A SCOPING REVIEW OF DOMINANT MASCULINITIES WITHIN SOUTH AFRICAN PRISONS.

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ABSTRACT

Research on masculinities has largely been influenced by Western countries and generalized as an understanding of global masculinities. This scoping review synthesizes qualitative literature exploring dominant masculine ideals within South Africa (SA) prisons and theorizes how this reflects wider SA cultural norms.

Arksey and O'Malley's five steps of conducting a literature review were followed. Three databases were searched. Six studies were identified with the inclusion criteria of the SA prison setting, academic literature, English language, and qualitative methodology.

The analysis employed Malpass's construct approach to qualitative synthesis. Four third-order constructs were identified: dominant masculine ideals; heteronormative adaptations; alternative identities; factors enabling the violent status quo.

Recommendations include restorative justice programmes that promote the rights and voices of prison inmates; orientating new inmates with clear protocols to follow in abusive situations; and incentives for non-violent inmates. There is a need for more context-specific research to better understand dominant masculine ideals within prisons in SA.

Keywords: Gender-based violence, Masculinities, men, prisons, South Africa, violence.

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BACKGROUND

South Africa (SA) is undergoing a Gender Based Violence (GBV) pandemic and a long-battled Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV) pandemic, both of which claim women as the main victims (Jewkes et al., 2009; World Health Organisation (WHO), 2015, National Strategic Plan (NSP), 2012; 2020). One explanation of this 'double-pandemic' is embedded in a poor understanding of SA context-specific masculine ideals, where men lacking economic power assert their dominance by inflicting violence, being involved in multiple relationships, and dictating sexual activities as means of proving their manhood to society (Maharaj & Munthree, 2006; Panday et al., 2009; Govender, 2011). Captive environments such as prisons experience intensified societal norms (Ricciardelli et al., 2015; Moolman, 2015). Therefore, prisons offer a valuable microcosm and serve as a case study in which dominant violence-based hegemonic masculine ideals that perpetrate GBV can be explored. This review explores what is known about male inmates' dominant masculine ideals, focusing on how they are socialized, adopted, and enforced within SA prisons. The findings of this review will inform an ethnographic study and, in turn, theory development for wider cultural norms in SA society.

The structure and presentation of this review was guided by the Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analysis (PRISMA) (Page, et al., 2021). The checklist provides a structure of how review studies should be done. Firstly, this review presents a background, summarizing current literature on SA masculinities and its impact on GBV. Secondly, the methodology is framed by Arksey and O'Malley's (2005) methodological framework. Thirdly the synthesized results are presented in themes, followed by a discussion that integrates

findings with literature and masculinity theory and lastly, the review is concluded by noting that violent-based masculine ideals dominate SA prisons.

Statistical overview

Global evidence shows that women and minorities such as the LGBTQI+ community worldwide continue to carry the burden of GBV and correlated ills such as HIV/AIDS (WHO, 2015, NSP, 2012; 2020; Microtends, 2022). Despite evidence suggesting that men remain the main perpetrators of GBV across the world (Jewkes et al., 2009; WHO, 2015, NSP, 2020; Microtends, 2022), research and interventions on these issues tend to focus on victims and seldom include heteronomative men in understanding the root cause (Shand et al., 2014; Dovel et al. 2016).

SA is currently experiencing unprecedented levels of GBV (Jewkes et al., 2009; Machisa et al., 2011; NSP, 2020). In a report published in 2018, SA was ranked as the 4th GBV capital of the world (WHO, 2018). Since 2016, one woman has been killed hourly in SA (StatsSA 2018). The SA National Strategic Plan (NSP) on GBV amplifies the need for interventions as the pandemic harms women's and children's health and impedes efforts to achieve sustainable development goals such as alleviating poverty, promoting good health and well-being, and gender equity (United Nation Development Programme (UNDP), 2015; NSP, 2020).

Extreme masculine identities and practices are a key factor exacerbating GBV in SA. Evidence shows that men engage in risky behaviours such as violence, specifically GBV, to affirm masculine identities (Jewkes et al., 2009; Ngcobo, 2018). Physical violence and coerced sex were reported to be an everyday occurrence, often perceived as a sign of affection in SA (Wood & Jewkes, 1997; Maharaj & Munthree, 2006). Yet, SA masculinities remain underexplored, and men tend to be excluded from GBV interventions (NSP, 2020).

Theoretical underpinning from a SA perspective

Theories of masculinity in SA have been largely informed by Western society. In the theory of masculinity by Australian sociologist argues that male norms are based on social interactions and signified through beliefs leading to specific behaviours expected by society of a man (Connell, 1995). In understanding the similarities displayed by men of different contexts, Connell (1995) suggests that there are global overarching depictions of men influenced by colonization, media, and politics. These global characteristics remain similar across the globe identifying men as dominant, industrious, socio-economically independent, heteronormative family builders and protectors that are strong, emotionless, competitive and naturally aggressive (Robertson, 2008). This global idea and understanding of men and masculinity are known as hegemonic masculinity (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). In addition, these social expectations of men assert and reinforce men's socioeconomic power and dominance.

The global understanding of men as financially dominant remains an aspiration for many SA men (Govender, 2011; Klaas, 2018). A long-standing issue of high unemployment which currently stands at 33% in SA denies men the opportunity to structure their identities on economic power and provider roles (StatsSA, 2023). SA men have therefore created alternative modes to attain and keep their social dominance and masculine identities (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). For example, violence and control over others, particularly women (Jewkes et al., 2009; Shai et al., 2012; Gibbs et al., 2015; Stern et al., 2015). In addition, other risky behaviours such as multiple sexual relations, where sex is perceived as an innate need that fuels men's masculine status (Govender, 2011; Ngidi et al., 2016; Klaas et al., 2018); and extreme homophobia, where violence can be used against non-heterosexual confirming men (Lynch et al., 2010), are other behaviours employed to assert masculine dominance.

The prison context

Evidence from studies elsewhere shows that prisons are micro-societies where broader cultural patriarchal perceptions of masculinity and femininity are heightened and thrive (Morse et al., 2019). In a systematic review of masculinities, Cúnico & Salgueiro, (2019) the researchers first acknowledges that prisons remain an area of research seldom studied, with othe United States dominating research within prisons and on masculinity. Secondly, this review highlights the scarcity of qualitative research w detailing inmates' experiences of masculinities (Cúnico & Salgueiro, 2019). In turn, highlighting the need of this timely study. While there is no SA-focused synthesis of understandings and performances of masculinities within SA prisons, studies elsewhere shows that prisons remain an important context from which extreme masculinity practices and experiences of men can be explored (Gordon, et al., 2012; Cúnico & Salgueiro, 2019; Morse & Wright, 2019). Evidence from across the globe indicates that societal masculine ideals are adopted and exaggerated in prison populations (Gordon, et al., 2012; Baumer & Meek, 2018; Morey & Crewe, 2018; Cúnico & Salgueiro, 2019; Morse & Wright, 2019). Therefore, there is a need to explore masculine ideals within SA prisons. This will give insight into opportunities and constraints of reconstructing healthy masculinities while providing evidence and understanding of SA context-specific masculinities (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). This review aims to identify what is known regarding masculinities within SA prisons.

METHOD

A scoping review was employed to capture, interpret, and provide a concise summary of the understanding of dominant masculine ideals and identify research gaps on masculinities within SA prisons. A qualitative focus was adopted to provide an in-depth understanding from the perspective of men themselves, which despite evidence linking them to public health issues such as GBV, remain underexplored and poorly understood (Hoon, 2013). This study follows Arksey and O'Malley's (2005) methodological framework for conducting scoping reviews for its clear and standardized stages: (1) research question formulation (2) systematic search of relevant studies (3) selection and appraisal of studies (4) inclusion criteria application and recording of included studies and (5) the extraction, translation, and reporting of data from selected studies.

Step 1: Research question formulation

This scoping review sought to answer the question, **what are dominant masculine ideals held by inmates in South African prisons?** The structuring of this question was guided by the SPIDER framework (Table 1) used to define the key elements of the review research question and provides a structure to inform the systematic database search strategy (Cooke et al., 2012; Methley et al., 2014). This synthesis is timely for SA literature as it's the first of its kind to be compiled on masculinities within SA prisons.

Sample	Studies focusing on South African male inmates
Phenomenon of Interest	Masculinities and their hierarchies within prisons
Design	Qualitative studies
Evaluation	Studies that explore, provide thick descriptions of participants' beliefs, understanding, knowledge, experiences, attitudes, and perceptions on what constitutes a man in prison
Research Type	phenomenological, ethnographic, grounded theory, case study, and action research

Table 1: Spider Framework   (Cooke et al., 2012; Methley et al, 2014)

Step 2: Systematic search of relevant studies

A preliminary search on *Google Scholar* was carried out to identify synonyms and refine key search terms (Table 2). Three key databases, namely *Science Direct, PubMed, and Sabinet,* were systematically searched.

Sample	Phenomenon of interest	Design	Evaluation	Research type
Inmate*	Masculin* (ideals/Norms)	Qualitative	Experience*	"qualitative stud"
Prisoner*	Manhood	Interview*	perception*,	
Men	'Real men'	Ethnograph*	Knowledge,	
		Focus group*	feelings,	
		Case stud*	behaviour	

Table: 2 SPIDER search terms   (Cooke et al., 2012; Methley et al., 2014)

Step: 3 Selection and appraisal of studies
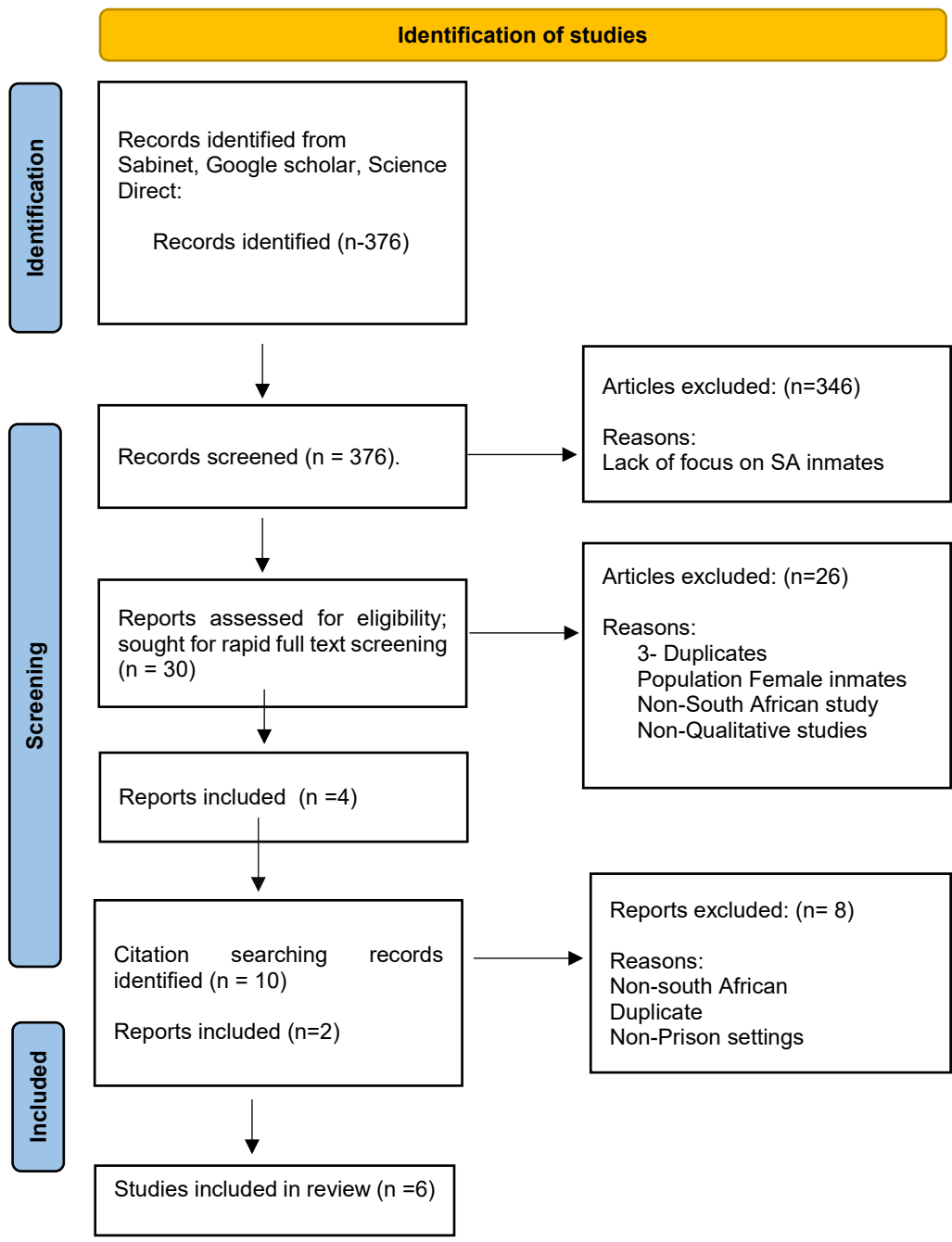
Search results

The database search was carried out in February 2022. All databases were programmed to do a title and abstract search that yielded 376 hits. The inclusion and exclusion criteria presented in table 3 were applied. A re-run of the search was done in May 2023 and no new literature was identified.

Inclusion
Qualitative studies
No time limit: due to limited research on prisons (Gear, 2010)
Reporting findings on masculinities within SA prisons
Male inmates or parolees of any age, race, or class
Published in peer-reviewed journals
Only English publications for practicality

Table 3: Inclusion/exclusion criteria

Upon title screening, 346 manuscripts were excluded due to a lack of focus on masculinities within SA prisons and using non-qualitative methods. Three duplicates were removed, and 23 studies were excluded due to focusing on other countries other than SA, or on female inmates. A total of 4 manuscripts were identified as fitting the purpose of this scoping review. A reference check was done to search for studies that did not fit the keyword search but were relevant to this review, and 10 potential manuscripts were identified. One duplicate and seven studies were excluded for not focusing on SA male inmates. In total, six studies were critically appraised and included in the review. The Critical Appraisal Skills Programme tool (CASP) tool for qualitative research was used to appraise the studies identified (CASP, 2019). The PRISMA diagram below illustrates this process (figure 1).

Figure 1: Prisma diagram

Identification of studies

Identification

Records identified from Sabinet, Google scholar, Science Direct:

Records identified (n-376)

Records screened (n = 376).

Articles excluded: (n=346)

Reasons:
Lack of focus on SA inmates

Screening

Reports assessed for eligibility; sought for rapid full text screening (n = 30)

Articles excluded: (n=26)

Reasons:
3- Duplicates
Population Female inmates
Non-South African study
Non-Qualitative studies

Reports included (n =4)

Citation searching records identified (n = 10)

Reports included (n=2)

Reports excluded: (n= 8)

Reasons:
Non-south African
Duplicate
Non-Prison settings

Included

Studies included in review (n =6)

Extracted: (Page, et al., 2021)

Step 4: Recording of included studies

A summary table of the final selection of studies is included below (Table 4).

Table 4: Study summary table

|		Qualitative Design	Setting	Sample	Study aims	Relevant Findings
1	Gear 2002	Interviews and focus groups Thematic analysis	Gauteng Prisons	N= 23 (M) Current and ex-prisoners	To explore sex, sexual violence, and rape in prisons	Gangs institutionalized and sanctioned men's and women's roles- marriage. Gangs force 'the weak' to 'whyfie' positions and encourage men to join the gang. *Turning-out* (forced to women status) vs *Purification* (re-attaining masculine identity) *The purification process* is rare but done through violence and spilling blood. New to prison and young vulnerable to '*turnin- out*' Offence and identities, violent crimes are perceived as masculine and respect deserving, less violent crimes are viewed as feminine. *Ushintsha ipondo: mutual sex* agreement: Penalized (seen as gay) Homosexuals experience violence and discrimination Unwritten code of silence, fear, and stigmatization of victims makes it hard to report rape
2	Gear, 2005	In-depth interviews and focus groups Thematic analysis	Gauteng Province	N= 23 (M) Current and ex-prisoners	To explore sexual practices and the production of gendered identities in SA men's prisons	Gangs enforce male and female roles. Males: violent, self–defence, aggressive, devious, entitled to sex. 'Women': made through violence, rape makes women, manipulated, given gifts and food in return for sex, and womanhood is used as a tool to demolish masculinity. Gangs enforce violence. Lack of violence results in being violated. Violence use results in respect (man).

3	Gaum, 2006	Focus groups and interviews, case-files Thematic analysis	Pollsmoor Prison	N= 10 (M) Returning inmates 34 case files	To explore factors that lead to reoffending and returning to prison	Forced obedience through childlike treatment. Need to ask permission for every task. Punishment for non-compliance leading to over-compliance. Manipulation of both other inmates and officials to get one's needs. Lack of trust of both officials and other offenders. Open homosexual behaviours punished. Neglect from families results in more vulnerability to manipulation.
4	Gear 2010	Interviews and focus groups Exploratory	Gauteng Prisons	N= 23 (M) Current and ex-prisoners	To explore sexual violence in male SA prisons	Gang hierarchies and rituals upholding a culture of violence. Violence is used to reassure masculinity for both parties while demoting the second party to emasculated, 'women' e.g. rape. A man is identified as able to use and withstand violence, manipulative, self-sufficient, respected. 'Women' are men who are seen as less masculine and weak, thus, humiliated, unrecognized, stigmatized, vulnerable to ongoing sexual, emotional, and physical violence. Victims of violence continue the cycle to new victims to attain their masculinity.
5	Booyens, 2014	Interviews Content analysis	Pretoria Prisons	N=100 (M) Awaiting trial and sentenced	To explore male inmate perceptions of sex and rape in SA prisons.	*Turning-out'* through coerced sex (rape). Beliefs that 'Men cannot be raped'. Marriage: wifey and husband (extreme hetero-mirrored roles). Consensual sex. Prostitution. Bargain/ exchange sex. Men feel in control as they control the people, they have sex with

					Prison violent culture aided by corrupt officials.
6	Moolmane, 2015	Ethnographic Focus groups and interviews Discourse and thematic analysis.	SA prisons	N=72 (M) Sex offender inmates	To examine invisible sexual violence and the reproduction of hegemonic masculinities in prison	Gangs' role in facilitating sexual roles in prison. Heightened heteronormative gender roles . Sexual violence to convert men into women. Two aspects of coercion: Manipulation (friendly) or violence. Promotion from 'women' to 'man' is rare but occurs through violence. Long-term relationships were formed through agreements, manipulation, violence. Situational homosexuality is found in a place where homosexual acts are a crime. Rape cases are not reported and are not a priority of the prison system. Violence used for multiple purposes: 'making women', gang membership, identity and respect.

Step 5: the extraction, translation, and reporting

Arksey and O'Malley (2003) recommend an analytic framework for presenting a narrative account of the identified literature, (2003. p., 27). This study employed Malpass's three orders of constructs and the translation approach to qualitative synthesis (Malpass et al., 2004; Malpass et al., 2009). The *first-order:* are participants' narratives presented in chunks of quotes, the *second-order* are thick descriptions by the primary study researcher's interpretation of participants' narratives and the *third-order* a comprehensive translated and summarized new interpretation of multiple primary studies' *second-order* constructs. The translation compares concepts and metaphors translatable into new meanings and new understandings. Please see figure 2 for a worked example of this process in this study.

Figure 2: A worked example of first, second, and third-order constructs
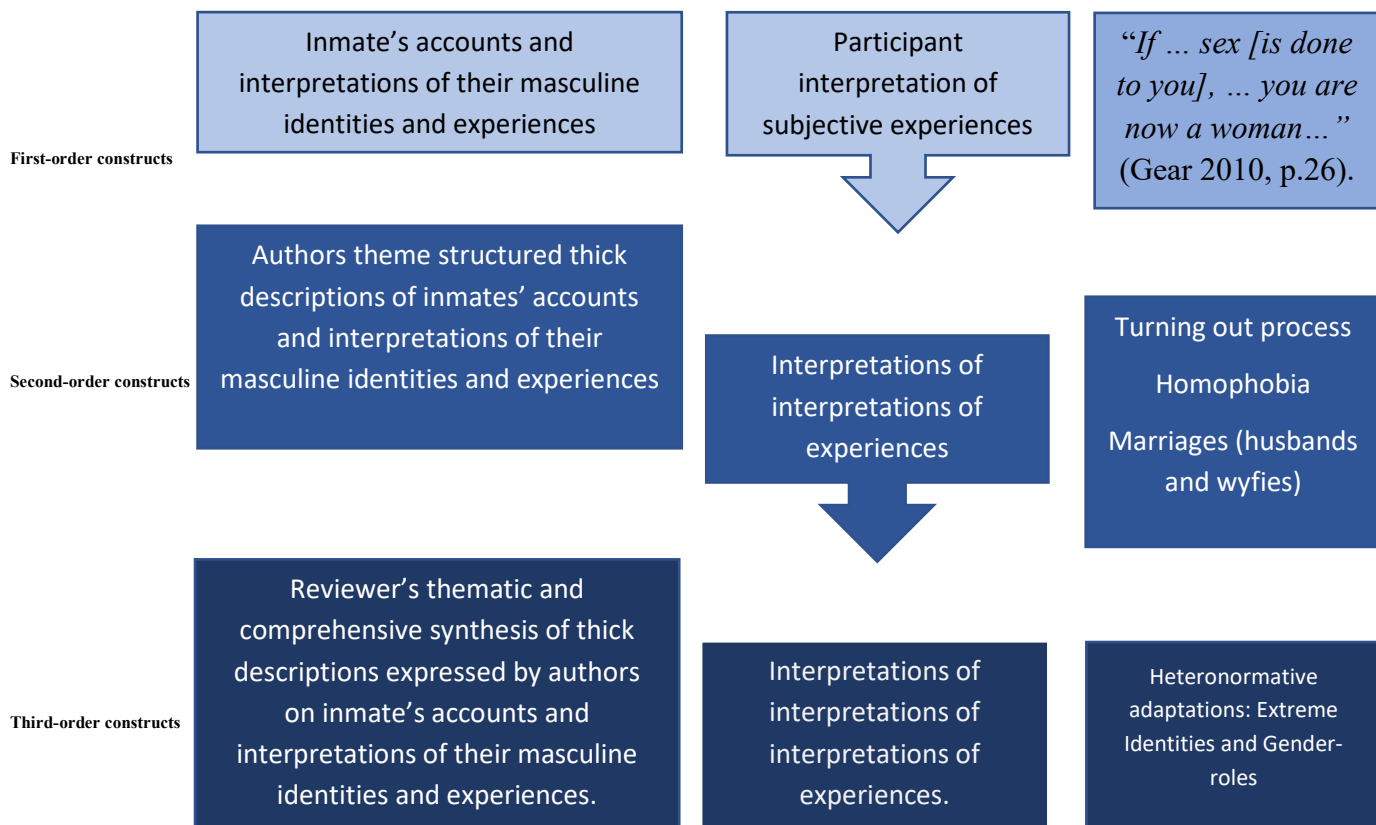
The thematically presented, translation-induced, third-order constructs were used to identify and present new understandings of dominant masculinities within SA prisons (see table 5) (Malpass et al., 2009, Tong et al., 2014). A codebook approach was taken to match constructs across studies and translate concepts and metaphors into third-order constructs. The (PRISMA) checklist was used as a guide to present this study (Page, et al., 2021).

	Constructs			
	3rd order	2nd Order	Dominant narratives	Sttudies
1	Dominant masculine ideals: violence and sex	Violent and independent _Turning-out_ Production of masculinity hierarchy The masculine The feminine	Men are masculine, violent, independent, decision-making, protective, and respected home providers with a physiologically programmed need for sex	1, 2, 4, 5, 6
			Women are feminine, disrespected, stigmatized, helpless and vulnerable, thus need men for protection and in turn provide sexual pleasure and fulfil domestic roles	1, 2, 4, 5, 6
			Men are masculine, respected, pleasured (sexually), provide for women and protect, use violence to showcase their power and protect women	
2	Heteronormative adaptations: extreme identities and gender-roles	Marriage: husband (masculine) and wife (feminine). Determinants of vulnerability to violence and victimization (new to prison, turned-out and unmarried, feminine, young and 'beautiful', LGBTQI+	Husband and 'wyfies': extreme hetero-mirrored gender roles	1, 2, 4, 5, 6
			Young, non-violent men are at high risk of '_turning-out_' rituals to try and feminize or wife them	1, 2, 4, 5
			New prison members and their lack of knowledge of how the system works puts them at heightened vulnerability	1, 5
			Homosexual and other less violent and feminine men are 'not men' and are perceived as disposable sexual and physically violent recipients	1, 6
3	Alternative identities: non-violent masculinities	Relationships and agreements Threats to consenting relations	'Ushintsha ipondo', consensual mutual sex partnership and favors	1, 2, 5
			Other consenting sex (bargain sex, agreements, prostitution, queer relations)	1, 2, 5, 6
			Consenting relationships are punished by gangs and are associated with homosexuality	1, 3, 6
4		Gang rules and codes	Threats from perpetrators prevent reporting of abuse	3, 4, 6

| | Factors enabling the 'violent' status quo | Corrupt officials | Prison officials work hand in hand with gangs for financial gains | 1,3, 4, 6 |
| | | Hindrances to reporting abuse | Victim blame mentality; real men resist violence | 1, 2, 4, 5 |

Table 5: Constructs identified in the analysis

FINDINGS

This scoping review included six studies that sampled 251 male inmates aged 13 and above across SA prisons and Department of Correctional Service (DCS) reintegration offices. Findings were refined into the following four third-order constructs with associated sub-constructs (Table 6). The order of the construct's presentation was guided by the dominant narrative and storyline found in the primary studies synthesized. These constructs and sub-constructs are critically discussed in the following section.

Third-order constructs	Sub-constructs
Dominant Masculine ideals: violence and sex; Heteronormative adaptations: ersatz marriages; Alternative identities: non-violent masculinities; Factors enabling the violent status quo.	• Violence intersections • Sex as a multi-tool: defining dominant masculine identities - *'Turning-out'*: converting men into 'women' - Determinants of '*turning-out*' vulnerability
Heteronormative adaptations: ersatz marriages	• Extreme 'husband and wife' roles - Sex as punishment: reprimanding rebellious wives
Alternative identities: non-violent masculinities	• Mutual consenting sexual relations
Factors enabling the violent status quo	• Recycled violence • Purification: re-seeking masculine status • Corrupt officials

Table 6: Third-order constructs and sub-constructs

Dominant masculine ideals: violence and sex

Violence defined inmates' identities. The ability to use and withstand the intertwined use of sexual physical emotional and financial violence was reported to be closely associated with a

high masculine hierarchal position. Prisons are dominated by hypermasculinity that punishes physical, emotional, and psychological weaknesses. Under this theme, data on violence intersections, sex as a multi-use tool, the '*turning-out*' process and determinants of being '*turned-out*' are presented.

Violence intersections

Varying violent techniques ranging from intimidation of new inmates, confiscation of their belonging and forcing them to physically fight were techniques reportedly used to create a divide between 'strong and weak' inmates (Booyens & Bezuidenhout, 2014). Serious bodily harm also formed part of techniques used to identify inmates that can use and withstand violence to join the ranks of the powerful men:

> *"…you've got to know that you'll be working with blood…We give you a knife and say, ''Go and stab so-and-so'' or ''go and stab a warden''' He must choose to stab or he must choose to be a young man…Once he says he falls into this camp of young soldiers,…then the [powerful inmate] goes to the shower … (soldiers are standing guard outside … keeping watch for the warders). 'Take off your trousers' … [The powerful inmate tone] has changed now. The young man will see, 'Aish! I haven't got a chance …"* (Gear, 2005, p.202)

Violence served as proof of manhood and served as a buffer from being turned into a 'woman' and raped: "*You must be able to prove your manhood…I can fight…*" (Gear & Ngubeni, 2002, p, 22)*.* Those who fail to inflict and withstand violence were perceived as weak and sexually assaulted to signify their inferior positioning: *"If they find the weaker one they rape him at night"* (Gear & Ngubeni, 2002, p.21).

Sex as a multi-tool: Defining dominant masculine identities

Sex was the main violence-based defining characteristic of masculinities found within prisons, whether through sex as being the violent tool itself, or an outcome of pleasure obtained through violent or non-violent methods (Gear & Ngubeni, 2002; Gear, 2005; Moolman, 2015). The strong sexual trait of masculinity within prisons was enforced by the belief that sex was an innate male need that could not be lived without, and was therefore solicited through violent techniques (Gear & Ngubeni, 2002; Gear, 2005; Moolman, 2015). The act of being involved in a sexual encounter had significant, but antagonistic, consequences for those 'giving' [men] and those 'receiving' ['women'] in the sexual act. One participant stated: *"...a ''real man'' cannot be forced to do anything... a ''real man'' cannot be raped, and if a man is ''turned out'' he is regarded as being weak and not worthy of respect from those who are ''men''..."* (Booyens & Bezuidenhout, 2014, p. 380). Whether occurring through rape, coercive persuasions or ostensibly 'agreed', those 'giving' were automatically afforded a high status and respect, while those receiving were emasculated and a 'women' status was imposed upon the victims (Gear & Ngubeni, 2002; Gear, 2005; 2010; Booyens & Bezuidenhout, 2014; Moolman, 2015).

'Turning-out': converting men into 'women'

Rape was used by dominant men to categorize inmates into a 'male and female' binary. Those able to resist the perpetrator's attempts to rape solicited through physical fights were automatically classified as men, while those unable to fight become rape victims and were perceived as 'women'. The sexual encounter aimed at identifying men and converting less violent men into women was called *"turning-out".* Through this process victims were turned into a 'non-man' 'women' status while perpetrators reaffirmed their masculine status (Gear,

2010; Booyens & Bezuidenhout, 2014, p.380). Perpetrators 'giving' the sexual act were called "*real man*", (Booyens & Bezuidenhout, 2014, p. 380) *"big man, big guy"* (Moolman, 2015, p. 6749)*, "husband/men"* (Gear, 2005, p. 199) *and "soldier*" (Gear & Ngubeni, 2002, p.34) signifying their growing dominant masculine status. Those 'receiving' during the sexual act were referred to as "*small boy, wife, wyfie*", (Booyens & Bezuidenhout, 2014, p. 381) "*girlfriend" "madam*", (Gear, 2005, p. 207), and *"concubine*" (Gear & Nguben, 2002, p. 11) to highlight their emasculated, feminised status. The fate of ongoing abuse endured by *turned-out* men is described by a participant, "*If … sex [is done to you], … you are now a woman … There is nothing we can do… When [you] walk past people want to touch [you] or threaten to rape [you]"* (Gear, 2010, p.26).

Determinants of 'turning-out' vulnerability

Being new to the prison environment and inability to fight back led to new inmates being vulnerable to being *'turned-out'* (Gear & Ngubeni, 2002 Gear, 2005; Gear, 2010; Booyens & Bezuidenhout, 2014; Moolman, 2015). Some characters of physical appearances such as looking handsome, 'pretty' and 'fat' exacerbated abuse vulnerability, "*young men who look pretty, let's say big thighs and handsome - round, fat, and all that… You are attracting people to rape you"* (Gear & Ngubeni, 2002, p.24). The type of crimes committed could also worsen or deter vulnerability, e.g., fraud and violent crimes against women and children such as rape were perceived as lacking aggression and feminine, thus heightened chances of '*turning-out'* victimization, while violent crimes were perceived as masculine and deterred abuse (Gear & Ngubeni, 2002). The danger to inmates with sexual crimes was not only being labelled a '*sissy, woman'* and raped but they were also even vulnerable to death by other inmates (Gear & Ngubeni, 2002).

Dominant SA inmate identities were based on strongly heteronormative hypermasculine ideals defined by various kinds of violence. Sex was identified as a multi-functional tool sought through interconnected techniques that involved physical, psychological, emotional, and even financial violence to create inequality and maintain the dominance of hegemonic men. Through sex as a tool, men were converted into non-men or women status, with newcomers to prison and beautifully looking young men prone to being converted through '*turning-out*'.

Heteronormative adaptations: ersatz marriages

The '*turning-out'* process resulted in 'men' and 'women' categorizations which absolved the perception of homosexuality when men engaging in sexual activities with '*turned-out*' men The '*turned-out'* inmates suffered heightened vulnerability abuse which led to a demand for protection. Dominant men who created the unstable environment provided protection for the '*turned-out*' men in exchange for sex under the guise of a marriage-like setting. This theme presents extreme 'husband and wife' roles, with punishment for rebellious wives.

Extreme 'Husband and Wife' roles

Studies reported strict heteronormative 'gender' roles and unequal social relations between 'husbands and '*turned-out'* 'wives' (Gear & Ngubeni, 2002; Gear, 2010; Booyens & Bezuidenhout, 2014; Moolman, 2015). The 'husband' held superior positions in the masculine hierarchy, 'owning' and controlling their 'wife' by setting up strict 'marriage' rules (Moolman, 2015). Men were socially expected to play a provider role which involved smuggling goods, drug trafficking, and other paying activities so they could secure food and gifts, for their 'wives' (Gear, 2010; Moolman, 2015). The 'wife' was expected to play domestic roles such as

cleaning and obeying and fulfilling the husband's sexual desires (Gear & Ngubeni, 2002; Moolman, 2015).

Sex as punishment

Failure to obey the husband's rules resulted in punishment because 'women's' rebellious behaviour tarnished the husband's identity. For example, severe sexual abuse was employed to punish rebellious 'wives', *"...If you get a punishment, [you are given to] ... all the [soldiers] - fifty or a hundred of them come to sleep with you ... It's [called] 'funky mama' ..."* (Gear & Ngubeni, 2002, p.36). This also served to warn others to follow rules (Gear & Ngubeni, 2002; Gear, 2010; Moolman, 2015). This highlights the multi-purpose use of rape and the likelihood of revictimization for '*turned-out'* men.

Sex was used as a tool to divide and construct a 'men and women' binary. 'Men' received more social power and 'women' were exposed to more abuse. A marriage-like set-up, with strict 'gender' roles, was constructed to provide protection and sanction sex, with harsh punishment for disobedient 'women'.

Alternative identities: non-violent masculinities

Alternative masculine ideals to violence were apparent. Some men found ways to meet their sexual needs without using violence. This theme presents a non-violent means to attaining sexual relations within the prison.

Mutual consenting sexual relations

Shared meanings of consenting sexual relationships across SA prisons were identified (Gear & Ngubeni, 2002; Gear, 2005; Booyens & Bezuidenhout, 2014). For example, the concept of '*Uchincha ipondo'* (Booyens & Bezuidenhout, 2014, p.381) or '*Ushintsha ipondo'* (Gear, 2005, p. 204) directly meaning to exchange a pound for a pound, where both parties involved in the sexual encounter are equal and exchange sexual roles. This was described as: "*...a mutual kind of thing...two young guys who do each other favours ... You'd have one time the one acting as a man and then the other time, the other one swopping ...*" (Gear & Ngubeni, 2002, p 48). Sex between men who did not undergo '*turning-out'* process occurred in secrecy because they were perceived as homosexual, which was not tolerated in the prison culture: "*... It's not allowed but it's happening ...They've got to be very careful and very secretive because once they are seen... it's taken as a very serious matter*" (Gear & Ngubeni, 2002, p. 49). While violence-based masculine identities are dominant in SA prisons, non-violent identities also exist. This review found that there are men who utilize non-violent means to attain sex and treat their equal partners with compassion.

Factors enabling the violent status-quo

The evidence suggests that violence was a self-sustained cyclical occurrence through various processes such as '*turning-out'* and '*purification*' that seek to create and maintain the unequal masculine-feminine binary while upholding the masculine status. Corrupt officials were noted to aid and abet the violent status-quo.

Cyclical violence

Cyclical experiences of violence from perpetrators to victims upholds violence-based masculine ideals within prisons. All studies report that participants were aware of the concentrated experiences of abuse, with 'men' socially expected to behave in an aggressive manner to assert their masculine status and repel perpetrators of abuse (Gear & Ngubeni, 2002; Gear, 2005; Booyens & Bezuidenhout, 2014; Moolman, 2015). Newcomers were expected to prove their manhood (Gear & Ngubeni, 2002). Once the proof was sought, they were expected to continuously be violent to maintain their masculine status (Booyens & Bezuidenhout, 2014). The victims of violence refused to report to authorities due to revictimization threats or in attempts to protect their manhood (Gear & Ngubeni, 2002; Gear, 2005; Booyens & Bezuidenhout, 2014; Moolman, 2015). For example, a rape victim stated: *"When I go ... to the hospital, I don't talk. I don't tell them who assaulted me. I must stand for my manhood"* (Gear & Ngubeni, 2002, p. 68).

Purification: re-seeking a masculine status

Abuse victims could redeem their respectable identities through the '*purification*' process. This entails using violence to reclaim masculine status (Gear, 2005; Moolman, 2015). The '*purification'* is illustrated by a '*turned out*' man reclaiming his power by raping pre-sentenced newcomers:

> *"I got what I wanted and what I've been waiting for so long. After that, there was nothing to stop me. I had sex with 'privates' all the time. Whenever they refused, I would get violent and beat them up or stab them, just to get my way. I got my power and control back and I was feared by all . . . I penetrated all of them and it made me feel like God. I was in control of another human being. It felt as if I had a kind of power that no man can take away from me''* (Booyens & Bezuidenhout 2014, p.380).

Corrupt officials

Complicit officials who work with powerful inmates influence the extent of abuse that occurred within prisons through deliberate lack of intervention (Gear, 2005). For example, one participant stated "*...it so almost like a culture in the prison...those things won't happen unless wardens and brothers work together...*" (Moolman, 2015, p. 6750). Others stated, "*Before something happens the [prisoners] normally buy the prison wardens, they give [them] money*" (Gear & Ngobeni 2002, p 66). The corrupt official's relationships with dominant inmates impeded confidentiality and hindered victims from reporting abuse because: *"the cop [who took the bribe] is the one who's standing at the door ... You won't go ... without his allowance because he's the one to escort you"* (Gear & Ngobeni, 2002, p. 66).

DISCUSSION

This scoping review sought to identify and document what is known about dominant masculine ideals within SA prisons. Four thematic constructs: violence-based masculine ideals, violence-enforced heteronormativity, alternative non-violent masculinities, and factors upholding the status quo were identified through the synthesis.

Violence was the foundation of dominant masculinities within SA prisons. Varying physical, emotional, sexual, and financial violence strategies were adopted to achieve specific purposes that sought to uphold an unequal environment (Gear & Ngubeni, 2002; Moolman, 2015). Studies across the USA have documented similar findings where violence was employed to maintain a masculine hierarchy that kept some men dominant and in control over others (Le'Brian, 2013; Carson, 2018; Osborne, 2018).

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Sex was perceived as a man's innate need and served as a powerful tool with which pleasure, status and dominance were sought (Gear & Ngubeni, 2002; Booyens & Bezuidenhout, 2014). Men were often believed to be naturally promiscuous without much control over their sexual urges, thus securing sex was regarded as proof of manhood (Gear, 2010; Moolman, 2015). In Connell's masculinities theory, it is noted that when men cannot attain global dominant masculine ideals i.e., economic power, they adopt alternative ideals to assert their dominance (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). SA studies highlight the importance of heteronormative sexual relationships on economically deprived men's identities (Klaas, 2018; Lynch, 2020). Thus, the importance of women and sex on masculine ideals within prisons was identified as of heightened import from SA communal norms and expectations of men. To fulfil perceived sexual needs while maintaining the heteronormative outlook, inmates socially constructed women which sanctioned heteronormativity, condemning homosexuality and maintaining a culturally constructed and endorsed masculine power.

'*Turning-out*' was a conversion process where violence was used to turn men into 'non-men', those who could use and withstand violence were identified as men and joined the ranks of dominant men, whereas the victims of violence became collectively labelled as 'women' (Booyens & Bezuidenhout, 2014). Studies in the USA reported power and status confirmatory language such as "*gorillas and wolves*" used to identify dominant inmates and disempowering language such as "*rat, fag, punk, fuck-boy, bitch, blatant punk*" used to describe dominated men (Skyes & Cullen, 1992, p.456; Carlson, 2009, p.49). This review identified newcomers, non-violent criminals, or crimes against women or children, and physical appearance attributes [looking beautifully young] played a major role in heightening vulnerability to being '*turned-out*' (Gear, 2005; 2010; Booyens & Bezuidenhout, 2014; Moolman, 2015). American literature reported similar findings where juveniles, young-looking new inmates were more abused, with

race [white], mental disability and being LGBTQIA+ exacerbating chances of being sexually abused (Skyes & Cullen, 1992; Human Rights Watch (HRW), 2001; Carlson, 2009; Martyniuk, 2013).

Whilst abusers gained status, victims lost their masculine identity and simultaneously increased their vulnerability to more sexual abuse resulting in a need for protection (Gear, 2010; Booyens & Bezuidenhout, 2014; Moolman, 2015). Protection was provided by dominant men under a heteronomative marriage-like setting with strict 'gender-specific' roles that prescribed men as providers and women as homemakers (Gear & Ngubeni, 2002; Booyens & Bezuidenhout, 2014; Moolman, 2015). For women, failure to obey 'gender' roles and rules was punishable with gang rape. Similar findings are reported internationally, where sexual abuse victims experience heightened vulnerability to more abuse and in turn demand sex. For example, a juvenile in the USA stated that dominant men offered him protection and later demanded sex in exchange for his protection with threats of rape if the young did not agree to sexually pleasure the powerful inmate (Martyniuk, 2013). The USA inmates were less concerned with heteronormative norms such as creating women and reported no punishment targeted to those identified as homosexuals (Skyes & Cullen, 1992, Carlson, 2009; Steinberg, 2010; Martyniuk, 2013).

The findings of this review on dominant masculinities within prisons suggest an amplified reflection of broader SA masculine norms informed by global patriarchal ideals (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). The heteronormative inclination of inmates can be traced to dominant norms that encourage multiple heterosexual relationships and persecute homosexuality. For example, those expressed by Lynch and colleagues (2010) that in some SA cultures, a man was expected to be polygamous, and that homosexuality was punished even by death. Studies have

found similar, but less extreme beliefs and practices of manhood outside prisons, for example, a study exploring everyday conceptions of love from SA youth found that coerced sex and physical violence were perceived as a sign of love from men who care (Wood & Jewkes, 1997), although a contemporaneous exploration of this findings is required. Several studies reported similar findings where men coerced women into sex with emotional blackmail such as threats of breaking up or physical force (Jewkes et al., 2001; McGroth et al., 2008; Toska et al., 2015; Maughan-Brown et al., 2016). There is a need for greater understanding of violence-based negative masculine ideals and their influence on GBV.

This review highlights that there were alternative, non-violent, masculinities within prisons in SA. Power-neutral and mutual sexual relations between two men who alternate sexual responsibilities, share feelings, and emotional support known as '*Ushintsha ipondo*' existed (Booyens & Bezuidenhout, 2014). These consensual sexual relationships have been reported elsewhere in SA by newspapers raising awareness about the rape culture of prisons (Mail & Guardian, 2001; 2002) and literature on rehabilitation and prison environment (Gear, 2003; Bloem, 2005). However, such partnerships threatened dominant power structures and were practiced in secret to avoid punishment from dominant men (Gear, 2005; Booyens & Bezuidenhout, 2014). The denial of mutual partnerships suggests that sex is not only important for pleasure but also serves as the strongest tool of power and dominance within SA prisons (Skyes & Cullen, 1992; Gear, 2005; Booyens & Bezuidenhout, 2014).

Dominant violence-based masculine ideals were enabled and reinforced by complex and interconnected factors. Sexual violence was used to construct, prove, maintain masculine identities, and to set up the heteronormative prison environment through rituals such as '*turning-out*' and '*purification*' (Gear, 2005; 2010; Booyens & Bezuidenhout, 2014; Moolman,

2015). Other studies report similar findings on the importance of violence to maintain the masculine hierarchy within captive environments (Albertse, 2007; Steinberg, 2010; Le'Brian, 2013; Carson, 2018; Bratcher, 2020). Findings such as the types of crimes committed, with violent offences affording inmates respect while nonviolent inmates become prone to abuse, attest to the importance of abuse within prisons (Gear & Ngubeni, 2002).

Beliefs and expectations of manhood within prison prioritized the need to protect one's masculine identity even at one's own expense. Widely held beliefs portraying men as naturally aggressive thus able to defend themselves imposed 'less of a man' connotations to abuse victims (Gear, 2005). The understanding of sexual violence as '*turning-out*' result in men hiding their experiences of being sexually abused, as these experiences inevitably categorize them as 'women' and consequently heighten their abuse vulnerabilities (Booyens & Bezuidenhout, 2014). Studies document similar findings in public SA communities where men who have been raped by women restructure their stories as though they initiated the sexual encounter to protect their manhood and uphold their masculine identities (Stern et al., 2015). SA men are socialized by global media, communities, families, and friends to be independent and strong, with seeking help perceived as weak and compromising masculine identities (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Vincent 2008; Lynch et al., 2010; Mindry et al., 2015; Klaas et al., 2018).

Officials working directly with inmates were the first line of contact for inmates seeking help (Gear & Ngubeni, 2002). However, corruption and collusion of culprit officials with dominant inmates aided the violent and abusive culture (Gear & Ngubeni, 2002*;* Booyens & Bezuidenhout, 2014; Moolman, 2015). A similar problem of rogue officials in the USA was reported by Human Right Watch, stating that they worsened the unsafe environment by

colluding with powerful inmates and not intervening when inmates needed help (2001). Inmates who dared to report the abuse were met with threats of revictimization (Moolman, 2015). Corrupt officials prevented inmates from escalating abuse complaints as those could expose their corrupt roles. In addition, rogue officials broke confidentiality by reporting back to perpetrators, further endangering the victim's life (Gear & Ngobeni, 2002; Booyens & Bezuidenhout, 2014; Moolman, 2015).

RECOMMENDATIONS

There is a need for restorative justice programmes and legislation that promote the rights and voices of inmates. Every effort should be made to facilitate easy access to social services, complaint boxes, and personnel to report abuse e.g., social workers and healthcare personnel. This would require an increase in the number of workers dealing with inmates (Gaum et al., 2006). To facilitate a transparent functioning of service provision, all DCS acts and legislation that cater for the rights and obligations of inmates, and the expectations of officials should be made readily available to all inmates (Gaum et al., 2006). DCS needs to take a lead in orientating new inmates with clear protocols to follow in abusive situations. Violence against others is punishable, and all protocols meant for such should be followed. In addition, non-violent men should be rewarded, for example, be prioritized in finding jobs and accessing education within the prison.

This scoping review is likely the first qualitative synthesis of evidence on masculinities within prisons in SA. Through this review, it was ascertained that there is scarce understanding and research on masculinities within SA prisons, thus there is a need for a context-specific inquiry to document dominant masculine ideals within prisons in SA. Evidence suggests that dominant

masculinities within the prison are intensified replicas of SA masculine norms, with sexual violence as the main form of violence. There is a need to understand masculinities in SA in order to understand their relationship to other social ills i.e., the GBV pandemic. Prisons serve as a case study under which masculinities can be examined and understood, thus researchers need to use this opportunity to explore both violent and non-violent masculinities and find ways of promoting non-violent masculinities. This understanding of masculine identities, practices, and rituals is important for the creation of evidence. This will inform the development of interventions focusing on negative masculine ideals and their impact on associated social ills such as GBV. There is a need for well-designed rigorous studies with clear ethical considerations to produce robust evidence on masculinities in SA, particularly within prison contexts. This review precedes an ethnographically informed qualitative study which aims to address this gap in knowledge.

LIMITATIONS

A scoping review is not an exhaustive search but brings together identified literature for a better understanding (Hoon, 2013). Some literature may have been missed, for example, grey literature was excluded as ensured quality and rigour were sought. However, the overlapping findings in the selected studies give confidence in the findings. Only peer-reviewed studies published in English were included. Most research literature is published in English and this study focuses on SA where English is one of the dominant mediums of communication, thus this review likely included all relevant studies. Only qualitative studies were included, quantitative-based findings excluded may have affected the breadth of findings. However, focusing on qualitative studies gave significant depth to the findings and ensured the participant's voice was central. This was an important aspect of informing the proposed primary study as this synthesis was the first of its kind.

CONCLUSION

The synthesis of evidence from this scoping review of six studies shows that dominant violent masculinities within SA prisons are evident, and heightened, in the prison context. Such dominant masculinities pose a danger to inmates' rehabilitation as sexual violence emerged as the main exercised power of enforcing masculinity hierarchies. In practice, dominant masculinities are constructed and reinforced through complex systems of prison culture and everyday negotiations, acts of violence and collusion with prison officials. It is important to situate masculinities in relation to masculine ideals and models beyond the prison walls. Masculinities within prisons appeared to be adaptations of SA masculinities that were detrimental to inmates' physical and psychosocial health. The predominance of sexual violence exacerbated violence against subordinate men. However, this review also highlighted underexplored non-violent alternative sexual identities which existed both within the overarching violent structure of the prison hierarchy *and* ideals of dominant or hegemonic masculinity. Hegemonic masculinity needs to be understood as both inherent in context-specific places but also as part of a wider social fabric, where an enclosed population may be reinscribing values based on violence from their experiences of the world outside prisons. There is a lack of research focusing on masculinities within prisons. This review informs a primary study which aims to close this research gap by exploring masculinities within a SA prison and generating new insights into prison-based hegemonic masculinities.

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