzin, 1989). Further, in this study, the researcher intended to gain an in-depth understanding of rape counsellors' experience of working with men who survived rape. Therefore, the intensive and in-depth data required by the research goal led to the selection of unstructured interviews as a data collection method. Unstructured interviews in this study exposed the researcher to unanticipated themes and assisted the researcher to develop a better understanding of rape counsellors' social reality from their perspectives. Further, the unstructured interview invited the participants to direct the interview while attempting to enhance the egalitarian quality of the research process (Zhang & Wildemuth, 2009).

Although unstructured interviews offer several advantages, there are some significant limitations to using unstructured interviews as a data collection method. Firstly, Patton (2002) argues that unstructured interviews require a significant amount of time to collect the needed information, specifically when the researcher first enters the field and knows little about the setting. For example, the average length of the interview sessions in this study was 97 minutes, which is longer than the length of structured or semi-structured interview sessions, according to Arksey and Knight (1999). Secondly, in unstructured interviews, interviewees may move the interview in a direction that is not useful, in other words, out of content (Whyte, 1960). For example, in this study, the researcher used probes to ensure that the interviews remained orientated mainly to the research question for this study (Camino et al., 1995). Lastly, unstructured interviews generate data with different patterns from one session to another, making the data analysis time-consuming and intensive (Patton, 2002).

In this study, the researcher did not use a predetermined question list or answer categories. However, a focal theme was employed to initiate and guide the interview sessions to ensure that they remain orientated mainly to the research question and encourage consistency across different interview sessions (Zhang & Wildemuth, 2009). Namely: *How do masculinity/ies influence men who were raped from seeking psycho-social services and*

counselling? (See Appendix F). In an unstructured interview, this focal theme or guide is called an 'aide memoire' (or agenda), and it refers to a comprehensive guide to topic issues that might be covered in the interview instead of the actual questions to be asked (McCann & Clark, 2005). The agenda reminded the researcher to ensure that aspects of phenomena are covered (Zhang & Wildemuth, 2009). During the interviews, specific topics were probed to enable participants to elaborate on their experiences freely and obtain a detailed description of their experiences and the meaning thereof (Zhang & Wildemuth, 2009). The researcher bracketed rape counsellors pre-understanding of the phenomenon to focus on their consciousness.

The researcher collected data from November 2020 to June 2021; getting hold of the rape counsellors was very difficult as they are always occupied. Initially, this study aimed at conducting all interviews face-to-face. However, due to the COVID-19 pandemic, this was not possible. Therefore, the researcher conducted all interviews telephonically to adhere to the South African COVID-19 regulations. In this study, the researcher conducted all interviews individually to prevent participants from influencing each other during the interview sessions. Before the interview, the researcher sent an information sheet and consent to the participants via email and WhatsApp. As a result, all participants voluntarily agreed to participate in the study and signed the consent form.

All interviews were recorded using Easy Voice Recorder App and Call Recorder App. Audio-recording was explained to all participants before interviews were scheduled, and consent was further taken. Interviews were audio-recorded to give the researcher the flexibility to concentrate on the interview sessions without being distracted with extensive notes taking. In addition, the researcher transcribed audiotaped interviews verbatim to immerse in the data and increase the descriptive validity of the study (Willig, 2013).

The researcher assigned all participants numbers before data was analysed to protect the identity. All participants' transcripts were saved in the researcher's password-protected computer. On average, the duration of the interviews was 97 minutes, ranging from 58 to 127 minutes. All interviews were conducted in English by the researcher. Moreover, participants were not paid for part-taking because the study was conducted for educational purposes and had no travelling expenses.

4.8.   Data analysis

Data analysis entails making sense of participants' meanings in qualitative research by identifying patterns and themes (Carey, 2012). In this study, the researcher employed a thematic analysis as a method of analysis. The researcher followed the six guidelines of a thematic analysis proposed by Clarke and Braun (2006) to analyse data. This study chose

thematic analysis because it is appropriate for processing qualitative data as it provides rich, tailed complex accounts of data (Braun & Clarke, 2013). Moreover, thematic analysis enabled the researcher to look at data from different angles and identify patterns of meaning that facilitate understanding and interpretation of the raw data (Braun & Clarke, 2012).

Braun and Clarke (2006) assert that thematic analysis can be an essentialist, realist or constructionist framework. This study aimed to explore how masculinity/ies operates in the peculiar help-seeking behaviours of men who have survived rape and because the constructions of masculinity/ies depend widely on social situations and processes, the thematic analysis in the current study adopted the constructionist framework (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Kimmel, 2004). Using thematic analysis within a constructionist framework theorised the socio-cultural contexts that allowed the exploration of rape counsellors' perceptions and understandings of masculinity/ies and the help-seeking behaviours of men who survived rape Braun & Clarke, 2013).

4.8.1. Thematic analysis six-phase approach

Braun and Clarke (2006) six guidelines entail (1) familiarity with the data; (2) generating initial codes, (3) searching for themes and sub-themes; (4) reviewing themes; (5) defining and naming themes and (6) the presentation of analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Below is a discussion of how the researcher conducted a thematic analysis following Braun and Clarke's (2006) six guidelines.

4.8.1.1. Familiarity with the data

In this study, the researcher transcribed the interviews by herself, and this process enabled her to begin familiarising herself with the data and start looking for patterns and meanings, making notes, and marking ideas for the coding phase (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Braun and Clarke (2006, p. 17) assert that transcription of data "requires a rigorous and thorough 'orthographic' transcript"–a 'verbatim' account of all verbal (and sometimes nonverbal [e.g. coughs]) utterances." In other words, transcripts should maintain information that one needs from the verbal account to stay true to its original nature (Braun and Clarke, 2006). In this study, the researcher transcribed all interviews verbatim to include all the verbal and nonverbal utterances, such as long pauses, deep breaths, laughs, emphasis on words, to ensure that all participants' accounts stay true to their original nature. Afterwards, the researcher checked all transcripts against the original audio recordings for accuracy. Spending time understanding the content of the data through listening to the interview audio recordings and re-reading the

transcripts allowed the researcher to familiarise herself with the data further, and during this process, the researcher continued making handwritten notes (Braun and Clarke, 2006).

4.8.1.2.   Generating initial codes

The handwritten notes consisted of initial ideas about the content of the data and any areas of initial interest; these formed the basis of the initial codes. Moreover, the researcher generated initial codes based on the literature and the preliminary review of the data. Braun and Clarke (2006) describe a code as an essential element of raw data that can be meaningfully considered regarding the phenomenon of interest. The initial ideas taken from the raw data were organised into a codebook. The development of the coding frame involved inductive codes grounded in the data and with the study's research question (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Extracts were organised under each code, and surrounding text was included to retain context and understand the meaning (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The entire raw data set was coded systematically, focussing on each data set equally. Contradictions, inconsistencies, and exceptions in the data were also coded. Over the coding process, refinements were made to the codebook.

4.8.1.3.   Searching for themes

Once extracts from transcripts had been organised under specific codes, the codes were examined for patterns in the data and facilitated data analysis at the broader themes. Initial codes were sorted into potential themes, and the relationship between codes was considered to form overarching themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Braun and Clarke (2006) assert that a theme entails something important about the data related to a study's research question(s) and represents patterned meaning within a qualitative data set. Similar codes and overlapping were brought into the main themes to reflect meaningful patterns in the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Initial themes were generated, and this allowed for the relationships between codes and themes to be considered. Finally, the researcher organised codes that did not fit any themes into an unknown category and considered their silence when reviewing the transcripts (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

4.8.1.4.   Reviewing themes

The initial thematic map generated was refined, and the researcher checked whether the theme was related to the coded data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Patton's (1990) criteria for internal and external heterogeneity were well-thought-out in reviewing the themes. Extracts

for each theme were re-read, and themes that appeared to be components of other themes or lacked enough data to be individual themes were reworked or collapsed into main themes. Initial thematic was created once the theme was clearly defined. Next, the entire data set was re-read to determine whether the themes accurately reflected the data and answer the study's research question. This review suggested that the structure did not capture the intricacies of the data, some data was missing from the themes, and other themes were not sufficiently homogenous. A reconsideration of the themes resulted in Thematic Map Two, Thematic Map Three, and a final review of themes resulting in Thematic Map Four. However, Braun and Clarke (2006) caution, the process of coding data, generating, and reworking themes can go on '"ad infinitum" (p. 92). After reviewing Thematic Map Four, the researcher was satisfied that refinements of the coding and themes would not provide any new information and the themes broadly encompassed all the data set.

4.8.1.5. Defining and naming themes

A detailed examination of each theme and sub-theme was conducted to identify its essence, capturing from the data and its relationship to the study's research question (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The researcher provided names for each theme and sub-theme.

4.8.1.6. Presentation of analysis

The researcher produced the report, which was a mini dissertation. The mini dissertation described and illustrated how the rape counsellors' perceptions and understandings of how masculinity/ies operate in the help-seeking behaviours of men who survived rape, thus answering the research question. All participants ' names were changed when reporting on the study's findings; the researcher assigned numbers to participants to maintain confidentiality. Moreover, the researcher omitted other identifiable information.

4.9. Ethical Considerations

Ethical issues are essential in any research to protect all study participants' rights, safety, and well-being. In the current study, the researcher ensured that no physical and psychological harm befell any participant or member of the society; before the interview, the researcher told all participants not to answer questions they are uncomfortable with (Ellsberg & Heise, 2005). Issues of ethical approval, informed consent, confidentiality, and voluntary participation are discussed below.

4.9.1. Ethical approval

The current study obtained ethical approval from the University of Pretoria Research Ethics Committee before collecting any data; the ethical number of this study is HUM043/0320. Further, permissions to conduct the current study at the Moshate Men's Rights Organisation and the MatrixMen Organisation were obtained.

4.9.2. Informed consent

Informed consent is the verification of research participants' willingness to participate in a study. Informed consent is obtained after all participants have been informed of the study's objectives, benefits, and risks, among other aspects, to ensure they make rational and informed decisions regarding whether to participate in the study. In the current study, upon receiving ethical approval and permission from the two organisations. The researcher approached the potential participants and invited them to participate in the study through email and WhatsApp. The participant information sheet was attached in the email and WhatsApp. The participant information sheet was clear on the study purpose, objectives, potential benefits, risks and inconveniences, the duration of the interviews, participants' rights to decline to participate or withdraw from the study, how data will be stored, and the contact details of the researcher and the supervisor should the participants have any queries about the study. Furthermore, the researcher ensured that the participants understood the aspects mentioned above by given the participants' plenty of opportunities to ask questions. Afterwards, written informed consent was obtained from all participants; the participants gave consent by signing an informed consent form.

4.9.3. Confidentiality and anonymity

Confidentiality is the practice of protecting participants' privacy and their information from unauthorised access, use, and disclosure, while anonymity keeps the participants' identity unknown (Willig, 2013). In the current study, confidentiality and anonymity were ensured. All electronic information and information in hard copies are stored in a password-protected file at the Department of Psychology at the University of Pretoria for 15 years. Furthermore, to ensure anonymity, the researcher assigned numbers to all participants (e.g. participant 1) and omitted any identifying information such as locations, names of family members, and organisations to which they belong, among other identifiable information, when transcribing and reporting the data (Research Ethics Board, 2017).

4.9.4. Voluntary participation and right to withdraw

Strydom (2011) asserts that participation in any research must be voluntary. In other words, the researcher(s) should not force participants to participate in any study or punish them for choosing not to participate. In the current study, participants chose to participate voluntarily; they were informed of their right of voluntary participation and their right to withdraw their participation even after they have given consent to participate. Further, they were informed that they would not face any negative consequences or penalisation for choosing not to participate in the study. However, they were informed that they could not withdraw their participation after the publication of the study findings. In the current study, no participants chose to withdraw from the study.

4.10. Trustworthiness of the findings

Lincoln and Guba (1985, p. 290) define trustworthiness as the "true value of the study; its applicability, consistency and neutrality." In this study, the researcher used Lincoln and Guba's (1985) criteria for trustworthiness to enhance the rigour of the study. These criteria describe four principles put forward to ensure the trustworthiness of the findings. They include credibility, transferability, dependability, and conformability (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). These criteria are discussed below.

Credibility refers to the degree of congruence between participants' experiences and the researcher's description or interpretation (Padgett, 2008; Shenton, 2004). In the current study, credibility was enhanced through prolonged engagement with participants and their data. Polit et al. (2001) describe prolonged engagement as the investment of adequate time in data collection activities to gain an in-depth understanding of participants' views. In the current study, the researcher spent sufficient time on data collection activities – this included time spent with the participants during the preparation phase and the interview sessions. Moreover, the researcher spent time transcribing the data from the audio recordings and analysing the data.

Transferability refers to the extent to which study findings can be applied to other settings or people other than the one being studied (Babbie & Mouton, 2001; Brink, 2002; Padgett, 2008; Shenton, 2004). In this study, the researcher ensured transferability by establishing a thick description. The researcher provided a thick description of the participants, the data collection method, and the period. In doing so, readers may assess how transferable the findings are and apply them to other people and contexts similar to those being studied (Krefting, 1990; Streubert & Carpenter, 2003).

Dependability refers to the study being adequately descriptive to allow a future researcher(s) reading the study to draw similar conclusions (de Villiers, 2013). This study enhanced dependability by a dense description of each concept, data collection method, data analysis method, and a thick interpretation of the findings. Further, Polit et al. (2001) and Streubert and Carpenter (2003) assert there is no credibility without dependability. In other words, strategies used to enhance credibility also enhance dependability. In the current study, the strategy used to enhance credibility was prolonged engagement. These strategies also helped to enhance the dependability of this study.

Confirmability refers to the objectivity regarding data provided by research participants and can be enhanced by demonstrating that the study's findings, conclusions, and recommendations are closely linked to the data (Padgett, 2008). This study enhanced the confirmability of the study through reflexivity.

4.11. Reflexivity

Qualitative research is motivated by reflexivity. Reflexivity in qualitative research requires the researcher(s) to examine critically and acknowledge their assumptions, personal values, socio-demographic influences and experiences throughout the research process (Alase, 2017). Researcher reflexivity is essential in qualitative research because it highlights the researcher's views and any hidden assumptions when analysing and interpreting study findings (Harper & Thompson, 2012). Therefore, it enhances the quality of qualitative research because it challenges the researcher's values, judgements and beliefs (Brown & Rutter, 2006). Reflexivity in this study meant that the researcher had to think about her socio-demographic influences, assumptions, and methodological biases and how these had influenced the study's findings (Alase, 2017). The researcher reflected after every interview and before each interview to remind herself of the purpose of the interview.

The researcher's status as an African female researcher exploring a sensitive male topic was an essential consideration in designing the research, data collection process, and holding in mind throughout the entire research process. The researcher considered whether rape counsellors, particularly men, would be open enough to her to express their views and opinions to her as a woman, along with other qualities she holds, to talk about a male taboo topic. Before the end of each interview, the researcher asked the participants (one woman and eight men) whether they were free and comfortable enough to talk about the topic of interest to this study with her. Almost all participants asserted that they had no problem talking about the rape of men with the researcher as an African female researcher. Therefore, the researcher's gender and race did not influence how the rape counsellors expressed their

perspectives and understandings on how masculinity/ies influence the help-seeking behaviours of men who survived rape.

Possible methodological biases that could have influenced this study are sample bias and information bias. Sample bias occurs when the conclusion or generalisation is drawn from a small sample size (Maxwell, 2005). The sample size of this study consisted of nine participants, which is a small sample size. However, saturation was reached with the ninth participant. As such, this study attempted to reduce sample bias. Information bias occurs when data is systematically collected incorrectly (Merriam, 2009). In this study, the researcher was the only individual that collected data and transcribed it. Having all interviews being conducted by the researcher increased the probability of consistency during data collection. The researcher also reviewed all the transcripts to adapt future interviews whilst remaining consistent with the study's objectives.

The researcher took into account an objective view of the data when analysing and interpreting the findings. The supervising process encouraged the researcher to be objective when analysing data and throughout the research process. Therefore, the research supervision helped the researcher generate themes related to the coded data and the research question of this study.

4.12. Conclusion

This chapter critically discussed the research methodology that this study employed. The current study used a qualitative approach and a phenomenological design, and therefore, the researcher critically discussed them in this chapter. Moreover, this chapter provided a thick description of the research participants, sampling method, data collection method, and data analysis method used in this study. Further, in this chapter, the researcher provided a detailed account of the procedures that preserved the quality of the study and outlined the measures put in place to ensure that all ethical considerations were addressed. Finally, the current chapter concluded with the researcher's reflexive account. The following chapter presented the study findings and discussion.

CHAPTER 5: FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

5.1. Introduction

This chapter presented and discussed the findings of the study collected from unstructured interviews. It began by describing the sample of the study, then a discussion of themes emerged from the unstructured interviews. This study hoped to answer the ~~following~~ question, 'how do rape counsellors perceive the influence of masculinity/ies on the help-seeking behaviours of men who survived rape?' To answer this question, during the interviews, the researcher elicited rape counsellors' views, experiences, and constructions of how masculinity/ies influence help-seeking behaviours of men who survived rape. Before collecting data, the researcher established a rapport with the participants. During data collection, the researcher used the probing technique to create an in-depth explanation from the participants (Willig, 2013). Moreover, the researcher encouraged all participants to be free and comfortable expressing their perspectives by telling them there is no right or wrong answer before the interview. All these together encouraged the participants to respond to interview questions openly and thus enabled the research to obtain rich and in-depth data. All interviews were audio-recorded, and the researcher obtained written consent for recording the interviews. After collecting data, the researcher transcribed and analysed all data following the six guidelines of Braun and Clarke (2006). During the data analysis process, four main themes emerged explaining how masculinity/ies influence(s) the help-seeking behaviours of men who survived rape. Furthermore, data collected in this study were compared against existing literature to add to the existing body of knowledge relating to masculinity/ies and sexual victimisation of men.

5.2. Description of sample

The participants were recruited from the Moshate Men's Rights Organisation and the MatrixMen Organisation, respectively. The sample size for the study included nine rape counsellors who were chosen on the condition that they met the inclusion criteria of this study and were available to participate. Two rape counsellors were from the Moshate Men's Rights Organisation, and seven were from the MatrixMen Organisation. Participants' professions included one clinical psychologist, one registered counsellor, two executive directors, four directors, and one supportive contact person. There were eight men and one woman. The ages of rape counsellors ranged from 27 to 58 years old. Six of the participants were Caucasian, and three were African. Their work experience ranged from 18 months to 15 years. On average, the participants had approximately six years of experience working with men who survived rape. Eight of them were currently working with the survivors, and one was not. Three

rape counsellors received professional training to work with men who survived rape, whereas six did not. **Table one** below summarises the sociodemographic information about the study's sample.

Table 1: Sociodemographic information about the sample

Participant	Sex	Age (in years)	Race	Level of education	Profession	No. of years of work experience	Currently working with survivors (yes/no)	Type of service provided to the survivors	Received professional training (yes/no)
1	Male	41	Caucasian	Matric	Director	2 years	Yes	Emotional support	No
2	Male	27	African	Diploma in acting for film	Director	3 years	No	Emotional support and guidance	No
3	Male	56	Caucasian	Post-grad Degrees BCom, CA	Director/ facilitator	18 Months	Yes	Emotional support	No
4	Male	56	Caucasian	Matric	Executive director	10 years	Yes	Counselling/ group therapy	No
5	Male	38	Caucasian	Master's in Clinical	Clinical Psychologist	9 years	Yes	Psychotherapy	Yes

				Psychology					
6	Male	58	Caucasian	Diploma in management	Executive director	10 years	Yes	Emotional support	Yes
7	Male	41	Caucasian	Bachelor's degree in economics	supportive contact person	3 years	yes	Emotional support	No
8	Male	50	African	Master's in media studies	Executive Director	11 years	Yes	Legal support	No
9	Female	34	African	Master's in counselling	Registered counsellor	3 years	Yes	Counselling	Yes

5.3. Emerging themes and discussion

Four main themes and 10 subthemes emerged during data analysis. The four themes that emerged are (1) masculinity/ies and the rape of men, (2) masculinity/ies and help-seeking, (3) understanding of the rape of men and (4) socio-economic factors and help-seeking. **Table two** below summarises the themes as mentioned above and their sub-themes.

Table 2: Codes, sub-themes and main themes emerged from the data

Codes	Sub-themes	Main themes
- Weakness - Not strong enough - Vulnerability - Loss of power - Loss of sense of belonging - Lack of control	Masculinity/ies	Masculinity/ies and the rape of men
- Sexual identity crisis - Homosexual or gay	Sexuality	
- Men don't cry - Men don't wear their emotions - Men don't talk about their emotions	Restrictive emotionality	
Men do no seek help	Sel-reliance (or independence)	
- Weakness - Men do not seek counselling - Unmanly	There is a stigma towards men and seeking psychological services	
- Conformity to myths - Little exposure	Lack of training	
- Judgement - Mockery - Secondary victimisation - Being shut down	Lack of support	Masculinity/ies and help-seeking

• Abnormal act • Do not talk about it • Uncomfortable topic		Understanding of the rape of men
• Unaffordability • Unemployment	Economic factors	Socio-economic factors and help-seeking
• Unavailability • Visibility	Few support systems and services	
• Reports of the rape of women • Rape happens only in prison • Disbelieve • Focused on financial gain • Marketing tool	Misrepresentation of the rape of men	

5.3.1 Masculinity/ies and the rape of men

Masculinity/ies in this study referred to behaviours, traits, characteristics, and practices related to socio-cultural context and historical time that differentiate a man from a woman and a heterosexual man from a homosexual man (Whitehead & Barrett, 2001). From a young age, men and women are taught gendered attitudes and behaviours from cultural values, norms, and ideologies about what it means to be men and women (Kassing et al., 2005; Singh, 2005). For instance, boys and men are taught to be physically strong, invulnerable, in control, emotionally inexpressive, and heterosexual (Addis & Mahalik, 2003; Murnen et al., 2002; Vogel & Heath, 2016). Therefore, being a victim of rape can reduce one's sense of masculinity/ies because the victim status demonstrates a lack of physical strength, vulnerability, and lack of control to fight off any attacker(s) (Javaid, 2016). Moreover, the victim engaged in same-sex sexual intercourse, which is perceived as a homosexual act irrespective of forced same-sex sexual intercourse. Hence, men who survived rape are assigned a subordinated form of masculinity/ies because they acted inconsistently with the ideologies of hegemonic masculinity/ies mentioned above (Davies & Rogers, 2006).

In this study, the participants had differing but homogeneous views on masculinity/ies and the rape of men. Their views are characterised into sub-themes relating to (1) masculinity/ies and (2) sexuality. Below is a discussion of these sub-themes.

5.3.1.1 Masculinity/ies

In the literature, masculinity/ies has been foregrounded as necessary to understand the continued perpetuation of the rape of men by other men (Graham, 2006; Pretorius & Hull, 2005). According to Singh (2005) and Walker et al. (2005), the rape of men by other men is motivated by control, violence, a need to dominate, degrade and humiliate the victim. With that said, a man, who is at the risk of being raped, is expected to demonstrate the above-mentioned masculine traits by fighting off his attacker(s). By fighting off his attacks, he is demonstrating and protecting his masculine identity. Therefore, a man who cannot demonstrate physical strength by fighting off his attacker(s) is not perceived as a real man. He cannot protect himself and his family, which is inconsistent with the hegemonic masculinity/ies of being a protector.

The rape of men is perceived as a psycho-social emasculation act. In other words, men who survived rape are described as feminised and are positioned as unmanly or as women (Sivakumaran, 2005). This perception is typically informed by the societal norms and gendered expectations of masculinity/ies (Turchik & Edwards, 2012). For instance, the societal norms and gender expectations of masculinity/ies do not expect men to be emotional, sensitive, vulnerable, and victims (Connell, 2005; Pretorius & Hull, 2005). Therefore, by enacting these traits, however, men who survived rape are not achieving hegemonic masculinity/ies and are not perceived as real men (Connell, 2005).

In this study, most participants articulated that men who survived rape are perceived as less masculine depending on their socio-cultural contexts and communities. The following extracts support this finding:

"*So men themselves when they become victims, now for all of the sudden, what they have heard around them from when they were brought up, makes them feel that they don't meet the standards of masculinity anymore.*" (Participant 6)

"*Yeah, I think, I think the biggest thing that uh yeah, biggest issue is that, was that, men who are raped are first, first thing they will see themselves as not masculine.*" (Participant 4)

"*Yeah, you are not strong. You become vulnerable if you're being raped because you are the victim now.*" (Participant 8)

Moreover, participant 3, a rape survivor, explained his experience of rape to elaborate on how rape influences a man's sense of masculinity/ies.

"…when this [rape] happens to you, you feel, first of all, again, in my case there was this pact of silence, but um you feel as well by admitting it you would be disclosing that you were vulnerable, that you were not strong enough to, to kind of ward off this person." (Participant 3)

This finding was consistent with these studies' finding (Abdullah-Khan, 2002; Pascoe & Hollander, 2015; Sivakumaran, 2005). The studies of (Abdullah-Khan, 2002; Pascoe & Hollander, 2015; Sivakumaran, 2005) revealed that being raped feminises men, and thus, men who survived rape are assigned less masculine status. Men who survive rape are assigned a less masculine status because they demonstrated a lack of control and physical strength to ward off their enemy (Pascoe & Hollander, 2015; Sivakumaran, 2005). In contrast, the perpetrator(s) is assigned a more masculine status (Abdullah-Khan, 2002; Pascoe & Hollander, 2015; Sivakumaran, 2005) because he acted in a masculine manner by using his physical strength to dominant and control his victim (Pascoe & Hollander, 2015; Sivakumaran, 2005).

Similarly, in the study of Adams (2016) and Javaid (2018), men who survived rape reported feeling emasculated, weak, not strong and lost of power. This feeling of weakness and emasculation results in their inability to embody hegemonic masculinity/ies that expects men to be strong enough to fight off any attacker(s). Therefore, the survivors believe that they failed in their duty as real men, which is not achieving the standards of hegemonic masculinity/ies. Javaid (2016) and Lowe and Balfour (2015) found that the sense of not living up to the masculine ideal of being tough enough to fight off their perpetrator(s), and the fear of ridicule, leaves men who survived rape less likely to seek help from others. Therefore, men who survived rape are placed at the bottom of the gender hierarchy because of their emasculation, powerlessness, and weakness (Turchik & Edwards, 2012). This bottom position is associated with a loss of status, respect, and embarrassment of not being able to defend one masculine status (Connell, 2005).

Messerschmidt (2000) articulates that men will often find ways to enhance their masculine status when their masculinity/ies is questioned. For example, by not disclosing and reporting their rape and resisting labels associated with victimhood, men can remain silent to preserve their hegemonic masculinity/ies in that confession of powerlessness, weakness, and emotion are hidden from public view (Doherty & Anderson, 2004; Graham, 2006). In turn, this may allow men to withdraw themselves from being ridiculed, disbelieving attitudes and unfair treatment from others, which also stem from the traditional socialisation process of men and women (Rumney, 2008; Turchik et al., 2013). This notion was also found in the current study. For instance, participant 2 stated:

"…they feel or felt like that perpetrator had control over them and that was the loss of power.... So now you have to do the process of taking your power back in order to survive or escape that situation or grow out of that situation."

By reclaiming their power back, men who survived rape are maintaining their masculinity/ies.

5.3.1.2 Sexuality

Within the norms of hegemonic masculinity/ies, men are required to achieve a constant gender role that expresses a constant (heterosexual) sex in the compulsory practice of heterosexuality (Connell, 2005). In other words, men may achieve masculinity/ies by demonstrating what they are not, that is, by consistently distancing themselves from homosexuality and femininity/ies (Chimanzi, 2016; Ratele, 2014; Ratele et al., 2007). Men who do not conform to heterosexuality thus threaten hegemonic masculinity/ies, which demands heterosexuality as an essential condition for manhood. Maintaining heteronormativity is necessary for maintaining the status quo and the elevated position of heterosexual masculinity/ies (Connell, 2005). Other forms of sexuality, such as homosexuality, are perceived as a threat to masculinity/ies. Homosexuality threatens hegemonic masculinity/ies because it is associated with the gendered position of femininity/ies and thus is stigmatised (Connell, 2005; McGuffey & Rich, 2011).

The rape of men, particularly the rape of men by other men, induces notions of both homosexuality. Hence, it is often described as a homosexual encounter because it involves penetrating another man (Abdullah-Khan, 2002). Therefore, the rape of men by other men becomes directly linked to the subordinate masculinity/ies (Javaid, 2017). Furthermore, the rape of men falls within the subordinate masculinity/ies because same-sex sexual encounter (even coerced) is associated with homosexuality. Therefore, this association demolishes men who survived rape from claiming some of the tropes of hegemonic masculinity/ies, resulting from the belief that only gay men are raped (Javaid, 2018).

The participants in this study asserted that some men who survived rape experience sexual identity crises, particularly following a rape by another man. Depending on their belief system and notions of masculinity/ies, these men may interpret their rape experience as an act of sex, believing that they have had a homosexual encounter (Myers, 1989). As such, men who survived rape, mainly heterosexual, may question what has happened to them and wonder if they are homosexuals (Gear, 2007). The following extracts support this finding:

"That feels to a heterosexual guy that he is, he is a submitten gay, which is against his belief system with the voice being brought up the way he feels about himself, his whole sexual identity, everything that happens to him is against what he believes." (Participant 1).

"…but this one like really test like where you're at in terms of your beliefs or your understanding. Because it will make you, it will make you think like you, one of them is that you're gay." (Participant 2)

"He questions his sexuality, because now again by the definition, and the way he was brought up, a man who has sex with a man is homosexual." (Participant 6)

Moreover, the participants voiced that other men and society believe that men who survived rape are homosexuals. Participant 8 and participant 7 stated:

"They are being seen as uh this guy eish, they are gay people that's why…" (Participant 8)

"Because, well, especially in the Afrikaans community. As soon as you say something like that, it's immediately accepted that now you're suddenly gay or something like that." (Participant 7)

This finding is congruent with the findings of these studies (Mezey & King, 2010; Stemple, 2009; Sivakumaran, 2005). For instance, Mezey and King (2010) found that among 22 men who survived rape, six reported a crisis with their sexuality. Moreover, because they believe that their sexuality was changed by rape, these survivors feel ashamed, guilty, lose their sense of belonging, and withdraw from society because they can no longer meet the standards of hegemonic masculinity/ies. As such, men, whether heterosexual or homosexual, may not want to disclose their rape experiences to others because their sexual orientation might be questioned. Moreover, they may be ridiculed and ostracised for engaging in homosexual acts (Rumney, 2009).

Groth and Burgess (1980) note that some rape perpetrators might try to get their men victims to ejaculate. This act for the offender personifies their control over the victim's body. According to Groth and Burgess (1980), ejaculation is abundantly confusing and traumatic for the survivors because they misinterpret ejaculation with orgasm. Therefore, the victim might then be confused by his physiological response during the rape and, consequently, might be reluctant to disclose or report the rape, fearing that their sexual orientation might be questioned (Groth & Burgess, 1980). Most participants in this study also voiced this finding. For instance, participant 4 stated:

"Hmmm and then they go in like, well, almost, almost deserved to be raped, because uh homosexual society or homosexual hmm people are quite promiscuous. So, it's almost like they, they kind of deserved it [rape]. And that they, they, you know, it wasn't really rape, they kind of asked for it…" (Participant 4)

Similarly, getting an erection is one of the main reasons men who survived rape do not report or disclose their rape experience (Booyens, 2008). According to (Abdullah-Khan, 2002; Gear, 2007; Graham, 2006), if the men survivor is heterosexual and gets an erection during rape, he may fear others will perceive him as homosexual. While if the men survivor is homosexual and gets an erection during rape, he thinks that others will perceive him as if he was asking for it or enjoyed it because of his sexuality (Scarce, 1997; Weiss, 2010). Although the victim is a homosexual or heterosexual man, getting an erection can cause shame to many men who survived rape (Groth & Burgess, 1980; Tewksbury, 2007). However, the studies of (Bancroft, 1980; Bullock & Beckson, 2011; Groth & Burgess, 1980; Kinsey et al., 1948; Mezey & King, 1989; Redmond et al., 1983; Sarrel & Masters, 1982) shown that the presence of physiological responses during rape does not necessarily indicate enjoyment. Arguably, such physiological responses also occur when one is under any form of distress (Bancroft, 1980; Bullock & Beckson, 2011; Groth & Burgess, 1980; Kinsey et al., 1948; Mezey & King, 1989; Redmond et al., 1983; Sarrel & Masters, 1982). Most participants in this study also voiced this finding. The following extracts support this finding:

"What usually happens is, because of biological sensors in your body, the man gets an erection… That feels to a heterosexual guy that he is, he is a submitten gay…" (Participant 1)

"Their manhood can stand, and when a manhood stands for them it means that like, like what we were just talking about now, that they wanted it. So if they can't reconcile that actually that is a physiological reaction." (Participant 9)

5.3.2 Masculinity/ies and help-seeking

The help-seeking behaviours of men who survived rape and men at large can be understood as a product of masculine gender role socialisation (Addis & Mahalik, 2003). According to Gonzalez et al. (2005), the main reason men who survived rape and sexual assault and men at large are less likely to use and seek psychological services is that they have less favourable attitudes toward seeking professional help than women. The ideal among men is traditionally

constructed and socialised from a recurrent set of core dimensions such as restricting one's emotional expression (Campbell, 1996; Gennrich, 2013), placing a high premium on self-reliance, autonomy, and independence (Campbell, 1996; Gennrich, 2013; Walker, 2005). Moreover, stigma towards men and seeking psychological services, lack of training, and lack of support, which stem from hegemonic masculinity/ies, also influence the help-seeking behaviours of men who survived rape. These sub-themes, discussed below, are, in practice and ideologically, incongruent with seeking professional help. Therefore, using psychological services leaves men, in general, to be vulnerable and further victimised (Addis & Mahalik, 2003; Heath et al., 2017).

5.3.2.1 Restrictive emotionality and emotional expression

From an early age, boys are exposed to messages such as "boys do not cry", to "man up" (Kansiime et al., 2018; Vogel et al., 2011), to reject behaviours socially constructed as feminine, to demonstrate fearlessness, and to embracing risk-taking (Courtenay, 2000). According to Vogel et al. (2011), these messages can decrease the chances of men and boys showing psychological symptoms to others as they learn that they will be subjected to be ridicule and even assaulted if these gender role expectations are not achieved. Many men and boys are teased if they show "weakness" by crying and complaining or are unable to endure the pain.

"…*the second thing is the way we raise hmmm, you know, as children we've been told that we shouldn't cry, uh we told that feelings aren't valid, we told that hmm we're babies if we get emotional about them or, or have a time to look at something, something whatever.*"
(Participant 4)

"*She mentioned that we raise our boy children under the umbrella of shame; we shame them, if they cry we shame them. So it's not surprising how somebody will not reveal their being raped, even like, never mind men, think about boys.*" (Participant 9)

Thus, behaviours associated with weakness and vulnerability, such as help-seeking, are often viewed negatively and avoided because they undermine the ideals of social constructions of masculinity/ies (O'Brien et al., 2005; Pederson & Vogel, 2007). Not surprisingly, adherence to dominant masculine gender roles is associated with the reluctance

to seek professional help (O'Brien et al., 2005; Smith et al., 2008) and more negative attitudes toward psychological seeking help among men generally (Berger et al., 2005).

Norms of masculinity/ies encourage and expect men to be unemotional, not show their feelings and be anti-vulnerable even when faced with a painful or traumatic event, such as rape (Gennrich, 2013; McDonald & Tijerino, 2013). It is believed that a 'real' man endure pain, does not complain or show that they are unwell or injured (O'Brien et al., 2005).

"*And because of that, that view, you know, men don't cry type of thing or men don't wear their emotions on their sleeve, they don't, they don't talk up necessarily about their emotions… I think they even under reporting of male rape…*" (Participant 3)

"*Hmmm is that it's, it's, again, stereotyped as just not being a manly thing that women talk about their feelings men don't talk about their feelings. You know, boys don't cry, etcetera. They're all those stereotypes that are, that are quite silly and quite damaging, actually.*" (Participant 5)

Although rape experiences often result in unbearably intense feelings for the victims, recovery from rape requires learning to acknowledge and disclose the experience to others (Roehrs, 2011). Unfortunately, masculine societal and cultural norms that require stoicism (which refers to being emotionally tough) impede men and boys from expressing such feelings and experiences (Peterson & Plantin, 2019). Men who survived rape repress their emotions to maintain their sense of masculinity/ies and self-esteem, and therefore, they are isolated and unable to seek professional help.

"*Okay the way they're brought up is that, men are supposed to deal with their own emotions… So all of these factors come into play that they don't want to go and seek help, because they will be seen as weak as not being men enough to deal with it. So all of these internalised feelings from an early age, they're brought up to internalise them, to not, to not discuss them, to not uh to just deal with it.*" (Participant 6)

Moreover, participant 3 related to his experience as a rape survivor to explain further that men who survived rape repress their emotions to maintain their sense of masculinity/ies.

"Hmmm so, and when I got kind of, so using drink or alcohol as a way to repress one of those emotions and feelings that were hitting, so I started drinking when I was 13 and to cope with all this rubbish [rape]." (Participant 3)

Similarly, the study conducted by Peterson and Plantin (2019) revealed that most men who experienced considerable pain and vulnerability as a result of rape instead sought not to disclose their victimisation and minimised the severity of the victimisation as a result of gendered socialisation pressures to be self-reliant.

5.3.2.2 Self-reliance (or independence)

Traditional gender roles expect men to be self-reliant (Campbell, 1996; Gennrich, 2013). Self-reliance means not relying on others for assistance (Good et al., 1989), being able to solve problems on one's own (Vogel et al., 2011). These behaviours are conflicting with the helping professions' model, where men are required to reach out to others for help. As such, men who seek psycho-social care and counselling admit that they are weak and cannot solve problems on their own (Weiss, 2010a). These scenarios undermine the ideals of masculinity/ies.

"They're, they still believe that no, it's, it's not okay for a man to go and seek help [child talking in the background]." (Participant 8)

"You know it's cool to be mentored or seek help in your business because, you know, I wanna build up and become a successful businessman. But it's not cool to seek help in life." (Participant 4)

"Yes, like you can't, you can't be a man and, and seek help. That's, that's, that's not a man." (Participant 2)

Carpenter (2009) asserts that this gendered expectation of self-reliance and independence forces many men who survived rape to manage the after-effects of the rape by themselves because counselling is perceived to be a threat to their sense of masculinity/ies. As such, this results in men who survived rape who do not seek professional psychological help.

"*Yeah, so what was I saying, so what is interesting is that men are not, men are raised not to seek help.*" (Participant 9)

The research revealed that when the demonstration of the dominant ideals of masculinities is not an option–as, among men who survived rape who sort help, the survivors may engage in what Pyke (1996) calls 'compensatory masculinities' to compensate for their subordinated status (Connell, 1995; Majors & Billson, 1992; Messerschmidt, 1993). This may include engaging in risk-taking activities, such as drug and alcohol abuse, smoking, and crime, to prove to others that, even though they sought professional help, they are still real men.

5.3.2.3 There is a stigma towards men and seeking psychological services.

According to Vogel et al. (2007), the perception of stigma plays a significant role in the negative attitude that men generally have towards seeking psychological services. The stigma associated with seeking psychological services is described as the perception that men who seek psychological services, that is unacceptable behaviour, are weak and thus are socially unacceptable (Mille et al., 2011). Moreover, stigma entails perceptions about how other people might perceive an individual who engages in unacceptable behaviour and perceptions about oneself for engaging in unacceptable behaviour (Corrigan, 2004). In other words, men believe that seeking psychological would be frowned upon by societies and perceive themselves more negatively if they sought psychological services.

"*Yes, so counselling, going for counselling, number one has its own stigma... So I think also they have a lot of barriers in front of them, these men who victims. Internal barriers that they have to fight, and then they have external barriers that they still have to [pause] of they push through their internal to seek help, then there is these health providers.*" (Participant 9)

Psychological services are perceived as feminine services because talking about one's own emotions is associated with femininity/ies, thus contradict the hegemonic standards of masculinity/ies (Good & Wood, 1995; Vogel et al., 2011). Therefore, the act of seeking psychological services is perceived as a feminine activity. With that said, men who seek such services are perceived as weak and less masculine (Courtenay, 2000; O'Brien et al., 2005). In this study, the participants articulated that some men who survived rape and men at large who seek and utilise psychological services are perceived to be weak and not men enough. The ideologies of hegemonic masculinity/ies such as men are self-reliant, independent, and

physically and emotionally strong inform this belief of appearing weak and unmanly. It is believed that the process of seeking help implies admitting the need for help, not being able to solve one's problems, being dependent, relying on others and engaging in emotional vulnerability, which are traits that are inconsistent with the ideologies of hegemonic masculinity/ies (Gennrich, 2013 & Heath et al., 2017). The following extracts support this finding:

"*Men in general seek less psycho-social support [long pause] I mean, significantly are less likely to seek psycho-social support for any reason whatsoever.*" (Participant 5)

"*It is uhm men don't go to psychiatrist. Men don't go to somebody to go and talk to… Um you are weak if you look for counselling. You're not a man. I mean men don't, men don't need counselling. They hide emotion.*" (Participant 7)

"*Yeah, you know, you're not strong enough if you need to go for psycho-social support. You know, you're a weakly, you're a little girl, you're is such a baby, you know?*" (Participant 4)

Adopting the ideologies of traditional masculinity/ies such as men should be tough, independent, and emotionally inexpressive can have detrimental effects on the physical and psychological well-being of men who survived rape and men generally (Courtenay, 2000). For instance, most men who survived rape conforming to such ideologies may withdraw from seeking psychological services to avoid appearing weak in the eyes of others. Moreover, there is evidence that men who survived may experience social sanctions (i.e. rejection, derogatory names, punishment) for expressing for seeking help (Langa & Eagle, 2008). As such, men who survived rape and men, in general, may not seek help after rape (Kansiime et al., 2018).

5.3.2.4 Lack of training

The studies of (Gevers & Abrahams, 2015; Kansiime et al., 2018; Vanja, 2017) revealed that most rape counsellors do not have adequate training to respond to and treat men who survived rape. For instance, in Kansiime et al. (2018) study, counsellors admitted to not knowing how to deal with the cases presented by men who survived rape. This may result in negative reactions and responses made by rape counsellors to men survivors (Gevers & Abrahams, 2015).

In this study, the participants mentioned that some rape counsellors are not equipped to deal with men who survived rape. As such, this drives men who survived rape from seeking psychological services. According to the participants in this study, most men survivors who

sought help from them mentioned that they could get help from other rape counsellors, as they were not emotionally equipped to deal with their matters. For instance, one of the participants mentioned that after disclosing their rape experience to the counsellor, the counsellor was traumatised to the extent that the participant felt that the counsellor needed counselling more than him. Participant 7 shared his experience as a rape survivor to support the finding that most rape counsellors are not emotionally equipped to deal with the issues presented by men who survived rape:

"*This person it's almost more… After my session it felt like they need more counselling than I do.*" (Participant 7)

The participants also articulated that the counsellors were inadequately trained to handle issues presented by men who survived rape. The following extract supports this finding:

"*…the counsellors out there that want to help but they are not getting any way is because they are being not trained from that, they didn't know what to expect, they didn't know that this person that comes in needs support and guidance, they don't need pity…*" (Participant 1)

"*So our, our doctors, our psychiatrists, our psychologists, etcetera have very little exposure in their training to male victims of rape. I mean, we had, I had a social worker who said, they only here [pause] told me that the only thing they ever learned was, was a case study on male violence, sexual violence in prisons.*" (Participant 6)

"*Perhaps, I should recommend training for counsellors as well because we* [counsellors] *can do a lot more damage.*" (Participant 9)

Moreover, some of the counsellors whom the survivors sought help from were unprofessional and judgmental. The counsellors held myths and negative stereotypical ideas towards the survivors. For example, they could not believe that men can be raped in non-institutionalised settings. These myths and negative stereotypical ideas reflect the normalised societal norms and gender(ed) expectations of masculinity/ies that men can only be raped in prisons to show dominance and power over other inmates. As such, they affect how rape counsellors and the survivors themselves perceive the rape. Participant 1 shared his experience as a rape survivor when he went to seek help from a psychologist and other people to support the finding that most rape counsellors are not equipped to respond to and treat men who survived rape.

"The people come to them for support, come to them for help not for pity and not for judgement. But, unfortunately, that was my experience with a psychologist and all the other people I spoke with." (Participant 1)

The additional step for men who survived rape to seek professional psychological help can be highly challenging. Therefore, for men survivors to receive a negative response from the rape counsellors can be disillusioning and debilitating regarding their psychological welfare.

5.3.2.5 Lack of support

The participants asserted that lack of support from the first point of contact whom men who survived rape disclose their rape (either a friend, family member or the police) influence the survivors from seeking further support, including counselling and therapy. For instance, the participants asserted that some of the survivors who initially sort help from the police received a response of laughter and judgement for allowing rape to happen. Moreover, the police perceived the survivors as homosexuals and expected them to control their situations, which undermined their masculinity/ies. Therefore, this institutes that when the point of contact (either the police, friends, or family) conforms to hegemonic masculinity/ies, the survivors could lack the courage to seek further help. For the survivors who gained the courage to seek further help after being dismissed, it was not easy for them as they had thoughts of expected secondary dismissal/trauma. The following extracts support this finding:

"Definitely, it definitely impacts because you asked yourself, well, if I go there will this happen again? Will someone laugh at me again? Will someone mock me again? Will someone not believe me again? And you don't want to go through, rather you fear going through to that same process again." (Participant 2)

"So the, I, I guess what I'm saying is that the first person a child or adult tells about their sexual abuse is the most important person to tell their reaction, their facial expression, their tone, is the most important and telling thing about how that child or adult will continue wi with the internal workings of that sexual assault." (Participant 5)

"*Those who have gone to the police have been have had huge second secondary trauma. First of all, the police laughed them again, according to the definition of masculinity, why didn't you fight them off? You know.*" (Participant 6)

"*I believe the very first person that a victim discloses their victimisation to can either become a stumbling block or a supportive thing that will enable that person to take the matter further.*" (Participant 9)

Therefore, a non-judgmental reaction is essential from the individual or police officer to whom the survivors disclose.

5.3.3 Understanding of the rape of men

The rape of men is a psycho-social problem that is socially constructed. How it is constructed is dependent on the particular context in which it is produced and differ across history and socio-cultural contexts (Burr, 1995). In other words, individuals understand the rape of men through their interaction with diverse people within multiple socio-cultural contexts. They are influenced by dominant norms and beliefs in their contexts and thus influences how they understand and react to the rape of men.

In a patriarchal society, the rape of men is characterised by taboo, myth and negative stereotypical thinking, and thus this creates a misunderstanding of the rape of men in society (Abdullah-Khan, 2002). Examples of rape myths that the participants in this study voiced were 'men cannot be raped', 'men should be able to defend themselves against rape', 'erection or ejaculation during the rape indicates you wanted it or consent to it' and 'women cannot sexually assault men'. The following extracts support this finding:

"*Hmmm so if you're strong enough you won't be raped. So, if you're culturally manly enough [pause] you wouldn't have been raped. [Clearing throat] excuse me, which means that you're either a woman.*"(Participant 5)

"*I had a young guy who was 13 [pause] when he was raped uh 12 or 13. And he said to me, I should have fought him off.*" (Participant 4)

"*Exactly, so also that because a man can be… Can get aroused even though they are being raped by another man. Their manhood can stand, and when a manhood stands for them, it means that like, like what we were just talking about now, that they wanted it.*" (Participant 9)

"*Hmm the, if you go to the 13, 14, 15, 16-year-old ra uh rapes then it is almost seen as uh victory… For those boys, yeah. Especially if they were raped by women, it's like you lucky guy.*" (Participant 7)

These myths about the rape of men stem from the ideologies of hegemonic masculinity/ies within which men are automatically assumed invulnerable, strong and heterosexuals (Abdullah-Khan, 2002). They are detrimental to the survivors' health and psychological well-being because they make it difficult for men who survived rape to name publicly and acknowledge their experiences of rape (Abdullah-Khan, 2002; Garnets et al., 1993). The myths can influence the way men who survived rape feel about themselves following the rape, preventing them from seeking help and influencing how they are treated should they come forward and ask for help (Abdullah-Khan, 2002). Moreover, these myths reinforce the victim's self-blaming, which is further compounded by secondary victimisation through the homophobic reactions of those to whom the survivor discloses, including service providers such as rape counsellors and the police (Sleath & Bull, 2010). In turn, men who survived rape may encounter poor treatment and secondary victimisation when they seek help. Moreover, these myths relating to hegemonic masculinity/ies continue to make the rape of men invisible, denying its existence and worth. Conceptualising the rape of men solely as a homosexual encounter ignores heterosexual and bisexual men survivors and reproduce hegemonic masculinity/ies and gender hierarchy.

5.3.4 Socio-economic factors and help-seeking

Socio-economic factors prevent men who survived rape from accessing psychological services (Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society, 2014; Kansiime et al., 2018). In this study, these socio-economic factors are largely centred on the sub-themes of (1) economic factors, (2) few organisations and (3) misrepresentations of the rape of men. Below is a discussion of these sub-themes.

5.3.4.1 Economic factors

According to the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society (2014), most men who survived rape in South Africa come from underprivileged communities. Most of these survivors cannot access psychological services following rape due to a lack of money. In this study, the participants asserted that psychological services are expensive. As such, this drives away many men who

survived rape with a less privileged background from seeking psychological services. The following extracts support this finding:

"*Now, if they realise what a male rape victim actually went through and the, the fact that this guy has been broken down mentally so bad that he is probably at this stage in his life, unemployed or employed in such a place that he can't afford them.*" (Participant 1).

"*…there is a big gap between psychologists and counsellors and the rates that they charge, and the accessibility. So, they came up with this category of registered counsellors, right?*" (Participant 9)

This finding is similar to the findings of Donne et al. (2018) study, which revealed that approximately 50% of participants (94 out of 188) could not afford the psychological and support services, which, in essence, hindered them from accessing the services. Moreover, expensive psychological services have also been raised in other studies conducted in South Africa, such as the study conducted by the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society (2014) and Vanja (2017). For instance, the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society (2014) study found that the availability of free medical services facilitates physical and psychological help-seeking among men who survived sexual violence (Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society, 2014). Moreover, men who survived rape in the study of Kansiime et al. (2018) mentioned that the availability of free medical and psychological services would motivate them to seek help.

The existing organisations, particularly the Moshate Men's Rights and MatrixMen provide free services for men who survived rape. However, due to a lack of financial resources, most of the survivors cannot access them since they are located in their particular geographical locations, such as Gauteng and Western Cape, which is far from where they stay. Notably, lack of transport money deters the survivors from accessing these free services.

The participants in this study also voiced that in cases where the perpetrator is a breadwinner within the family, most men who survived rape are less likely to seek help. In addition, the survivors may not disclose their rape to others or even report rape to the police because they believe that their silence is in the family's best financial interest. In other words, the incarceration of the perpetrator, a breadwinner in the family, results in increased vulnerability, such as financial vulnerability. For instance, participant 5 stated:

"*Maybe it was hmmm a family member who's not only the primary breadwinner or the only breadwinner, but it's very clear that without that person bringing in the money hmm they will be out on the street.*"

5.3.4.2 Few support systems and services

The existing literature (Lisa, 2015; Nel & Van Wyk, 2013; Pretorius & Louw, 2005) emphasise the importance of seeking and receiving support systems and services following rape to reduce the adverse short and long-term effects of rape. For instance, Walsh and Bruce (2011) found that receiving psychological help following rape improved the psychological well-being of men who survived rape. According to Lisa (2015), support systems and services are essential to empower the survivors and their physical and psychological well-being. Moreover, support systems improve the survivors' cooperation, trust in the criminal justice system, thus reduce secondary victimisation or trauma, and improve conviction rates (Pretorius & Louw, 2005).

Vanja (2017) examined support services available to rape and sexual violence survivors generally in South Africa. The study of Vanja (2017) found two organisations that specialise in working with men who survived rape, which are SAMSOSA and MatrixMen, based in Johannesburg. Pretorius and Louw (2005) raised that the services of victims of sexual abuse in South Africa target women as the primary user population. With most rape and sexual assault survivors being women, it is understandable why most services providers target women. However, most support systems targeting women and children would discourage men who survived rape from approaching such support systems because they could create perceptions in society that such support services are only or are designed for women (Pretorius & Louw, 2005).

Similarly, in this study, the participants asserted, in South Africa, few organisations deal specifically with men who survived rape. As such, this drives away men who survived rape from coming out and seeking professional help because they do not know where to go. To emphasise this issue, the researcher found only three organisations (SAMSOSA, Moshate Men's Rights and MatrixMen) that deal specifically with the rape of men in South Africa when reviewing the literature in this study. The following extracts support this finding:

"*Where are the psycho-social support systems? Are they visible to these men, as victims not as perpetrators? Because if you look at organisation, there is [organisation's name], but [organisation's name] they are, they will advocate, we say no to women abuse, but they don't say anything about male abuse.*" (Participant 9)

"And, and, and there aren't a lot of social services available to be able to uh you know help men…" (Participant 4)

Moreover, participant 2 articulated that few support systems and services for men who survived rape deter the survivors from seeking professional help because they do not know where to go, as he did not know where to go during his rape experience. For instance, participant 2 voiced that:

"*Like, I know for myself when I was battling with do I go seek help? Or don't I? It was very much a question of, if I do go seek help who am I going to seek help from?*" (Participant 2)

Similarly, in the study of McDonald and Tijerino (2013), men who survived rape reported difficulty finding rape crisis centres that deal with men survivors following their rape. According to the participants, they could not find rape crisis centres, which discouraged them from seeking help (McDonald & Tijerino, 2013). Few organisations deal specifically with men who survived rape because the ideology of men being raped does not sell to the public. In other words, the organisations will have few clients to make use of their services. As such, the organisations will not grow to achieve their ultimate survivor support and rape eradication goals.

Moreover, Nel and Van Wyk (2013) study revealed that most organisations that deal with men who survived rape do not receive financial support from funding agencies. As such, it is impossible to run the organisations. In this study, the participants also raised this concern. For instance, participant 6 and participant 8 stated:

"*There is very few men's organisations that are funded. You've spoken to (name of person) [name of the organisation] and ourselves. Neither of us are funded, uh we have to stay small focused, rely on volunteers uh when we can.*" (Participant 6)

"*Now it's worse with an organisation. Organisation it depends, like you are begging for people to come and give you mone...*" (Participant 8)

With the increasing rate of the rape of men and the lack of financial support that the existing organisations receive, it is unlikely that new organisations that share the same goal of supporting the survivors and eradicating the rape of men would be created. Therefore, the voices of men who survived rape would remain unheard in society, thus reproducing the myths

that the rape of men does not exist or is not an important issue. Moreover, the existing organisations are located in their particular geographical locations, such as Gauteng and Western Cape, making it difficult for other men who survived rape across the country to access them.

5.3.4.3 Misrepresentation of the rape of men

According to Adams (2016), media is a powerful tool for representing various issues, including psycho-social problems. For instance, the media play a critical role in how the public make sense of and respond to the rape of men. Moreover, the media provide men with characters of powerful, strong, and in control. These representations of ideologies of hegemonic masculinity/ies maintain and reproduce the ideology that men are strong, powerful, and invulnerable.

The studies of Rumney (2008) as well as Turchik and Edwards (2012) argue that the media often stereotypically convey the rape of men. This misrepresentation is problematic because it (re)produces societal myths and misconceptions about the rape of men and therefore hinder support and acknowledgement afforded to men who survived rape (Masho & Alvanzo, 2010). Moreover, it underestimated the prevalence and severity of the rape of men (Stemple, 2009).

Sitto and Lubinga (2020) explored online discourse about the rape of men in South Africa. The study of Sitto and Lubinga (2020) included an analysis of 122 tweets. The study revealed that the media are highly selective when discussing and highlighting rape cases. For instance, online conversations were centred on, amplified the rape of women, and barely acknowledge men who survived rape (Sitto & Lubinga, 2020). Although this report is essential due to the high rate of rape of women, it is highly selective in conveying a broader understanding of the phenomenon of rape. Similarly, in this study, the participants articulated that the media is less likely to report on the rape of men. Participant 1 and participant 5 stated:

"*Because, unfortunately, the media has focuses so much on the fact that only women can be raped. They have been brainwashed, and that's the simple truth of it.*" (Participant 1)
"*I, I would say mostly covers female rape, and, and again that might not be the fault of the of the media or media outlets. It just could be just an extreme underreporting of incidences for, for male uh sexual assault.*" (Participant 5)

Similarly, Abdullah-Khan (2002) analysed newspaper articles in the United Kindom newspapers to determine whether there are stereotypes in reporting the rape of men in the media. The study of Abdullah-Khan (2002) included an analysis of 413 newspaper articles that covered 13 years, from 1989 to 2002. The study's findings revealed that 50% of the articles (208 out of 413) were stereotypical in reporting the rape of men (Abdullah-Khan, 2002). For instance, the articles were stereotypical because they reported inaccurate facts about the rape of men, such as the rape of men being sexually motivated, does not occur in non-institutionalised settings and is a homosexual issue. These misrepresentations are problematic because they can lead the public to understand rape from a particular script, such as the rape of men only happens in prison, or heterosexual men cannot be raped (Wise, 2012). In turn, these scripts help create misrepresentations of the rape of men, which are disseminated and adopted in society.

Abdullah-Khan (2002) argue that the media portrays the rape of men as an issue that happens only in prison. This misrepresentation is found in news reports, movies, and television soapies such as Yizo Yizo. This misrepresentation is influenced by the myth that the rape of men only happens in prison, and men are invulnerable. On the other hand, this deters men who survived rape from coming forward because the rape of men is not often reported in the media. Similarly, in this study, the participants asserted that the media does not represent the phenomenon of rape broadly. For instance, they mentioned that the media portrays the rape of men as a phenomenon that happens only in prison. Participant 9 stated:

"*So, rape of men in the media is represented as it only happens in jails or prisons.*"
(Participant 9)

Moreover, in this study, the participants voiced limited information on services and the organisations that support men who survived rape in the media. As such, other survivors do not necessarily know where to seek help. The following extracts support this finding:

"*So yes, I would definitely say there is stuff on social media, but it's not much that is there to support the male rape victim.*" (Participant 2)

The participants also asserted that the media is on business, focusing on stories that sell quicks. In other words, the media reports on what the public wants to hear, which is not the rape of men. The following extracts support this finding:

"*So, the media is business, just like any other business, they want something which sells quick.*" (Participant 8)

"*Media uses rape as a tool, it's a marketing tool. Now, people don't want to hear that men are being raped because then the marketing tool doesn't work it shocks people. Whereas you, if you advertise child abuse and women abuse then everybody jumps on the bandwagon start throwing donations around.*" (Participant 9)

5.4.   Conclusion

This chapter discussed the findings of the study. Four main themes and 10 subthemes emerged when analysing data. In the discussion of results, it was evident that hegemonic masculinity/ies influence the help-seeking behaviours of men who survived rape. Firstly, the rape of men is perceived as a psycho-social emasculation act. Therefore, men who survived rape are perceived as less masculine, homosexuals and weak because they failed to fight their perpetrators. Secondly, Ideologies of masculinity/ies influence men who survived rape from seeking help. For instance, men are taught to be emotionally inexpressive, self-reliant, and independent. Therefore, expressing emotions and asking for help from others is inconsistent with the hegemonic masculinity/ies. Moreover, psychological services are constructed as feminine, implying that those who seek such services are weak and less of a man. Thirdly, the understanding of the rape of men is surrounded by myths and negative stereotypical thinking, such as men cannot be raped. As a result of such myths, men who survived raped are automatically assumed vulnerable, weak and homosexuals. Lastly, socio-economic factors such as economic factors (costly psychological services), lack of support, and misrepresentations of the rape of men in the media also influence men who survived rape from not seeking help because they do not know where to access the help and the services are expensive making difficult for the survivors to access them. The following chapter discussed the study's conclusion, limitatation, strength and recommendtions.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION, LIMITATIONS, STRENGTH AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1.   Introduction

This chapter discussed the conclusion of the key findings. Following was a discussion of the limitations and the strengths of the study. Finally, this chapter concluded with recommendations for future research and rape counsellors.

6.2.   Conclusion of the study findings

This study aimed to explore rape counsellors' views, understanding and experiences of how masculinity/ies operates in the peculiar help-seeking behaviours of men who have survived rape. The current study participants entailed nine rape counsellors, eight of which are currently working with men who survived rape, and one has worked with the survivors before. The counsellors were recruited from the Moshate Men's Rights Organisation and MatrixMen Organisation and had an individual interview with the researcher over the phone. This study employed a qualitative research approach from a social constructionism point of view. Credibility, transferability, dependability, and conformability were put forward to ensure the trustworthiness of the study findings (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). The research took into account ethical principles relevant and applicable to this study and obtained all necessary approvals. Data collection began after the researcher obtained all the necessary permissions. The current study hoped to answer the following question, how do rape counsellors perceive the influence of masculinity/ies on the help-seeking behaviours of men who survived rape? The study's objective was to elicit rape counsellors' views, experiences, and constructions of how masculinity/ies is perceived to influence help-seeking behaviours of men who survived rape.

The existing literature reveals that men who survived rape are reluctant to seek psychological services. Moreover, the studies of (Heath et al., 2017; Kansiime et al., 2018; O'Brien et al., 2005; Perkins, 2015; Yousaf et al., 2015) cited ideologies of masculinity/ies as the main factor that deter men who survived rape from seeking psychological services. Despite this insightful finding, the researcher could not locate any study conducted in South Africa on the issue at hand. The current study addressed this gap by exploring how ideologies of masculinity/ies influence men who survived rape from seeking psychological services from rape counsellors' perspectives.

The rape of men is a complex phenomenon and involves multiple meanings, interpretations, and experiences. Moreover, the phenomenon is specific to individuals and is informed by their interactions with their realities. The constructions of the rape of men are bound to various factors, including socio-cultural context, socio-economic factors, age, and historical time (Katz, 2001; McDonald & Tijerino, 2013; Pretorius & Hull, 2005). Therefore,

men who survived rape would understand and experience their rape differently depending on various factors. Therefore, Connell's theory of multiple masculinities was appropriate to understand the implicit and complex multi-dimensional phenomenon of the rape of men.

From the participants' data, four main themes emerged, namely, (1) masculinity/ies and the rape of men, (2) masculinity/ies and help-seeking, (3) understanding of the rape of men and (4) socio-economic factors and help-seeking. These themes provided a rich understanding of the meanings attached to the rape of men and seeking psychological services.

According to the participants, the rape of men is perceived as psycho-social emasculating, leaving men who survived rape as unmanly and homosexuals. This finding relates to the hegemonic standards of masculinity/ies that men are physically strong, in control and not victims. Therefore, those men who come forward and disclose their rape risk being ridiculed and having their masculinity/ies and sexuality questioned because they acted in a manner a real man is not supposed to act.

The hegemonic standards of masculinity/ies do not encourage men who survived rape and men generally to seek help. Within patriarchal society, men are expected not to express their emotions. Moreover, men are not expected to seek and receive help from others. This gendered expectation of self-reliance and independence deter men who survived rape and men generally to come forward and seek help to avoid appearing weak in the eyes of others.

Psychological services are perceived as feminine services, and therefore seeking such services is constructed as an unmanly act. Therefore, implying that those who seek help are unmanly, emotionally vulnerable, dependent, and weak. All these traits are inconsistent with the hegemonic standards of masculinity/ies. Therefore, the hegemonic standards of masculinity/ies are detrimental to the health and psychological well-being of men who survived rape and men generally because they discourage them from seeking and receiving help from others.

The participants voiced that the lack of training about the rape of men evident in the majority of rape counsellors deter men who survived rape from seeking help. According to the participants, most rape counsellors are inadequate in dealing with the rape of men, hold negative stereotypical ideas, and do not believe that the rape of men exists. The stereotypical ideas and disbelieving the rape of men stems from the hegemonic masculinity/ies that expect men not to be victims and vulnerable.

Moreover, the participants articulated that lack of support from the first point of contact whom men survivors disclose their rape influence the survivors from seeking further support, including counselling and therapy. Therefore, if the first point of contact conforms and holds

ideologies of masculinity/ies such as men cannot be raped, the individual(s) would influence the survivors from seeking further support.

The findings of this study also revealed that myths and stereotypical ideas surround the rape of men. For instance, society understands rape as an act that happens only to women but not to men, and this relates to the ideologies of hegemonic masculinity/ies that men cannot be raped. Moreover, the rape of men is perceived to happen only in institutionalised settings such as prisons. The belief that the rape of men happens only in institutional settings creates an unsafe space for men who survived rape from coming out and seeking help.

Moreover, the findings revealed that socio-economic factors drive men who survived rape from seeking help. For example, the participants mentioned that psychological services are expensive. Moreover, the rape of men is misrepresented in the media. In most cases, the media do not report on the cases of men who survived rape and portrays the rape of men as a phenomenon that happens only in prison. Moreover, few organisations deal with men who survived rape, making it difficult for men who survived rape across the country to access and seek help from the few existing organisations.

6.3. Limitations of the study

A limitation of the current study relates to sample size. This study utilised a small sample size of nine participants. Although data from nine rape counsellors can explain the influence of masculinity/ies on the help-seeking behaviours of men who survived rape, this sample size is insufficient to draw definitive conclusions. Therefore, the findings and conclusions reached by this study are not generalisable and should not be taken to represent the perspectives of all rape counsellors in South Africa.

Some demographics of the sample limit this study. The study sample was composed of predominately Caucasians (six participants). Therefore, the findings may be predominantly dominated by the perspectives of Caucasians, which raises concerns about the generalisability of the study findings to other rape counsellors. Future research should replicate the present findings with a more diverse population in terms of race.

Another limitation in this study was the use of a qualitative methodology. A qualitative methodology is subjective. In other words, it is influenced by the subjectivity of the researcher (s). Although the researcher, in this study, attempted to be objective when analysing the data with the help of the research supervision, it was not possible to achieve complete objectivity, and the discussion, therefore, provides one of many possible sets of interpretations. These limitations, however, are not enough to overlook the importance of this research study.

Moreover, in this study, six participants did not receive professional training to work with men who survived rape. However, the six participants provided other forms of support, specifically emotional support, guidance, and legal support, to men who survived rape. The fact that six participants did not receive professional training to work with men who survived rape could have influenced the data collected and conclusions drawn in this study due to differences in their cognitions, insights and psychological and emotional analysis of the rape of men and the help-seeking behaviours of men who survived rape. However, their perspectives are crucial since they work closely with men who survived rape, and therefore, they should not be overlooked.

6.4.   Strength of the study

In this study, five male participants disclosed that they are survivors of rape. It is important to note that these five participants are comfortable that the researcher disclosed that they are rape survivors. Furthermore, the researcher obtained permission from the participants to disclose their victim status. Their perspectives as rape counsellors and rape survivors in this study provided a comprehensive understanding of the complex phenomenon of the rape of men and thus partly enriched the quality of the current study.

6.5.   Recommendations

6.5.1. Future research

When reviewing the literature in this study, the researcher found few existing studies that explored the rape of men in non-institutional settings and masculinity/ies in South Africa. These studies support this finding (Abdullah-Khan, 2002; Bullock & Beckson, 2011; Graham, 2006). Given the fact that the rate of the rape of men is increasing in the country and the majority of men who survived rape are reluctant to seek professional help, future research must explore this issue with a large and more diverse sample of rape survivors and counsellors across different settings in South Africa. As a result, this would advance the knowledge of and responses to the rape of men in public. Moreover, understanding the influence of masculinity/ies on the help-seeking behaviours of men who survived rape is essential when formulating gendered appropriate psychotherapeutic and counselling treatment plans that focus on intervention and prevention of the rape of men.

6.5.2. Training

Almost all participants asserted that training of rape counsellors is particularly needed in South Africa. The participants discussed cases of inadequate treatment of men who survived rape by rape counsellors when the survivors went to seek help from them. For instance, the rape counsellors mentioned that most men survivors who sought help from them mentioned that they could get help from other rape counsellors, as they did not understand the rape of men. Moreover, the counsellors were judgemental during the counselling interaction and were not emotionally equipped to deal with their matters. This inadequate treatment is detrimental to the survivors because it affects their healing journey and drives away men who survived rape seeking psychological services (Kansiime et al., 2018). Therefore, the training should mainly focus on education on the rape of men and emotional and professional readiness. Being trained emotionally and professionally and understanding the rape of men could help rape counsellors better understand what is happening in the mind of the survivors during counselling interactions, minimise any possibly inappropriate responses and biases, and thus be beneficial to the survivors.

6.5.3. Psychological services

There is still an essential need for affordable psychological services so that they are to be easily accessible to men who survived rape. In this study, the participants also voiced that psychological services should be affordable, and this can be achieved through the help of funding agencies by financially supporting organisations and rape counsellors that deal with men who survived rape. However, the two organisations included in this study are self-funded, and with the lack of financial support from funding agencies, it is not easy to run the organisations (McMullen, 1990). Furthermore, it is difficult because the quality of services, range of services, number of service providers is directly proportionate to available financial resources (Nel & Van Wyk, 2013).

6.5.4. The media

The media play a significant role in how society understand and respond to events and phenomena in their lives. In other words, the media can negatively and positively influence how society understand and respond to the rape of men. In this study, the participants articulated that media fail to represent the phenomenon of the rape of men adequately. In this study, the participants articulated that the media is less likely to report on the rape of men. Moreover, the few cases that the media report on are surrounded by myths and stereotypes. For instance, the media portray the rape of men as a phenomenon that happens only in prisons

and to homosexual men. The media highlights and accurately must report on the rape of men and the rape of women generally so that it empowers the survivors to come forward and seek help.

6.6.   Conclusion

The current study explored rape counsellors' views, understanding and experiences of how masculinity/ies operates in the peculiar help-seeking behaviours of men who have survived rape. The limited existing studies reviewed in this study revealed that men who survived rape are reluctant to seek psychological help. Similar to the existing studies, this study revealed that men who survived rape are reluctant to seek help, and this is broadly linked to the ideologies of masculinity/ies. Being raped as a man may be interpreted as reflecting an inadequate (or loss of) masculinity/ies because it shows a lack of physical strength to fight off the attacker(s) and failure of being in control. Thus, men who survived rape experience an attachment of a negative or deficit masculine identity and sexual identity crisis which are meant to show that they are no longer perceived as real men. To avoid having their masculinity/ies and sexual orientation questioned, men who survived rape avoid disclosing their rape experiences, reporting the rape, and seeking counselling, therapy, and psycho-social support. Ideologies of hegemonic masculinity/ies that expect men to be self-reliant and not express their emotions also discourage the majority of men who survived rape from disclosing their rape experiences.

Moreover, socio-economic factors such as expensive psychological services drive away men who survived rape from seeking psychological services. Generally, the findings of this study suggest that by critically challenging our understanding and perceptions of the rape of men, help-seeking behaviours of men generally, and masculinity/ies, we may encourage men who survived rape from seeking and using psychological services. Therefore, future research should critically explore the rape of men and ideologies of hegemonic masculinity/ies to encourage men who survived rape to come forward and seek psychological services.

REFERENCES

Abdullah-Khan, N. (2002). *Survivors of male rape: The emergence of a social and legal issue* [Doctoral dissertation, Middlesex University]. Institutional Repository at Middlesex University. http://eprints.mdx.ac.uk/6720

Abdullah-Khan, N. (2008). *Male Rape*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Abrahams, N., Jewkes, R., Martin, L. J., Mathews, S., Vetten, L., & Lombard, C. (2009). Mortality of women from intimate partner violence in South Africa: A national epidemiological study. *Violence and Victims, 24*(4), 546–556. https://doi.org/10.1891/0886-6708.24.4.546

Adams, L. J. (2016). *Representation of male on male rape in South African press reports* [Master's thesis, University of Johannesburg]. Institutional Repository at the University of Johannesburg. https://ujcontent.uj.ac.za/vital/access/manager/index?sitename=Research%20output

Alase, A. (2017). The interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA): A guide to a good qualitative research approach. *International Journal of Education and Literacy Studies*, *5*(2), 9–19. https://doi.org/10.7575/aiac.ijels.v.5n.2p.9

Anderson, C. (2010). Presenting and evaluating qualitative research. *American Journal of Pharmaceutical Education*, *74*(8), 1–7.

Anderson, E. (2005). *In the game: Gay athletes and the cult of masculinity*. State University of New York Press.

Anderson, E. (2008). Being masculine is not about who you sleep with…: Heterosexual athletes contesting masculinity and the one-time rule of homosexuality. *Sex Roles*, *58*, 104–115. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-007-9337-7

Anderson, I. (2007). What is a typical rape? Effects of victim and participant gender in female and male rape perception. *British Journal of Social Psychological*, *46*, 225–245. https://doi.org/10.1348/014466606X101780

Anderson, I., & Quinn, A. (2009). Gender differences in medical students' attitudes towards male-female rape victims. *Psychology, Health and Medicine*, *14*(1), 105–110. https://doi.org/10.1080/13548500802241928

Andersson, N., & Ho-Foster, A. (2008). 13915 reasons for equity in sexual offences legislation: A national school-based survey in South Africa. *International Journal for Equity in Health*, *7*(20), 1–6. https://doi.org/10.1186/1475-9276-7-20

Arksey, H., & Knight, P. (1999). *Interviewing for social scientists: An introductory resource with examples*. SAGE Publications.

Artz, L., Burton, P., Ward, C. L., Leoschut, L., Phyfer, J., Loyd, S., & le Mottee, C. (2016). *Optimus Study South Africa: Technical report sexual victimisation of children in South Africa*. UBS Optimus Foundation.

Artz, L., & Smythe, D. (2008). (Eds.). *Should we consent? Rape law reform in South Africa*. Juta.

Babbie, M., & Mouton, J. (2001). *The practice of social research*. Oxford.

Bancroft, J. (1980). Psychophysiology of sexual dysfunction. In H. H. van Praag, M. H. Lader, O. Rafaelsen & E. Sachar (Eds.), *Handbook of biological psychiatry* (pp. 3359–3392). Marcel Dekker.

Banjac, S., & Dibetso, L. (2013). G*ender on the agenda: Narratives of masculinity in South African media* (S. Haikali, Ed.). Fesmedia Africa.

Barker, G., Contreras, J. M., Heilman, B., Singh, A. K., Verma, R. K., & Nascimento, M. (2011). *Evolving men: Initial results from the International Men and Gender Equality Survey (IMAGES)*. International Center for Research on Women (ICRW).

Barker, G., & Ricardo, C. (2005). *Young men and the construction of masculinity in sub-Saharan Africa: Implications for HIV/AIDS*. World Bank Social Development Papers.

Bhana, D. (2005). What matters to girls and boys in a black primary school in South Africa? *Early Child Development and Care*, *175*(2), 99–111. https://doi.org/10.1080/0300443042000230410

Bierie, D. M., & Davis-Siegel, J. C. (2015). Measurement matters: Comparing old and new definitions of rape in federal statistical reporting. *Journal of Research and Treatment*, *27*(5), 443–459. https://doi.org/10.1177/1079063214521470

Blackbeard, D., & Lindegger, G. (2007). Building a wall around themselves: Exploring adolescent masculinity and abjection with photo-biographical research. *South African Journal of Psychology*, *37*(1), 25–46. https://hdl.handle.net/10520/EJC98418

Bless, C., & Higson-Smith, C. (2000). *Fundamentals of social research methods: An African perspective*. Juta.

Booyens, K. (2008). *The sexual assault and rape of male offenders and awaiting-trial detainees* [Doctoral dissertation, University of Pretoria]. Institutional Repository at the University of Pretoria. https://repository.up.ac.za/bitstream/handle/2263/25160/Complete.pdf?sequence=8&isAllowed=y

Branney, P., & White, A. (2008). Big boys don't cry: Depression and men. *Advances in Psychiatric Treatment*, *14*(4), 256–262. https://doi.org/10.1192/apt.bp.106.003467

Brink, N. (2002). *Fundamentals of research methodology for health care professionals*. Juta.

Brock, J. M., & Wearden, A. J. (2006). A critical evaluation of the use of interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA) in health psychology. *Psychology and Health*, *21*(1), 87–108. https://doi.org/10.1080/14768320500230185

Brownmiller, S. (1975). *Against our will: Men, women, and rape*. Simon and Schuster rownmiller.

Bryden, D. P., & Grier, M. M. (2011). The search for rapists' real motives. *The Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, *101*(1), 171–278. https://www.jstor.org/stable/23074037

Bryman, A. (2012). *Social research methods*. University Press.

Bullock, C. M., & Beckson, M. (2011). Male victims of sexual assault: Phenomenology, psychology, physiology. *Journal of the American Academy of Psychiatry Law*, *39*(2), 197–205. http://www.jaapl.org

Buntu, A. O. (2012). *Rape, rage and culture: African men and cultural conditions for justification of, and sanctions against rape* [Master's thesis, University of South Africa]. The Institutional Repository University of South Africa. http://hdl.handle.net/10500/13319

Camino, L., Zeldin, S., & Payne-Jackson, A. (1995). *Basics of qualitative interviews and focus groups*. Center for Youth Development and Policy Research.

Campbell, R., & Martin, P. Y. (2001). Services for sexual assault survivors: The role of rape crisis centres. In C. M. Renzetti, J. L. Edelson & R. K. Bergen (Eds.), *Sourcebook on violence against women* (pp. 227–241). Thousand Oaks.

Carey, M. (2012). *Qualitative research skills for social work: Theory and practice*. Ashgate Publishing.

Chilisa, B. (2012). *Indigenous research methodologies*. SAGE Publications.

Chimanzi, L. (2016). *Masculinity construction: Grade 7 boys' relations with girls at a township primary school in Gauteng East* [Master's thesis, University of South Africa]. Institutional Repository at the University of South Africa. http://hdl.handle.net/10500/23394

Clarke, A., & Stermac, L. (2011). The influence of stereotypical beliefs, participant gender, and survivor weight on sexual assault response. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, *26*(11), 2285–2302. https://doi.org/10.1177/0886260510383039

Cock, J. (2001). *Gun violence and masculinity in contemporary South Africa. Changing Men in Africa* (R. Morrell, Ed.). University of Natal Press.

Collings, S. J., Griffiths, S., & Kumalo, M. (2005). Patterns of disclosure in child sexual abuse. *South African Journal of Psychology*, *35*(2), 270–285. https://doi.org/10.1177/008124630503500207

Connell, R. W. (1995). *Masculinities*. Polity Press.

Connell, R. W. (2000). *The men and the boys*. Cambridge.

Connell, R. W. (2005). *Masculinities* (2nd ed.). University of California Press.

Connell, R. W. (2013). The social organisation of masculinity. In C. R. MacCann & S-K. Kim (Eds.), *Feminist theory reader: Local and global perspectives* (pp. 252–263). Routledge.

Connell, R. W., & Messerschmidt, J. W. (2005). Hegemonic masculinity: Rethinking the concept. *Gender and Society*, *19*(6), 829–859. https://doi.org/10.1177/0891243205278639

Copenhaver, M. M., Lash, S. J., & Eisler, R. M. (2000). Masculine gender-role stress, anger, and male intimate abusiveness: Implications for men's relationships. *Sex Roles*, *45*(5), 405–414. https://doi.org/10.1023/A:10070503053387

Courtenay, W. H. (2000). Constructions of masculinity and their influence on men's well-being: A theory of gender and health. *Social Science and Medicine*, *50*(10), 1385–1401. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0277-9536(99)00390-1

Courtenay, W. H. (2011). *Dying to be men: Psychosocial, environmental, and biobehavioral directions in promoting the health of men and boys*. Routledge.

Creswell, J. W. (2007). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five approaches* (2nd ed.). Sage Publications.

Davies, J., McCrae, B. J. F., Dochnahl, A., Pickering, T., Harrison, B., Zakrzewski, M., & Wilson, K. (2000). Identifying male college students' perceived health needs, barriers to seeking help, and recommendations to help men adopt healthier lifestyles. *Journal of American College Health*, *48*(6), 259–267. https://doi.org/10.1080/07448480009596267

Davies, M., & Rogers, P. (2006). Perceptions of male victims in depicted sexual assaults: A review of the literature. *Aggression and Violent Behaviour*, *11*, 367–377. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.avb.2006.01.002

Demetriou, D. Z. (2001). Connell's concept of hegemonic masculinity: A critique. *Theory and Society*, *30*, 337–361. https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1017596718715

Doherty, K., & Anderson, I. (2004). Making sense of male rape: Constructions of gender, sexuality and experience of rape victims. *Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology*, *14*(2), 85–103. https://doi.org/10.1002/casp.765

Donat, P. L. N., & D'Emilio, J. (1992). A feminist redefinition of rape and sexual assault: Historical foundations and change. *Journal of Social Issues*, *48*(1), 9–22. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540.1992.tb01154.x

Donne, M. D., DeLuca, J., Pleskach, P., Bromson, C., Mosley, M. P., Perez, E. T., Mathews, S. G., Stephenson, R., & Frye, V. (2018). Barriers to and facilitators of help-seeking behaviour among men who experience sexual violence. *American Journal of Men's Health*, *12*(2), 189–201. https://doi.org/10.1177/15579883177406

Donnelly, D., & Kenyon, S. (1996). Honey we don't do men: Gender stereotypes and the provision of services to sexually assaulted males. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, *11*(3) 441–448. https://doi.org/10.1177/088626096011003009

Dunkle, K. L., Jewkes, R. K., Murdock, D. W., Sikweyiya, Y., & Morrell, R. (2013). Prevalence of consensual male-male sex and sexual violence, and associations with HIV in South Africa: A population-based cross-sectional study. *PLoS Med*, *10*(6), 1–11. https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pmed.1001472

Etheridge, J. (2019, August 23). Gauteng man handed life term for raping girl, 12, at his house. *News24*. https://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/gauteng-man-handed-life-term-for-raping-girl-12-at-his-house-20190823

Fernandez, P. A. (2011). Sexual assault: An overview and implications for counselling support. *Australasian Medical Journal*, *4*(11), 596–602. https://doi.org/10.4066/AMJ.2011858

Franuik, R., Seefelt, L. J., Cepress, S. L., & Vandello, J. A. (2008). Prevalence and effects of rape myths in print journalism: The Kobe Bryant case. *Violence Against Women*, *14*(3). 287–309. https://doi.org/10.1177/1077801207313971

Frazier, P. A. (1993). A comparative study of male and female rape victims seen at a hospital-based rape crisis program. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, *8*(1), 64–76. https://doi.org/10.1177/088626093008001005

Frazier, P. A., & Schauben, L. (1994). Causal attributions and recovery from rape and other stressful life events. *Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology*, *13*(1), 1–14. https://doi.org/10.1521/jscp.1994.13.1.1

Frosh, S., Phoenix, A., & Pattman, R. (2002). *Young masculinities: Understanding boys in contemporary society*. Palgrave.

Galliano, G. (2003). *Gender crossing boundaries*. Wadsworth.

Gear, S. (2007). Behind the bars of masculinity: Male rape and homophobia in and about South African men's prisons. *Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, 10*(2), 209–227. https://doi.org/10.1177/1363460707075803

Gear, S. (2010). Masculinity and sexual abuse: A view from South African prisons. *South Africa Crime Quarterly*, (33), 25–32. https://doi.org/10.17159/2413-3108/2010/v0i33a877

Gennrich, D. (2013). *Men and masculinities in South Africa*. Pacsa; Sonke Gender Justice Network.

Gevers, A., & Abrahams, N. (2015). *Capacity assessment of mental health services for rape victims in acute health-care settings: A rapid appraisal of services in the Western Cape Province*. South African Medical Research Council.

Giddens, A. (1997). *Sociology*. Polity Press.

Gifford, G. (2004, November 8). Fear masks the numbers. *The Star*. http://www.sabinet.co.za

Glover, J. (2017). *Young men's talk about menstruation and hegemonic masculinity in the South African context: A discursive analysis* [Master's thesis, Rhodes University]. Institutional Repository at Rhodes University. http://hdl.handle.net/10962/60244

Gonzalez, M. J., Alegria, M., & Prihoda, T. J. (2005). How do attitudes toward mental health treatment vary by age, gender, and ethnicity/race in young adults? *Journal of Community Psychology*, *33*(5), 611–629. https://doi.org/10.1002/jccop.20071

Gordon, D. M., Hawes, S. W., Reid, A. E., Callands, T. A., Magriples, U., Divney, A., & Kershaw, T. (2013). The many faces of manhood: Examining masculine norms and health behaviours of young fathers across race. *American Journal of Men's Health*, *7*(5), 394–401. https://doi.org/10.1177/1557988313476540

Graaff, K., & Heinecken, L. (2017). Masculinities and gender-based violence in South Africa: A study of a masculinities-focused intervention programme. *Development South Africa*, *34*(5), 622–634. https://doi.org/10.1080/0376835X.2017.133457

Graham, R. (2006). Male rape and the careful construction of the male victim. *Social and Legal Studies*, *15*(2), 187–208. https://doi.org/10.1177/0964663906063571

Gramsci, A. (1971). *Selections from the prison notebooks* (Q. Hoare & G. N. Smith, Eds.). International Publishers.

Green, L. A., Gaa, M., Mercado, R. L., Dawson-Fend, L., & Partin, A. M. (2015). *Rape culture revisited: Concepts and action for counsellors helping survivors*. https://www.counseling.org/docs/default/source/vista/article263d5c21f161103abcacff000bee5e7.pdf

Griffith, D. M., Gunter, K., & Watkins, D. C. (2012). Measuring masculinity in research on men of color: Findings and future directions. *American Journal of Public Health*, *102*(2), 187–194.

Grindstaff, L., & West, E. (2011). Hegemonic masculinity on the sidelines of sport. *Sociology Compass*, *5*(10), 859–881. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1751-9020.2011.00409.x

Groenewald, T. (2004). A phenomenological research design illustrated. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, *3*(1), 42–55. https://doi.org/10.1177/160940690400300104

Groes-Green, C. (2009). Hegemonic and subordinated masculinities: Class, violence and sexual performance among young Mozambican men. *Nordic Journal of African Studies*, *18*(4), 286–304. http://www.njas.helsinki.fi/pdf-files/vol18num4/groesgreen.pdf

Harper, D. & Thompson, A. R. (2012). *Qualitative research methods in mental health and psychotherapy: A guide for students and practitioners.* Wiley-Blackwell.

Harrison, J. (1978). Warning: The male sex role may be dangerous to your health. *Journal of Social Issues*, *34*(1), 65–86. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4560.1978.tb02541.x

Harry, B., & Lipsky, M. (2014). Qualitative research on special education teacher preparation. In M. McCray, T. Brownell & B. Lignugaris (Eds.), *Handbook of research on special education teacher preparation* (pp. 445–460). Routledge.

Harvey, E. (2002). Rape in prison: An intervention by Rape Crisis at Pollsmoor Prison. *Constructive Approaches to Community and Political Conflict*, *11*(2), 44–51.

Heath, P. J., Brenner, R. E., Vogel, D. L., Lannin, D. G., & Strass, H. A. (2017). Masculinity and barriers to seeking counselling: The buffering role of self-compassion. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, *64*(1), 94–103. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/cou0000185

Hendricks, L., Swartz, S., & Bhana, A. (2010). Why young men in South Africa plan to become teenage fathers: Implications for the development of masculinities within contexts of poverty. *Journal of Psychology in Africa*, *20*(4), 527–536. http://hdl.handle.net/20.500.11910/3947

Hesse-Biber, S. N. (2010). *Mixed methods research: Merging theory and practice*. The Guilford Press.

Hester, M., Williamson, E., Regan, L., Coulter, M., Chantler, K., Gangoli, G., Davenport, R., & Green, L. (2012). *Exploring the service and support needs of male, lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgendered and black and other minority ethnic victims of domestic and sexual violence*. The University of Bristol.

Husserl, E. (1970). *Logical investigations*. Humanities Press.

Javaid, A. (2014). Feminism, masculinity, and male rape: Bringing male rape out of the closet. *Journal of Gender Studies*, *25*(3), 1–11. https://doi.org/10.1080/09589236.2014.959479

Javaid, A. (2015). The dark side of men: The nature of masculinity and its uneasy relationship with male rape. *Journal of Men's Studies*, *23*(3), 271–292. https://doi.org/10.1177/1060826515600656

Javaid, A. (2017). The unknown victims: Hegemonic masculinity, masculinities, and male sexual victimisation Newcastle University. *Sociological Research*, *22*(1), 1–20. https://doi.org/10.5153/sro.4155

Javaid, A. (2018). Male rape, masculinities, and sexualities. *International Journal of Law, Crime and Justice*, *52*, 199–210. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijlcj.2017.12.003

Jewkes, R., Christofides, N., Vetten, L., Jina, R., Sigsworth, R., & Loots, L. (2009). Medico-legal findings, legal case progression, and outcomes in South African rape cases: Retrospective review. *PLoS Medicine*, *6*(10), Article e1000164.

Jewkes, R., Morrell, R., Hearn, J., Lundqvist, E., Blackbeard, D., Lindegger, G., Quayle, M., Sikweyiya, Y., & Gottzén, L. (2015). Hegemonic masculinity: Combining theory and practice in gender interventions. *Culture, Health and Sexuality*, *17*(2), 112–127. https://doi.org/10.1080/13691058.2015.1085094

Jewkes, R., Sikweyiya, Y., Morrell, R., & Dunkle, K. (2009). *Understanding men's health and use of violence: Interface of rape and HIV in South Africa*. South African Medical Research Council.

Jewkes, R., Sikweyiya, Y., Morrell, R., & Dunkle, K. (2010). Why, when and how men rape: Understanding rape perpetration in South Africa. *South Africa Crime Quarterly*, *34,* 23–31. https://doi.org/10.17159/2413-3108/2010/v0i34a874

Jewkes, R., Sikweyiya, Y., Morrell, R., & Dunkle, K. (2011a). Gender inequitable masculinity and sexual entitlement in rape perpetration South Africa: Findings of a cross-sectional study. *PIOs One*, *6*(12), 1–11. https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0029590

Jewkes, R., Sikweyiya, Y., Morrell, R., & Dunkle, K. (2011b). The relationship between intimate partner violence, rape and HIV amongst South African men: A cross-sectional study. *PLoS ONE*, *6*(9), 1–10. https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0024256

Jina, R., Machisa, M., Labuschagne, G., Vetten, L., Loots, L., Jewkes, R. (2020). Unspoken victims: A national study of male rape incidents and police investigations in South Africa. *South African Medical Journal*, *110*(9), 926–931. https://doi.org/10.7196/SAMJ.2020.v110i9.14525

Jones, S. (2021). Man in 40s allegedly raped by stocky attacker on footpath near nature reserve. *TeessideLive*. https://www.amp/s/www.gazettelive.co.uk/teessidenews

Kalra, G., & Bhugra, D. (2013). Sexual violence against women: Understanding cross-cultural intersections. *Indian Journal of Psychiatry*, *55*(3), 244–249. https://doi.org/10.4103/0019-5545.117139

Kansiime, P., van der Westhuizen, C., & Kagee, A. (2018). Barriers and facilitators to physical and mental health help-seeking among Congolese male refugee survivors of conflict-related sexual violence living in Kampala. *Social Work and Social Sciences Review*, *19*(3), 152–173. https://journals.whitingbirch.net/index.php/SWSSR/article/view/1196

Karina, E. (2011). *Rape, legal definitions of*. SAGE Publications.

Karpman, B. (1951). The sexual psychopath. *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, *42*, 184-198.

Kassing, L. R., Beesley, D., & Frey, L. L. (2005). Gender role conflict, homophobia, age and education as predictors of male rape myth acceptance. *Journal of Mental Health Counseling*, *27*(4), 311–328. https://doi.org/10.17744/mehc.27.4.9wfm24f52kqgav37

Katz, W. G. (2001). *An exploratory study of male survivors' experiences of rape in non-institutional settings* [Unpublished Master's thesis]. University of Pretoria

Khanyile, N. (2019, October 25). School blamed for rape incident. *News24*. https://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/school-blamed-for-rape-incident-20191025

Kimmel, M. S., & Bridges, T. S. (2011). *Masculinity*. https://doi.org/10.1093/OBO/9780199756384-0033

King, M., & Woollett, E. (1997). Sexually assaulted males: 115 men consulting a counselling service. *Archives of Sexual Behaviour*, *26*(6), 579–588. https://doi.org/10.1023/a:1024520225196

Kinsey, A. C., Pomeroy, W. B., & Martin, C. E. (1948). *Sexual behaviour in the human male Philadelphia*. Saunders.

Kotze, K. (2017). Male rape trauma is less likely to be reported. *Plainsman*. http://www.plainsman.co.za

Krefting, L. (1990). Rigour in qualitative research: The assessment of trustworthiness. *The American Journal of Occupational Therapy*, *45*(3), 214–222. https://doi.org/10.5014/ajot.45.3.214

Labaree, D. F. (2004). *The trouble with ed schools*. Yale University Press.

Laces, B. (2017). Police hunt two women who allegedly raped man. *eNCA*. https://www.enca.com

Lalumiere, M. L., Harris, G. T., Quinsey, V. L., & Rice, M. E. (2005). *The causes of rape*. American Psychological Association Press.

Langa, M. (2012). *Becoming a man: Exploring multiple voices of masculinity amongst a group of young adolescent boys in Alexandra Township, South Africa* [Doctoral dissertation, University of Witwatersrand]. WIReDSpace. http://hdl.handle.net/10539/11759

Langa, M., & Eagle, G. (2008). The intractability of militarised masculinity: A case study of former self-defence unit members in the Kathorus area, South Africa. *South African Journal of Psychology, 38*(1), 152–175. https://doi.org/10.1177/008124630803800109

Langevin, R. (Ed.). (1985). *Erotic preference, gender identity, and aggression in men: New research studies.* Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Lanyon, R. I. (1986). Theory and treatment in child molestation. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 54,*176-82. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-006X.54.2.176

Lester, S. (1999). *An introduction to phenomenological research.* https://www.sld.demon.co.uk/resmethy.pdf

Letsela, L., & Ratele, K. (2009). *I am a tsotsi from Sophia Town, you must cure yourself: Masculinity and health seeking behaviours in South Africa* [Fact sheet]. Medical Research Council-University of South Africa. https://www.brothersforlife.org

Lincoln, Y., & Guba, E. (1985). *Naturalistic inquiry.* SAGE Publications.

Lindegger, G., & Maxwell, J. (2007). Teenage masculinity: The double bind of conformity to hegemonic standards. In T. Shefer, K. Ratele, A. Strebel, N. Shabalala, R. Buikema (Eds.), *From boys to men: Social constructions of masculinity in contemporary society* (pp. 95–111). UCT Press.

Lisa, V. (2015). *It sucks/It's a wonderful service: Post-rape care and the micro-politics of institutions.* Shukumisa Campaign; ActionAid South Africa.

Machisa, M., Jina, R., Labuschagne, G., Vetten, L., Loots, L., Swemmer, S., Meyersfeld, B., & Jewkes, R. (2017). *Rape justice in South Africa: A retrospective study of the investigation, prosecution and adjudication of reported rape cases from 2012.* Gender and Health Research Unit; South African Medical Research Council.

MacKinnon, C. A. (1987). *Feminism unmodified: Discourses on life and law.* Harvard University Press.

Mahalik, J. R., Locke, B. D., Ludlow, L. H., Diemer, M. A., Scott, R. P. J., Gottfried, M., & Freitas, G. (2003). Development of the conformity to masculine norms inventory. *Psychology of Men and Masculinity, 4*(1), 3–25. https://doi.org/10.1037/1524-9220.4.1.3

Majors, R., & Billson, J. M. (1992). *Cool pose: The dilemmas of black manhood in America.* Touchstone.

Martin, M., & Muthukrishna, N. (2011). Deconstructing discourses of gender equality in cross-gender friendships: Grade seven boys and girls in an inner-city school. *Gender and Behaviour, 9*(1), 3798–3816. https://doi.org/10.4314/gab.v9i1.67474

Masho, S. W., & Alvanzo, A. (2010). Help-seeking behaviors of men sexual assault survivors. *American Journal of Men's Health*, *4*(3), 237 –242. https://doi.org/10.1177/1557988309336365

Masitha, N. M. (2012). *The construction of masculinities and sexuality among young male university students* [Unpublished Master's thesis]. University of KwaZulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg.

McCann, T., & Clark, E. (2005). Using unstructured interviews with participants who have schizophrenia. *Nurse Researcher*, *13*(1), 7–18. https://doi.org/10.7748/nr2005.07.13.1.7.c5996

McDonald, S., & Tijerino, A. (2013). *Male survivors of sexual abuse and assault: Their experiences.* http://www.justice.gc.ca

McGuffey, C. S., & Rich, B. L. (2011). Playing in the gender transgression zone: Race, class, and hegemonic masculinity in middle childhood. In J. Z. Spade & C. G (Eds.), *The kaleidoscope of gender: Prisms, patterns, and possibilities* (pp. 166–176). Sage Publications.

McKibbin, W. L., Shackelford, T. K., Goetz, A. T., & Starratt, V. G. (2008). Why do men rape? An evolutionary psychological perspective. *Review of General Psychology*, *12*(1), 86–97. https://doi.org/10.1037/1089-2680.12.1.86

McPhail, B. A. (2015). Feminist framework plus: Knitting feminist theories of rape aetiology into a comprehensive model. *Trauma, Violence, and Abuse*, *17*(3), 1–16. https://doi.org/10.1177/1524838015584367tva.sagepub.com

Meinck, F., Cluver, L., Loening-Voysey, H., Bray, R., Doubt, J., Casale, M., & Sherr, L. (2017). Disclosure of physical, emotional and sexual child abuse, help-seeking and access to abuse response services in two South African Provinces. *Psychology, Health and Medicine*, *22*(1), 94–106. https://doi.org/10.1080/13548506.2016.1271950

Menon, P. K. (1983). The law of rape and criminal law administration with special reference to the Commonwealth Caribbean. *The International and Comparative Law Quarterly*, *32*(4), 832–870. https://doi.org/10.1093/iclqaj/32.4.832

Messerschmidt, J. W. (1993). *Masculinities and crime: Critique and reconceptualisation of theory.* Rowman; Littlefield Publishers.

Mezey, G., & King, M. (1989). The effects of sexual assault on men: A survey of 22 victims. *Psychological Medicine*, *19*(1), 205–209. https://doi.org/10.1017/s0033291700011168

Miller, T. (2009). Masculinity. In P. Essed, D. T. Goldberg & A. Kobayashi (Eds.), *A companion to gender studies* (pp. 114–131). Wiley-Blackwell.

Mitchley, A. (2019, October 21). Exclusive convicted Dros rapist Nicholas Ninow kept in a single cell away from other prisoners. *News24.* https://m.news24.com/SouthAfica/News/exclusive-convicted-dros-rapist-nicholas-ninow-kept-in-a-single- cell-away-from-other-prisoners-20191011

Monk-Turner, E., & Light, D. (2010). Male sexual assault and rape: Who seeks counselling? *Journal of Research and Treatment,* *22*(3), 255 –265. https://doi.org/10.1177/1079063210366271

Morrell, R. (1998). Of boys and men: Masculinity and gender in Southern African Studies. *Journal of Southern African Studies,* *24*(4), 605–630. https://doi.org/10.1080/03057079808708593

Morrell, R. (Ed.). (2001). *Changing men in Africa.* University of Natal Press.

Morrell, R., Jewkes, R., & Lindegger, G. (2012). Hegemonic masculinity/masculinities in South Africa: Culture, power, and gender politics. *Men and Masculinities,* *15*(1), 11–30. https://doi.org/10.1177/1097184X12438001

Morrell, R., Jewkes, R., Lindegger, G., & Hamlall, V. (2013). Hegemonic masculinity: Reviewing the gendered analysis of men's power in South Africa. *South African Review of Sociology,* *44*(1), 3–21. https://doi.org/10.1080/21528586.2013.784445

Motsei, M. (2007). *The Kanga and the Kangaroo Court: Reflection on the rape trial of Jacob Zuma.* Jacana.

Naidoo, K. (2013). Rape in South Africa: A call to action. *South African Medical Journal,* *103*(4), 210–211. https://doi.org/10.7196/SAMJ.6802

Nedombeloni, H., & Oyedem, K. (2014). Communicating masculinity: Attitudes of adolescent males in rural South Africa to rape and gender relations. *Communitas,* *19,*175–191.

Nel, J. A., & van Wyk, H. (2013). Victim empowerment in South Africa. In R. Peacock (Ed.), *Victimology in South Africa* (pp. 77–94). Van Schaik Publishers.

Newcombe, P. A., van den Eynde, J., Hafner, D., & Jolly, L. (2008). Attributions for responsibility for rape: Differences across familiarity of situation, gender, and acceptance of rape myths. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology,* *38*(7), 2736–1754. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1559-1816.2008.00367.x

Novotny, P. (2012). Rape victims in the (gender) neutral zone: The assimilation of resistance? *Seattle Journal for Social Justice,* *1*(3), 743–756.

O'Brien, R., Hunt, K., & Hart, G. (2005). It's caveman stuff, but that is to a certain extent how guys still operate: Men's accounts of masculinity and help-seeking. *Social Science and Medicine,* *61(*3), 503–516. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2004.12.008

Onyango, M. A., & Hampanda, K. (2011). Social constructions of masculinity and male survivors of wartime sexual violence: An analytical review. *International Journal of Sexual Health*, *23*(4), 237–247. https://doi.org/10.1080/19317611.2011.608415

Padgett, D. K. (2008). *Qualitative methods in social research* (2nd ed.). SAGE Publications.

Pantazis, A. (1999). Notes on male rape. *South African Journal of Criminal Justice*, *12*(3), 369–375. www.ipjp.org

Parse, R. R. (1990). Parse's research methodology with an illustration of the lived experience of hope. *Nursing Science Quarterly*, *3*(1), 9–17.

Pattman, R. (2006). Making pupils the resources and promoting gender equality in HIV/AIDS education. *Journal of Education*, *38*, 90–115. http://www.ukzn.ac.za/joe/JoEPDFs/JoE%2038%20pattman.pdf

Patton, M. (1990). *Qualitative evaluation research methods* (2nded.). SAGE Publications.

Patton, M. Q. (2002). *Qualitative research and evaluation methods*. SAGE Publications.

Pederson, E. L., & Vogel, D. L. (2007). Male gender role conflict and willingness to seek counselling: Testing mediation on college-aged men. *Journal of Counselling Psychology*, *54*(4), 373–384. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-0167.54.4.373

Perkins, S. (2015). *Hegemonic masculinity and its effect on attitudes toward seeking professional psychological help* [Doctoral dissertation, Northeastern University]. Institutional Repository at Northeastern University. https://repository.library.northeastern.edu

Peters, F. (2009). *The phenomena of male on male rape among youth at a Juvenile Youth Care Centre in the Western Cape* [Master's thesis, University of the Western Cape]. Institutional Repository at the University of the Western Cape. http://hdl.handle.net/11394/3522

Peterson, Z. D., Voller, E. K., Polusny, M. A., Murdoch, M. (2011). Prevalence and consequences of adult sexual assault of men: Review of empirical findings and state of the literature. *Clinical Psychology Review*, *31*(1), 1–24. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cpr.2010.08.006

Phelps, K., & Kazee, S. (2007). The Constitutional Court gets anal about rape-gender neutrality and the principle of legality in Masaya v DPP. *South African Journal of Criminal Justice*, *20*(3), 341–360. https://hdl.handle.net/10520/EJC52925

Pitfield, C. (2013). *Male survivors of sexual assault: To tell or not to tell?* [Doctoral dissertation, University of East London]. Institutional Repository at the University of East London. https://doi.org/10.15123/PUB.3442

Pochmara, A. (2008) Are You a Real Man? T*he construction of hegemonic masculinity in American culture*. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/

Polit, D. F., Beck, C. T., & Hungler, B. P. (2001). *Essentials of nursing research: Methods appraisal and utilisation*. Lippincott.

Pretorius, H. G., & Hull, R. M. (2005). The experience of male rape in non-institutionalised settings. *Indo-Pacific Journal of Phenomenology*, *5*(2), 1–11. https://doi.org/10.1080/20797222.2005.11433902

Pretorius, Z., & Louw, B. (2005). Victim empowerment and support in South Africa. In L. Davies & R. Snyman (Eds.), *Victimology in South Africa* (pp. 74–99). Van Schaik Publishers.

Putnam, H. (1981). *Reason, truth, and history*. Cambridge University Press.

Rada, R. (Ed.). (1978). *Clinical aspects of the rapist*. Grune and Stratton.

Rager, K. B. (2005). Self-care and the qualitative researcher: When collecting data can break your heart. *Educational Researcher*, *34*(4), 23–27. https://doi.org/10.3102/0013189X034004023

Ratele, K. (2006). Ruling masculinity and sexuality. *Feminist Africa*, *6*, 48–64.

Ratele, K. (2008). Analysing males in Africa: Certain useful elements in considering ruling masculinities. *African and Asian Studies*, *7*(4), 515–536. https://doi.org/10.1163/156921008X359641

Ratele, K. (2012). Violence militarised masculinity and positive peace. *Gender, Peace and Security Occasional Paper 6*. https://univofpretoria.on.worldcat.org

Ratele, K. (2014). Hegemonic African masculinities and men's heterosexual lives: Some uses for homophobia. *African Studies Review*, *57*, 115–130. https://doi.org/10.1017/asr.2014.50

Ratele, K., Fouten, E., Shefer, T., Strebel, A., Shabalala, N., & Buikema, R. (2007). Moffies, jocks and cool guys: Boys' accounts of masculinity and their resistance in context. In T. Shefer, K. Ratele, A. Strebel, N. Shabalala, R. Buikema (Eds.), *From boys to men: Social constructions of masculinity in contemporary society* (pp.113–128). University of Cape Town Press.

Ratele, K., Shefer, T., Strebel, A., & Fouten, E. (2010). We do not cook, we only assist them: Constructions of hegemonic masculinity through gendered activity. *Journal of Psychology in Africa*, *20*(4), 557–568. https://doi.org/10.1080/14330237.2010.10820414

Ratele, K., van Niekerk, A., Tonsing, S., Seedat, M., Jacobs, R., McClure, R., & Helman, R. (2016). *Addressing the vulnerability of men in South African violence prevention policy: A call to make males visible in policies and programmes tackling violence*. South African Medical Research Council; University of South Africa.

Ratner, C. (2002). Subjectivity and objectivity in qualitative methodology. *Forum Qualitative Social Research*, *3*(3), 1438–5627. https://doi.org/10.17169/fqs-3.3.829

Ratner, P. A., Johnson, J. L., Shoveller, J. A., Chan, K., Martindale, S. L., Schilder, A. J., Botnick, M. R., & Hogg, R. S. (2003). Non-consensual sex experienced by men who have sex with men: Prevalence and association with mental health. *Patient Education and Counselling*, *49*, 67–74. www.elsevier.com/locate/pateducou

Redmond, D., Kosten, T. R., & Reiser, M. (1983). Spontaneous ejaculation associated with anxiety: Psychophysiological considerations. *American Journal of Psychiatry*, *140*, 1163–1166. http://dx.doi.org/10.1176/ajp.140.9.1163

Ritchie, J., Lewis, J., Nicholls, C. M., & Ormston, R. (2013). *Qualitative research practice: A guide for social science students and researchers*. SAGE Publications.

Rock, P. (2002). On becoming a victim. In C. Hoyle & R. Young (Eds.), *New visions of crime victims* (pp. 1–22). Hart.

Roehrs, S. (2011). *I feel for rape survivors, but I don't have the time, I'm always running: Barriers to accessing post-rape health care in South Africa*. Gender, Health and Justice Research Unit.

Rumney, P. N. S. (2009). Gay male rape victims: Law enforcement, social attitudes and barriers to recognition. *The International Journal of Human Rights*, *13*(2), 233–250. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13642980902758135

Russell, W. (2007). Sexual violence against men and boys. *Forced Migration Review*, *27*, 22–23. http://www.fmreview.org/FMRpdfs/FMR27/12.pdf

Sale, J. E. M., Lohfeld, L. H., & Brazil, K. (2002). Revisiting the quantitative-qualitative debate: Implications for mixed-method research. *Quality and Quantity*, *36*, 43–53.

Sandelowski, M. (1995). Sample size in qualitative research. *Research in Nursing and Health*, *8*(2), 179–183. https://doi.org/10.1002/nur.4770180211

Schippers, M. (2007). Recovering the feminine other: Masculinity, femininity, and gender hegemony. *Theory and Society*, *36*(1), 85-102. https://www.jstor.org/stable/4501776

Scully, D. (1990). *Understanding sexual violence*. Unwin Hyman.

Scully, D., & Marolla, J. (1985). Riding the bull at Gilley's: Convicted rapists describe the rewards of rape, *Social Problems*, *32*, 251-63.

Seedat, M., van Niekerk, A., Jewkes, R., Suffla, S., & Ratele, K. (2009). Violence and injuries in South Africa: Prioritising an agenda for prevention. *Lancet*, *374*(9694), 1011–1022. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(09)60948-x

Seleka, N. (2019, October 31). Man who raped his niece and gave her R5 afterwards sentenced to life in prison. *News24*. https://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/man-who-raped-his-niece-and-gave-her-r5-afterwards-sentenced-to-life-in-prison-20191031

Shange, N. (2019, April 03). Life imprisonment for KZN woman who raped 10-year-old cousin. *Times Live*. https://www.timeslive.co.za/news/south-africa/2019-04-03-life-imprisonment-for-kzn-woman-who-raped-10-year-old-cousin/

Sharma, G. (2017). Pros and cons of different sampling techniques. *International Journal of Applied Research*, *3*(7), 749–752. www.allresearchjournal.com

Shefer, T. (2003). Heterosexuality. In K. Ratele & N. Duncan (Eds.), *Social psychology: Identities and relationships* (pp. 289–302). University of Cape Town Press.

Shefer, T., & Mankayi, N. (2007). The (hetero)sexualization of the military and the militarization of (Hetero)sex: Discourses on male (hetero)sexual practices among a group of young men in the South African Military. *Sexualities*, *10*, 189–207. https://doi.org/10.1177/1363460707075801

Shefer, T., Ratele, K., Strebel, A., Shabalala, N. J., & Buikema, R. (Eds.). (2007). *From boys to men: Social construction of masculinity in contemporary society*. University of Cape Town Press.

Shenton, A. K. (2004). Strategies for ensuring trustworthiness in qualitative research projects. *Education for Information*, *22*(1), 63–75. https://doi.org/10.0167-8329/04

Sideris, T. (2004). You have to change and you don't know how!: Contesting what it means to be a man in a rural area of South Africa. *African Studies*, *63*(1), 29–49. https://doi.org/10.1080/0002018042000226148

Sigsworth, R. (2009). *Anyone can be a rapist: An overview of sexual violence in South Africa.* Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation.

Sikweyiya, Y. M., Jewkes, R., & Dunkle, K. (2015) Impact of HIV on and the constructions of masculinities among HIV-positive men in South Africa: Implications for secondary prevention programs. *Global Health Action*, *7*(1), 1–131. https://doi.org/10.3402/gha.v7.24631

Singh, D. (2005). Women and men as vulnerable victims, In L. Davis & R. Snyman (Eds.), *Victimology in South Africa* (pp.189–198). Van Schaik.

Sivakumaran, S. (2005). Male/male rape and the taint of homosexuality. *Human Rights Quarterly*, *27*(4), 1274–1306. https://doi.org/10.1353/hrq.2005.0053

Sivakumaran, S. (2007). Sexual violence against men in armed conflict. *The European Journal of International Law*, *18*(2), 253–276. https://doi.org/10.1093/ejil/chm013

Sleath, E., & Bull, R. (2010). Male rape victim and perpetrator blaming. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, *25*(6), 969–988. https://doi.org/10.1177/0886260509340534

Slevitch, L. (2011). Qualitative and quantitative methodologies compared: Ontological and epistemological perspectives. *Journal of Quality Assurance in Hospitality and Tourism*, *12*(1), 73–81. https://doi.org/10.1080/1528008X.2011.541810

Sloan, C., Conner, M., & Gough, B. (2015). How does masculinity impact on health? A quantitative study of masculinity and health behavior in a sample of UK men and women. *Psychology of Men and Masculinities*, *16*(2), 206–217.

Smith, J. K. (1983). Quantitative versus qualitative research: An attempt to clarify the issue. *Educational Researcher*, *12*, 6–13. https://doi.org/10.3102/0013189X012003006

Smith, J. K., & Heshusius, L. (1986). Closing down the conversation: The end of the quantitative and qualitative debate among educational inquirers. *Educational Researcher*, *15*(1), 4–12. https://doi.org/10.2307/1174482

South Africa. Criminal Law (Sexual Offences and Related Matters) Amendment Act No. 32 of 2007.

South African Police Service. (2012). *An analysis of the national crime statistics: Addendum to the annual report 11-12*. (Publication No. 331/2012). https://www.saps.gov.za

South African Police Service. (2017). *Addendum to the SAPS annual report: Annual crime report 2016/2017*. (Publication No. 226/2017). https://www.saps.gov.za/about/stratframework/annual_report/2016_2017/gpw_crime_stats_2017.pdf

Spade, J. Z., & Valentine, C. G. (2011). *The interaction of gender with other socially constructed prisms. The Kaleidoscope of gender: Prisms, patterns, and possibilities*. Sage Publications.

Streubert, H. J., & Carpenter, D. R. (2003). *Qualitative research in nursing: Advancing the humanistic imperative* (3rd ed.). Lippincott.

Terre-Blanche, M., Durrheim, K., & Painter, D. (2006). *Research in practice: Applied methods for the social sciences*. University of Cape Town Press.

Tewksbury, R. (2007). Effects of sexual assaults on men: Physical, mental, and sexual consequences. *International Journal of Men's Health*, *6*(1), 22–36. https://doi.org/10.3149/jmh.0601.22

Tewksbury, R. (2009). Qualitative versus quantitative methods: Understanding why qualitative methods are superior for criminology and criminal justice. *Journal of Theoretical and Philosophical Criminology*, *1*, 38–58. https://doi.org/10.5811/westjem.2012.3.11783

Thomson, H. (2009). *They say you are not a man hegemonic masculinity and peer pressure amongst male adolescents in KwaZulu-Natal: Implications for the HIV epidemic* [Master's thesis, University of Cape Town]. Open UCT. http://hdl.handle.net/11427/3665

Thornton, B., Ryckman, R., Kirchner, G., Jacobs, J., Laczor, L., & Kuehnel, R. (1988). Reactions to self-attributed victim responsibility: A comparative analysis of rape crisis counsellors and lay observers. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, *18*(5), 409–422. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1559-1816.1988.tb00025.x

Tsui, V., Cheung, M., & Leung, P. (2010). Help-seeking among male victims of partner abuse: Men's hard times. *Journal of Community Psychology*, *38*(6), 769–780. https://doi.org/10.1002/jcop.20394

Turchik, J. A., & Edwards, K. M. (2012). Myths about male rape: A literature review. *Psychology of Men and Masculinity*, *13*(2), 211–226. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0023207

Turchik, J. A., Rafie, S., Rosen, C. S., & Kimerling, R. (2013). Preferences for gender-targeted health information: A study of male veterans who have experienced military sexual trauma. *American Journal of Men's Health*, *8*(3), 240–248. https://doi.org/10.1177/1557988313508304

Ullman, S. E. (2007). Mental Health Services Seeking in Sexual Assault Victims. *Women and Therapy*, *30*(2), 61–84. https://doi.org/10.1300/J015v30n01_04

Van der Bijl, C. (2010). Rape as a materially-defined crime: Could any act which causes sexual penetration include omissions? *South African Journal of* Criminal *Justice*, *2*, 224–238.

Vanja, P. (2017). *An investigation into the provision of community-based non-governmental support services for male victims of sexual violence in South Africa* [Master's thesis, University of Cape Town]. Open UCT. http://hdl.handle.net/11427/25399

Vieweger, M. (2019). *Women rape survivors' narratives of psychological support and counselling experiences* [Master's thesis, University of Cape Town]. Open UCT. https://hdl.handle.net/11427/31801

Vincent, L. (2008). Boys will be boys: Traditional Xhosa male circumcision, HIV and sexual socialisation in contemporary South Africa. *Culture, Health and Sexuality*, *10*(5), 431–446 https://www.jstor.org/stable/20461025

Vogel, D. L., Heimerdinger-Edwards, S. R., Hammer, J. H., & Hubbard, A. (2011). Boys don't cry: Examination of the links between endorsement of masculine norms, self-stigma, and help-seeking attitudes for men from diverse backgrounds. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, *58*(3), 368–382. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0023688

Walker, J., Archer, J., & Davies, M. (2005). Effects of rape on men: A descriptive analysis. *Archives of Sexual Behaviour*, *34*(1), 69–80. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10508-005-1001-0

Walker, L. (2005). Men behaving differently: South African men since 1994. *Culture, Health and Sexuality*, *7*(3), 225–238. https://doi.org/10.1080/13691050410001713215

Walker, R. (2006). *When we ruled: The ancient and mediaeval history of black civilisations*. Every Generation Media.

Wall, B. (2011). Commentary: Causes and consequences of male adult sexual assault. The *Journal of the American Academy of Psychiatry and the Law*, *39*(2), 206–208.

Walsh, R. M., & Bruce, S. E. (2011). The relationship between perceived levels of control, psychological distress, and legal system variables in a sample of sexual assault survivors. *Violence against Women*, *17*(5), 603–618. https://doi.org/10.1177/1077801211407427

Warby, V. (2001, June 27). Men too ashamed and afraid to report crime. *The Star*. http://www.sabinet.co.za

Webb, S. (2017, May 29). Three women raped a man, 23, for three days after kidnapping man in a taxi and force-feeding him energy drinks in South Africa. *The Sun*. https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/3673560/three-women-raped-a-man-23-for-three-days-after-kidnapping-an-in-a-taxi-and-force-feeding-him-energy-drinks-in-south-africa

Weiss, K. G. (2010a). Male sexual victimisation: Examining men's experiences of rape and sexual assault. *Men and Masculinities*, *12*(3), 275–298. https://doi.org/10.1177/1097184X08322632

Weiss, K. G. (2010b). Too ashamed to report: Deconstructing the shame of sexual victimisation. *Feminist Criminology*, *5*(3), 286–310. https://doi.org/10.1177/1557085110376343

Wester, S. R. (2008). Thinking complexly about men, gender role conflict, and counselling psychology. *Counselling Psychologist*, *36*(3), 462–468. https://doi.org/10.1177/0011000007310971

Westmarland, N., & Alderson, S. (2013). The health, mental health, and well-being benefits of rape crisis counselling. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, *28*(17) 3265–3282. https://doi.org/10.1177/0886260513496899jiv.sagepub.com

Wetherell, M., & Edley, N. (1999). Negotiating hegemonic masculinity: Imaginary positions and psycho-discursive practices. *Feminism and Psychology*, *9*(3), 335–356. https://doi.org/10.1177/0959353599009003012

Whisnant, R. (2009). *Feminist perspectives on rape*. http://ecommons.udayton.edu/phl_fac_pub/86

Whyte, W. F. (1960). Interviewing in field research. In R. N. Adams & J. J. Preiss (Eds.), *Human organisation research* (pp. 352–374). Dorsey Press.

Willig, C. (2013). *Introducing qualitative research in psychology* (3rd ed.). Open University Press.

Wise, E. (2012). *Rape culture in society and the media*. http://www.womennc.org

Wood, K., & Jewkes, R. (2001). Dangerous' love: Reflections on violence amongst Xhosa Township Youth. In R., Morrell (Ed.), *Changing men in Southern Africa* (pp. 317–335). University of Natal Press.

Yousaf, O., Popat, A., & Hunter, M. S. (2015). An investigation of masculinity attitudes, gender, and attitudes toward psychological help-seeking. *Psychology of Men and Masculinity*, *16*(2), 234–237. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a0036241

Zhang, Y., & Wildemuth, B. M. (2009). Unstructured interviews. In B. Wildemuth (Ed.), *Applications of social research methods to questions in information and library science* (pp. 222–231). Libraries Unlimited.

APPENDICES

Appendix A: Ethical approval

Faculty of Humanities
Fakulteit Geesteswetenskappe
Lefapha la Bomotho

09 November 2020

Dear Miss FA Cholo

Project Title:	An exploration of how masculinity is perceived to influence the help-seeking behaviour of male rape survivors: The rape counsellors' perspectives.
Researcher:	Miss FA Cholo
Supervisor(s):	Dr JH Martin
Department:	Psychology
Reference number:	15146911 (HUM043/0320)
Degree:	Masters

I have pleasure in informing you that the above application was approved by the Research Ethics Committee on 09 November 2020. Data collection may therefore commence.

Please note that this approval is based on the assumption that the research will be carried out along the lines laid out in the proposal. Should the actual research depart significantly from the proposed research, it will be necessary to apply for a new research approval and ethical clearance.

We wish you success with the project.

Sincerely,

Prof Innocent Pikirayi
Deputy Dean: Postgraduate Studies and Research Ethics
Faculty of Humanities
UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA
e-mail: PGHumanities@up.ac.za

Fakulteit Geesteswetenskappe
Lefapha la Bomotho

Research Ethics Committee Members: Prof I Pikirayi (Deputy Dean); Prof KL Harris; Mr A Bizos; Dr A-M de Beer; Dr A dos Santos; Ms KT Govinder Andrew; Dr P Gutura; Dr E Johnson; Prof D Maree; Mr A Mohamed; Dr I Naomé; Dr C Puttergill; Prof D Reyburn; Prof M Soer; Prof E Taljard; Prof V Thebe; Ms B Tsebe; Ms D Mokalapa

Appendix B1: The letter of request to the Moshate Men's Rights Organisation

Ms Fatima Abegail Cholo

Department of Psychology, the University of Pretoria

Cnr. Lynnwood Road and Roper Street

Hatfield, Pretoria

17 June 2020

To Moshate Men's Rights Organisation

84 Hellen Joseph and Kruis Streets,

8th Floor Office 801 the Markade,

2001 Johannesburg, Gauteng

Dear Mashilo Mnisi

I herewith request if it would be possible to conduct my Master's Research Dissertation at your organization.

The particulars of my research pertain to exploring how masculinity/ies influence the help-seeking behaviour of male rape survivors. The focus of this research is directed at exploring rape counsellors' views, experiences, and understandings of how masculinity is a barrier to and psycho-social support and counselling amongst male rape survivors. Such research can yield valuable information that helps to broaden the understanding of male rape survivor's help-seeking behaviour. Further, the research can provide important information to rape counselling service providers and nongovernmental organisations (NGOs) in Gauteng to better adapt and promote their services to address the peculiar help-seeking patterns of male rape survivors.

To effectively employ my research strategy, I would require the participation of members of your organisation specifically rape counsellors working with male rape

survivors, counsellors with three or more years of experience in working with the survivors, both males and females' counsellors from any race group. I would like to have a confidential interview with them. I am ideally aiming for the participation of a total of 10 counsellors and will, therefore require at least five counsellors from your organisation. Each interview will require 45-60 minutes and will be conducted in English.

Participation in the study is voluntary. Counsellors would have the right to withdraw from the interview without facing any negative consequences or penalization for choosing to withdraw from the study or choosing not to participate. Any information that the possible participants will share with me during the interviews will remain confidential. All participants' information in electronic formats will be password protected, and along with information in hard copies, will be locked in the cabinet and stored in a file at the Department of Psychology at the University of Pretoria for a period of 15 years. The final report of the findings would be presented to the possible participants, and the organisation, if they wish to have a copy.

I would greatly appreciate your assistance in this regard and if it would be possible to schedule a meeting with you as soon as possible.

Yours sincerely,

Ms Fatima Abegail Cholo (Researcher)

MA Research Psychology Student: University of Pretoria

Email: u15146911@tuks.co.za

Cell: 071 213 4898.

Research Supervisor:

Dr Jarred H. Martin

Email: jarred.martin@up.ac.za

Office: 021 420 2830.

Departmental Research Committee (ResCom)
University of Pretoria, Faculty of Humanities, Department of Psychology
Humanities Building, Lynnwood Road, Hatfield, 0083, South Africa
Private Bag X20, Hatfield 0028, South Africa
Email: psychology.rescom@up.ac.za
Website: www.up.ac.za/psychology

Fakulteit Geesteswetenskappe
Departement Sielkunde
Lefapha la Bomotho
Kgoro ya Saekoloti

2

131

Appendix B2: The letter of request to MatrixMen Organisation

Ms Fatima Abegail Cholo
Department of Psychology, the University of Pretoria
Cnr. Lynnwood Road and Roper Street
Hatfield, Pretoria
17 June 2020

To MatrixMen
16 Marie Street, Ferndale,
Randburg, Johannesburg

Dear Martin Pelders

I herewith request if it would be possible to conduct my Master's Research Dissertation at your organization.

The particulars of my research pertain to exploring how masculinity/ies influence the help-seeking behaviour of male rape survivors. The focus of this research is directed at exploring rape counsellors' views, experiences, and understandings of how masculinity is a barrier to and psycho-social support and counselling amongst male rape survivors. Such research can yield valuable information that helps to broaden the understanding of male rape survivor's help-seeking behaviour. Further, the research can provide important information to rape counselling service providers and nongovernmental organisations (NGOs) in Gauteng to better adapt and promote their services to address the peculiar help-seeking patterns of male rape survivors.

To effectively employ my research strategy, I would require the participation of members of your organisation specifically rape counsellors working with male rape survivors, counsellors with three or more years of experience in working with the

Departmental Research Committee (ResCom)
University of Pretoria, Faculty of Humanities, Department of Psychology
Humanities Building, Lynnwood Road, Hatfield, 0083, South Africa
Private Bag X20, Hatfield 0028, South Africa
Email: psychology.rescom@up.ac.za
Website: www.up.ac.za/psychology

Fakulteit Geesteswetenskappe
Departement Sielkunde

Lefapha la Bomotho
Kgoro ya Saekolotši

1

survivors, both males and females' counsellors from any race group. I would like to have a confidential interview with them. I am ideally aiming for the participation of a total of 10 counsellors and will, therefore require at least five counsellors from your organisation. Each interview will require 45-60 minutes and will be conducted in English.

Participation in the study is voluntary. Counsellors would have the right to withdraw from the interview without facing any negative consequences or penalization for choosing to withdraw from the study or choosing not to participate. Any information that the possible participants will share with me during the interviews will remain confidential. All participants' information in electronic formats will be password protected, and along with information in hard copies, will be locked in the cabinet and stored in a file at the Department of Psychology at the University of Pretoria for a period of 15 years. The final report of the findings would be presented to the possible participants, and the organisation, if they wish to have a copy.

I would greatly appreciate your assistance in this regard and if it would be possible to schedule a meeting with you as soon as possible.

Yours sincerely,
Ms Fatima Abegail Cholo (Researcher)
MA Research Psychology Student: University of Pretoria
Email: u15146911@tuks.co.za
Cell: 071 213 4898.

Research Supervisor:
Dr Jarred H. Martin
Email: jarred.martin@up.ac.za
Office: 021 420 2830.

2

133

Appendix C1: Permission letter from the Moshate Men's Rights Organisation

| 208-212 Jeppe Sheet | 06A&B Marble Towers, Lower Ground, Jhb, SA | Tel: 27 11 050 0943 | Fax: 27 86 973 1097 |

Ms Fatima Abegail Cholo

Department of Psychology, the University of Pretoria

Cnr. Lynnwood Road and Roper Street

Hatfield, Pretoria

Date: July 11, 2020

Dear Ms F.A Cholo,

We hope that all is well with you. We are pleased that you have considered Moshate for your research study to look at the role and effects of masculinity in relation to male rape victims. We have to be realistic that you may not find many men coming out to report rape against them hence our social services experts or counsellors may not have dealt with a lot of them due to the stigma around rape as a male.

However, we are permitting you to do the study with our experts or those whom we worked and/or are working with. We send you a list of five (5) experts that we would like you to work with for your study in which you will get their contacts once everything is set. These are: *(names of experts are removed for confidentiality and anonymity reason).*

We wish you all the best.

Thanks,

M Mnisi
Executive director
Moshate

Appendix C1: Permission letter from MatrixMen Organisation

Cell: +27 78 457 4911
Email: hungani@matrixmen.org | martin@matrixmen.org
REG: 206-335 NPO Department of Social Development

To whom it may concern

We the Directors of MatrixMen would just like to place on record that we allow and in fact welcome Fatima Cholo to conduct research in our organization for her master's thesis. She has the full support and cooperation of the board and our members.

If there are any queries, please do not hesitate to contact me.

Kindest Regards
Martin Pelders
Founder MatrixMen South Africa
martin@matrixmen.org

DIRECTORS: HUNGANI NDLOVU, DAVID RALPHS, PIETER ELOFF

Appendix D: Participant information sheet

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

<u>An exploration of how masculinity/ies is/are perceived to influence the help-seeking behaviours of men who have survived rape: The rape counsellors' perspectives.</u>

Hello, I Fatima Abegail Cholo. I am currently a Research Psychology Masters student in the Faculty of Humanities at the University of Pretoria. I would like to invite you to take part in my research study. Before you decide to participate in this study, it is important that you understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take some time to read the following information carefully, which will explain the details of this research project. Please feel free to ask the researcher if there is anything that is not clear or if you need more information.

WHAT IS THE PURPOSE OF THE STUDY?

- The purpose of this study is to explore rape counsellors' views, experiences and understanding of how masculinity/ies influence the help-seeking behaviour of men who survived rape.

WHY HAVE YOU BEEN INVITED TO PARTICIPATE?

- You have been invited to participate because you are a qualified counsellor, social worker, psychologist and/or a nurse currently working with men who survived rape.
- You have one or more years of experience working with male survivors.
- You are a male or female counsellor from any race group.

WHAT IS THE NATURE OF MY PARTICIPATION IN THIS STUDY?

- If you are willing and able to participate in this research study, you will be expected to participate in a face-to face and/ or telephonic interview with the researcher. The

1

interview will take approximately 45–60 minutes and will be conducted in English. The interview will focus on your views and understandings of how masculinity/ies is a barrier to professional help-seeking among men who survived rape.

- All the interviews will be audio-recorded and all biographical information will be kept confidential. Exact times, dates, and venues for the interview will be set pending your willingness to participate.

CAN I WITHDRAW FROM THIS STUDY EVEN AFTER HAVING AGREED TO PARTICIPATE?

- Participation in this study is voluntary – you are under no obligation to agree to participate without your consent. If you do decide to take part in the study, you will be given an information sheet to keep and be asked to sign a written consent form. Even after you have given consent to participate, you are free to withdraw from the study and you do not need to provide a reason. You will not face any negative consequences or penalization for choosing to withdraw from the study or choosing not to participate. Please note that you cannot withdraw after the publication of the study findings. You may refuse to answer any questions you don't want to answer and remain in the study.

WILL THE INFORMATION THAT I CONVEY TO THE RESEARCHER BE KEPT CONFIDENTIAL?

- Yes, the information you shared will be kept confidential. Confidentiality will be ensured by assigning numbers to each participant which will be used in all research notes and documents instead of their real names. The findings of this study will be published in a mini-dissertation in compliance with the requirements of the Research Psychology Masters programme at the University of Pretoria.

❖ NB Please note that participant information will be kept confidential, except in cases where the researcher is legally obliged to report to the relevant authorities – for example in cases of abuse or suicide risk.

WHAT ARE THE POTENTIAL BENEFITS OF TAKING PART IN THIS STUDY?

- There are no direct benefits guaranteed to you in this study.
- The indirect benefits will be that the study will yield information that will help to broaden understanding of how dynamics of gender and masculinity could be potentially negotiated by rape counsellors to provide more effective support interventions to male survivors. Further, the study findings would provide information to rape counselling service providers and nongovernmental organisations (NGOs) in Gauteng to better adapt and promote their services to address the peculiar help-seeking behaviour of male survivors.

WHAT ARE THE ANTICIPATED RISKS FROM TAKING PART IN THIS STUDY?

- There is no foreseeable physical harm and psychological distress or trauma as resulting from your participation in this study.
- It is possible that some of the topic(s) might be uncomfortable to talk about. In case that happens, kindly let me know so that we can move to the other topics – you are not forced to talk about the topic that you do not want to.

HOW WILL THE RESEARCHER(S) PROTECT THE SECURITY OF DATA?

- All electronic information will be stored for a period of 15 years. Future use of the stored data will be subject to further Research Ethics Review and approval if applicable.
- Participant information in hard copies of raw data be will locked in the cabinet and all electronic data will be stored in a password protected file at the Department of Psychology at the University of Pretoria.

3

WILL I BE PAID TO TAKE PART IN THIS STUDY?

- No, you will not be paid to take part in this study but refreshments will be provided.

HAS THE STUDY RECEIVED ETHICS APPROVAL?

- This study has received written approval from the Research Ethics Committee of Faculty of Humanities, University of Pretoria. The ethical approval number is HUM043/0320. A copy of the approval letter can be provided to you on request.

HOW WILL I BE INFORMED OF THE FINDINGS/RESULTS OF THE RESEARCH?

- The findings of the research study will be shared with you by Fatima Abegail Cholo after one year of completing the study.

WHO SHOULD I CONTACT IF I HAVE CONCERN, COMPLAINT OR ANYTHING I SHOULD KNOW ABOUT THE STUDY?

- If you have any questions about this study or if you have experienced adverse effects as a result of participating in this study, you may contact the researchers whose contact information are provided below. If you have questions regarding the rights as a research participant, or if problems arise, which you do not feel you can discuss with the researcher, please contact the supervisor Dr Jarred H Martin at this number 021 420 2830 or email jarred.martin@up.ac.za

Thank you for taking the time to read this information sheet and in advance for participating in this study.

Researcher:

Name and Surname: Fatima Abegail Cholo

Contact number: 084 671 7918

Email address: u15146911@tuks.co.za

4

Supervisor:

Name and Surname: **Dr Jarred Martin**

Office: 021 420 2830

Email address: jarred.martin@up.ac.za

Appendix E: Consent form

WRITTEN CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS STUDY

ETHICAL APPROVAL NUMBER: HUM043/0320

An exploration of how masculinity/ies is/are perceived to influence the help-seeking behaviours of men who have survived rape: The rape counsellors' perspectives.

I, _____ (participant name), confirm that the person asking my consent to take part in this research has told me about the nature, procedure, potential benefits and anticipated inconvenience of participation.

STATEMENT	AGREE	DISAGREE	NOT APPLICABLE
I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving any reason, and without any consequences or penalties.			
I understand that information collected during the study will not be linked to my identity and I permit the researchers of this study to access the information.			
I understand that this study has been reviewed by, and received ethics clearance from Research Ethics Committee Faculty of Humanities of the University of Pretoria.			

1

I understand who will have access to personal information and how the information will be stored with a clear understanding that I will not be linked to the information in any way.			
I understand how this study will be written up and published.			
I understand how to raise a concern or make a complaint.			
I consent to be audio recorded.			
I consent to have my audio recordings be used in research outputs such as publication of articles, thesis and conferences as long as my identity is protected.			
I permit to be quoted directly in the research publication whilst remaining anonymous.			
I have sufficient opportunity to ask questions and I agree to take part in the above study.			

_____   _____   _____
Name of Participant   Date   Signature

_____   _____   _____
Name of person taking consent   Date   Signature

2

Appendix F: Interview guide

FOCAL THEME/ OPENING QUESTION

1. How does masculinity/ies influence men who were raped from seeking psycho-social services and counselling?

Departmental Research Committee (ResCom)
University of Pretoria, Faculty of Humanities, Department of Psychology
Humanities Building, Lynnwood Road, Hatfield, 0083, South Africa
Private Bag X20, Hatfield 0028, South Africa
Email: psychology.rescom@up.ac.za
Website: www.up.ac.za/psychology

Fakulteit Geesteswetenskappe
Departement Sielkunde

Lefapha le Bomothe
Kgoro ya Saekoloci