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SURFACING (IM)POSSIBLE VICTIMS: THE ROLE OF GENDER, SEXUALITY AND POWER IN CONSTRUCTING THE CONDITIONS OF POSSIBILITY FOR VICTIMS OF FEMALE SEX ABUSE

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University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 2014

ABSTRACT

Female sex abuse (FSA) has recently emerged as an object of enquiry in the academy and medico-legal systems both globally and in South Africa. However, the academic research is primarily focused on perpetrators, resulting in very limited information on victims. Victim data that are available are based mainly on studies conducted with perpetrators. FSA victimhood is underexplored and many victims remain invisible to the criminal justice and health systems and are barely discernible as objects of human science knowledge. Despite the accent on vulnerable populations and human rights in the contemporary world, there is very little work on precisely why these victims remain invisible. Accordingly, this research aims to identify the cultural conditions of possibility for FSA victimhood as a means to advance contemporary critical understandings of the role of gender and sexuality as instrument-effects of modern power. The study's objectives were achieved by interviewing persons who self-identified as FSA victims. A Foucauldian informed discourse analysis was employed to interpret the transcriptions of these interviews and to explore conditions of possibility for FSA victimhood as they were constructed in the interview context. The findings illustrate precisely how deeply engrained constructions of gender and sexuality both produce and constrain the possibilities for reporting, disclosing and self-identifying victimhood. Overall, a particular configuration of access to non-normative psychological, gender and 'sex' discourses, mostly mediated by the internet and incited through the confessional context of the interview, provides the possibilities for an identification as a victim of female sex abuse. These points of identification are coordinates for disrupting normative understandings of gender, sexuality and power in sex abuse and thus constitute the beginnings of a counter-knowledge on transgressive sexualities. This counter-knowledge will further contribute to critical accounts of the way that power/knowledge produces, reifies and naturalises human subjects through technologies of sexuality.

Keywords: Female sex abuse; female sexual perpetrations; sexual abuse; sexual abuse victims; sexuality; gender; power; discourse; discourse analysis; South Africa

DECLARATION

I declare that:

Surfacing (im)possible victims: The role of gender, sexuality and power in constructing the conditions of possibility for victims of female sex abuse

is my own, unaided work and that all of the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated by means of complete references. This thesis is being submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the field of Psychology at the University of the Witwatersrand. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination at any other university.

Signed this _____day of_____2014

_____

Sherianne Kramer

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…there is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time power relations…it is not the activity of the subject of knowledge that produces a corpus of knowledge, useful or resistant to power, but power-knowledge, the processes and struggles that traverse it and of which it is made up, that determine the forms and possible domains of knowledge (Foucault, 1977a, p. 27-28).

CHAPTER 1: PRODUCING THE CONDITIONS OF POSSIBILITY FOR THE FEMALE SEX ABUSE VICTIM

1.1. Introduction

Female sex abuse (FSA) has recently become the object of increased interest in the international academic literature. However, given the recency and exploratory nature of this interest, very little work has been directed to understanding victims of FSA. While some global work has provided broad overviews of general female sex abuser characteristics, occurrences and circumstances and to a lesser extent specific case studies; to date there is very limited academic information about FSA victims (McMahon, 2011). Likewise, the media is currently peppered with images and stories of women who have committed a variety of sex crimes; however the victims of these women remain invisible. The invisibility of FSA victims is particularly significant in a country such as South Africa where trauma and victim discourses are frequently embedded in almost daily reports of child sex abuse, rape and sexual violence (Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002). Additionally, the country's promotion of a national human rights discourse (The Bill of Rights of the Constitution of the Republic of South African, 1996) recognises that every citizen has the right to be treated humanely. In doing so, this discourse inadvertently acknowledges that every citizen - regardless of gender, sexuality or race - is capable of being subject to inhumane victimisation. This is further amplified by post -Apartheid crises framed as drivers of victimisation such as xenophobia, the crime wave, the HIV/AIDS pandemic and the failure of democracy to erase the fissures, violence and sufferings of Apartheid (Boehmer, 2012). However, despite the fact that the country is finely tuned to a history of suffering and abuse and ongoing inequalities that are often flagged as vehicles for sexual and gender-based violence, FSA victims in South Africa, and globally, continue to remain invisible. This, regardless of the fact that sexual abuse and rape have recently been re-defined by the South African legal system to include males as potential victims and females as potential perpetrators. Whilst this definition is not yet entirely pervasive in the public imagination, it has, at least in the case of South Africa, been reconceptualised as such in various legal documents (Minister for Justice and Constitutional Development, 2007). It thus becomes increasingly important to explore this apparent tension. How and why do victims of FSA remain virtually invisible within widespread constructions of trauma and victimhood? One way of approaching this question is by attempting to surface the discursive coordinates by which persons involved in FSA are able or unable to occupy a victim subject position. Reading interviews with self-identified FSA victims as discourses,

enables an analysis of the discursive coordinates through and by which the conditions of possibility for such a subject position are contoured.

Given the often shameful and sensitive nature of sexual abuse, many victims resist reporting the incident and thus numerous sexual offences go undetected. This is even more significant in cases of female abusers where reporting is likely to be less accurate due to gender stereotypes, research limitations and professional biases (Freeman, 1996; Giguere & Bumby, 2007) made possible by a vast network of widely circulated gendered discourses that imply the impossibility of female sex crimes. FSA is therefore often registered as obscene conduct rather than as sexual assault by legal systems across the globe and so the extreme disparities in the reported prevalence rates between male and female sex abusers are often misrepresentative (Bourke, 2007; Denov, 2003). This discrepancy is exacerbated by definitional problems associated with the term 'obscene conduct' which, at least in the United States of America, refers to any verbal, pictorial, written or behavioural phenomena deemed immoral or indecent. This vague description, coupled with the facts that it is not necessarily sexual and that obscenity has no standard legal definition (Hatch, 2012), results in very ambiguous reporting patterns for FSA. Nonetheless, there are some international indications of FSA prevalence. The percentage of FSA cases across all reported sexual abuse is 10.7% in Canada (Peter, 2008), 2% in New York (Sandler & Freeman, 2007) and 1-8% internationally (Denov, 2003). These percentages increase up to 58% when victim self-reports are taken into account (Denov, 2003; Strickland, 2008), although this may depend upon the definitions used in self-report studies. The self-reports identified by Denov (2003) are based on a large-scale qualitative analysis of six American studies which included surveys of both female and male college students who were exposed to sexual abuse during childhood as well as data representing surveys conducted on convicted male rapists and sex offenders to detail their sexual victimisation backgrounds. Self-reports indicated being subject to a range of FSA behaviours including oral, vaginal and anal penetration, sexual molestation and sexual coercion. Despite these self-reports, legal, medical and psychological experts continue to insist that female sex crimes are rare regardless of the fact that "when various individuals are surveyed about their sexual victimization experiences, the incidence of female perpetrated sex crimes is often higher and much more variable" than expected (Giguere & Bumby, 2007, p. 2). While we know that only 17 of the 2759 incarcerated sentenced female offenders are sexual abusers in South Africa (Department of Correctional Services, 2011), there is no real indication of South African FSA prevalence rates based on victims' self-reports.

The question therefore arises as to what accounts for the continued invisibility of FSA victims and, in turn, how and in what ways self-identified victims construct their victimhood. Foucault (1978) provides an important framework for beginning to respond to this question. In his *History of Sexuality*, Foucault (1978) argues that sexuality is a privileged site in the historical production of the human subject. He uses the term 'apparatus of sexuality' to denote a system of relations between particular elements that comprises of "discourses, institutions, architectural forms, regulatory decisions, laws, administrative measures, scientific statements, philosophical, moral and philanthropic propositions" where the non-discursive elements make up the institutionalised structures and all utterances and behaviours informed by this apparatus make up discursive practices (Foucault, 1980, p. 194). Foucault (1978) argues that sexuality and the self are both products of historicised and institutionalised discursive practices which function as forms of knowledge that are relayed and circulated through modern power. Here power refers to all those apparatuses of knowledge imbedded in religious, political, economic and legal practices and the organised hierarchical cluster of relations between them such that subjects and social practices are both the vehicles for and the effects of power (Digeser, 1992). For Foucault (1978) this power/knowledge coupling emerges at a particular historical and cultural moment and operates to produce and regulate bodies, constitute subjects and reify sexualities.

Foucault's (1978) *History of Sexuality* is indispensable for any investigation of how subjects are constituted and in what ways this constitution is subject to the power/knowledge coupling. The unique nature of FSA is that it is constituted at the intersection of gender (female), sexuality (sex) and several forms of power (abuse). Foucault (1978) does not prioritise theorising about gender and thus using only his theoretical framework would compromise the important role of gender in any critical study of gendered abuse. It is therefore necessary to complement Foucault's (1978) account of power, production and subjection with Butler's (1989; 1999; 2004) proposals about gender identity formation. Butler's (1989; 1999; 2004) gender theory is of particular relevance given its emphasis on gender performativity as a driver of both the reproduction of and resistance to normative gendered constructions. Accordingly, the use of Foucauldian theory as a primary framework will be complemented by and at times pitted against theories on the hegemony of masculinity (Bartky, 1988; Connell, 1993; Hearn, 2004) and Butler's (1989; 1999; 2004) theory on performativity, all of which provide specific examples of the way that sexuality and gender are socially constituted. The aforementioned theories are all based on poststructuralist

conceptualisations of the subject and seek to demonstrate the limits of available and circulated discursive categories (Miller, 1998). This overall theoretical framework allows for a demonstration of how deeply engrained constructions and regulations of sexuality and gender render particular objects of knowledge (such as FSA victimisation) (un)thinkable. This hybrid theoretical framework seems useful for an investigation of the ways that the subjection of the individual to various cultural, material and historical discourses and conditions produces and/or limits particular possibilities for the FSA victim subject position and in turn restricts possibilities for sexuality, gender and identity.

By examining the intersections between power, sexuality and gender in the production of FSA victimhood, this research explores the ways that power/knowledge provides the discursive coordinates by which FSA victims are able or unable to occupy a victim subject position. Consequently, this research intends to expose the role of modern power in the way victimhood is able to be produced or not be produced in a particular historical and cultural moment and, in turn, call for a more complex, variable and dynamic understanding of both gender and sexuality as instruments and effects of modern power.

1.2. Where are the victims?

Despite the current increased academic interest in FSA, there remains a sense of disbelief and doubt amidst the general public and within the legal and mental health care domains about the realities of FSA (Giguere & Bumby, 2007; Kramer & Bowman, 2011; Lawson, 2008). Inconsistent patterns of interest amongst different professionals are typical in the area of sexual abuse. Given the sensitive nature of the subject, denial and suspicion are common reactions that have characterised the history of sexual abuse research. For example, sexual violence as a real and relevant research subject was only consolidated and broadly taken up in the 1960s at which time previous misdemeanours such as sexual coercion and sadism were categorised as sexual violence. Even women, the most emphasised category of vulnerability in the current discursive framework for sexual violence, escaped the victim 'surveillance radar' prior to the 1970s (Fisher & Cullen, 2000). The production of sexual violence as a category of knowledge set off a very gradual interest in the area, however, particular sectors of society continue to rely on discourses that exclude certain acts such as marital rape and the rape of sex workers from the category of sex abuse (McMahon, 2011). In fact, most sexual violence incidents are still frequently framed by the public in terms of typical myths and stereotypes such as the black male aggressor, the woman victim that instigated the abuse by

virtue of her dress code or alcohol consumption ('victim precipitated') and the sexual abuser as a stranger rather than as an acquaintance (Du Mont, Miller, & Myhr, 2003; Muehlenhard & Kimes, 1999). Furthermore, sexual violence is defined strictly in binary terms - between men and women, between the public and the private sector and between victim and perpetrator (Richardson & May, 1999). These binaries, made possible by widely circulated global gendered and racialised discourses that uphold masculine-feminine gender and black-white race dichotomies, result in limited definitions for sexual abuse which in turn result in fewer reports of incidents. This means that both sexual abuse prevalence rates and the ability to occupy a victim status is always somewhat dependant on historical and cultural conditions (Fisher & Cullen, 2000) as well as what is deemed socially appropriate within these conditions (Richardson & May, 1999). For example, rape was previously defined exclusively as requiring vaginal penetration, limiting rape victims to women and girls. This cohort was further limited by the tendency for other sexual abuse incidents to be regarded as such only if a given experience echoed the stereotypical constructions of sexual crime. Thus women subjected to an act of sexual violence rarely occupied a victim subject position unless their experiences echoed legal, medical and scientific productions of sexual abuse. These productions focused primarily on non-consensual penile-vaginal penetration, resulting in most other forms of sexual violence remaining invisible (Koss, 1992). Recently, at least in middle and higher income contexts, gendered discourses have become slightly less rigid, allowing for broader conditions of possibility for the production of sexual abuse definitions that extend beyond vaginal penetration, thus adding men to the list of possible victims in the lexicon of sexual abuse. This expansion of the meanings of sexual abuse is evidenced by the surge in research about sexual violence - prior to the 1970s research on rape was limited to 100 publications in the PsycINFO and Social Sciences Citation databases. This is in acute contrast with Rutherford's (2011) recent literature search of the same databases which yielded 22808 publications. This growth has not extended to the production and categorisation of FSA victims (McMahon, 2011). However, given the historical pattern of the gradual increase in the constitution of various forms of sexual abuse (Rutherford, 2011), it is likely that the current academic interest will begin to produce the category and consolidate the research area of FSA victims[1].

[1] A key paradox to this study is that it cannot be extracted from the body of human science from which it departs and it will thus form part of the emerging apparatus of discourses, scientific statements and theoretical propositions that give rise to the productive possibility of FSA victimhood. It is recognised that this research thus contributes to the production of the FSA victim category.

While FSA research is gaining momentum in areas such as the United Kingdom, Canada and the United States of America, limited research has been conducted in South Africa. The few studies that have been conducted by Kramer (2010; 2011) have investigated FSA from the perspectives of both South African academic, legal and mental health care professionals and the female sex abusers themselves. These studies demonstrated that South African mental health professionals, academics and police workers cannot yet fully conceive of a woman that sexually offends (Kramer & Bowman, 2011) and consequently incarcerated South African female sex abusers receive light sentences and are not considered in need of the comparable levels of rehabilitation of their male counterparts. This has the effect of ensuring that FSA continues to be unthinkable, even by the abusers themselves, which inevitably impacts the possibility for the surfacing of their victims (Kramer, 2011). Across these studies it was evident that incarcerated female sexual offenders tend to rely heavily on gendered constructions in producing their subjectivities such that key markers of femininity (passivity, victimhood, maternity, tenderness) were emphasised in their descriptions of their crimes. These women therefore seemed incapable of perceiving themselves as anything other than characteristically maternal, nurturing and feminine; despite being convicted for sex crimes. Other studies have demonstrated that those female sex abusers who have attempted to express themselves through discourses that are not solely reliant on heteronormative constructions of femininity, are most often silenced by 'expert' discourses that rely on dominant understandings of men and women and ensure that "women are relegated to limiting, narrow frames of reference" (Denov, 2003, p. 312). These 'expert' discourses, usually grounded in legal and mental health institutions, explicitly mute the voices that may provide counter-knowledge and alternative discourses for the expression of sexuality and gender in this context. Additionally, they demonstrate that that which is considered violent is to a great extent socially determined and thus certain behaviours escape public, legal and medical attention simply by virtue of their nonconformity to 'normative' understandings of violence (Muehlenhard & Kimes, 1999). These studies imply the need to understand how such 'escape' is possible at the intersection of gender and sexuality. This implication is also a noteworthy academic advance as to date there are few international and no South African studies that take FSA victimhood as their object of study (McMahon, 2011).

A number of recent studies have focused on the characteristics of victims sexually abused by a female (see Faller, 1987; Sandler & Freeman, 2007; Vandiver & Walker, 2002; Vandiver & Kercher, 2004; Wijkman, Bijleveld, & Hendriks, 2010). However, these studies are based on

information provided by the abusers rather than the victims. Additionally, they remain focused on victim demographics based on statistical data. While this generalised information is an important means of understanding patterns of victim abuse in FSA, it does not meaningfully engage with the discursive dimensions of FSA victimhood that make the object of its description possible. Such engagement may provide novel and alternative understandings of gender and sexuality. It is likely that the academic and public invisibility of FSA victims is based on the circulation of gendered, sexualised and criminal discourses that imply that FSA is both improbable and harmless (Denov, 2001). By investigating how power produces a speaking FSA victim subject as a function of particular social and historical conditions, the current critical study attempts to understand the politics of the FSA victim literature. This is particularly accomplished by using a Foucauldian understanding of the subject as constituted by and within language and power. Thus, victimhood does not pre-exist language and power but rather it exists only in as much as it is constructed by social and scientific paradigms as an object of knowledge (Butchart, 1997). This research therefore takes discourse and material conditions as they circulate within forms of power as targets for understanding how, under certain historical and social conditions, a particular category of victimhood is produced. In doing so, this study, while specific to FSA victimology, also provides innovative understandings of the gendered and sexualised human subject.

Finally, because "sex is seen not just as a means of biological reproduction nor a source of harmless pleasure, but, on the contrary, has come to be seen as the central part of our being [including more perverse and 'problematic' parts of our being], the privileged site in which the truth of ourselves is to be found" (Weeks, 1981, p. 6), the study of FSA victimology represents a strategic point of entry into understanding the way sex, gender and identity intersect to produce a form of modern social transgression that, constituted through discourse, is itself an instrument and effect of power (Foucault, 1981).

1.3. Sex abuse: Vague constructs and varied meanings

Sexual abuse has been variously defined. These definitions have been malleable enough to include a number of apparently different types of abuse such as sexual coercion, sexual victimisation, rape (attempted and completed, marital, date, acquaintance, punitive), assault, molestation, forced intercourse, sexual harassment, trafficking, verbal sexual threats, stalking, forced fondling, overt and threatening sexual advances, extrafamilial, intrafamilial and mixed sexual abuse, pornographic use of sexual material, exhibitionism and voyeurism (Barth,

Bermetz, Heim, Trelle, & Tonia, 2013; Finkelhor, 1979; 1984; Fisher & Cullen, 2000; Koss, Heis, & Russo, 1994; Russell, 1983; Wyatt & Peters, 1986). Furthermore, these definitions are contested as appropriate to a particular academic, scientific, legal or political project. Thus, in some cases sexual abuse is defined broadly to include non-contact *and* contact abuse (which may or may not include penetration and forced intercourse), whereas in other cases the definition is narrowed to exclude non-contact (Barth et al., 2013; Wyatt & Peters, 1986). Additionally, different forms of sexual violence have been studied and theorised in isolation from one another, resulting in divergent definitions that lack integration (Gidycz, 2011). Sex abuse is also differentiated from other forms of sexual crimes if it occurs with a child. Thus child sexual abuse (CSA) would involve abusive sexual activities with a child whereby the child's partner has maturational, age or authoritative advantage. However, again there are multiple definitions for CSA with little agreement across disciplines, theories and the broader field of sexual abuse. Arguments concerning age of both perpetrator and victim, peers as perpetrators, the child's ability to consent and whether exposure to sexual images can be considered abusive, are some of the key controversies that have continued to make securing a global CSA definition impossible (Finkelhor, 1994; Wyatt & Peters, 1986).

The lack of clear and distinct sexual abuse definitions and their endless mutations and reproductions according to different temporal and cultural contexts is testament to their fluidity as a function of history. In fact, sexual abuse definitions have had a mutually constitutive relationship with prevalence rates across history whereby an apparent increase in sexual abuse victims has led to the adaptation of sexual abuse definitions which have consequently widened the scope of sex abuse and therefore allowed for a further increase in prevalence rates. The abundance of different definitions across the area of sexual abuse thus directly impacts on the statistical representation of sexual abuse prevalence (Wyatt & Peters, 1986). This pattern is evident in FSA whereby the current academic focus on the phenomenon has resulted in a seemingly increased FSA prevalence rate and, in turn, a production of discourses concerning FSA. A key example would be the recent adaptation of the South African Criminal Law (Sexual Offences and Related Matters) Amendment Act (Minister for Justice and Constitutional Development, 2007), which was rewritten to include women as potential sexual perpetrators and men as potential victims.

Finkelhor (1994) suggests that increased sex abuse prevalence rates are merely due to an increase in public awareness. However, public consciousness is dependent on circulated

popular, scientific or political discourse, which suggests that awareness raising is directly impacted by any discursive framework applied to sexual abuse definitions. This is reflected in Finkelhor's (1994, p. 49) claim concerning CSA in the early 1990s:

> The past 20 years have seen a revolution in public and professional knowledge about child sexual abuse. Most of the prevailing beliefs of a generation ago concerning its nature and prevalence have turned out, in the light of subsequent research, to be wrong or greatly oversimplified. But the knowledge is neither complete nor fully disseminated. In the context of such a rapid revolution, new myths or oversimplifications have undoubtedly been adopted in place of the old.

CSA is often only reported during late adolescence or adulthood, despite the average age of its occurrence being earlier. This demonstrates how, with increased access to circulated discourse, children (or rather now adults) are able to construct their experiences as abusive retrospectively. This is evidenced by the tendency of adults abused as children to justify their late reporting with statements suggesting that they only started to understand the seriousness or abusive nature of the situation when they became older and often only as a result of media exposure or a conversation with someone older (Schaeffer, Leventhal, & Asnes, 2011). Given that sex abuse is replete with 'discourses of damage' (Levett, 1990), the identification of a particular experience as sexually abusive simultaneously results in the occupation of a victim subject position. This echoes Furedi's (1998) claims that victimhood is dangerous not so much in that victimisation results in emotional or physical suffering but rather in its capacity to be identity defining. This victim identity is then further encouraged by social codes that insinuate that an experience of victimisation should be invested with special meaning. CSA is thus a powerful example of the way that historical and social conditions and discourses align to produce sexual violence as both an experience for the subject and an object of study.

In a similar fashion, the term rape has been subject to a number of revisions. In its original conception rape simply referred to the act of a man (usually a stranger) forcibly penetrating a woman without her consent and was thus viewed as a crime of masculine power (Fischer & Cullen, 2000; Koss, 1992). This was most likely an outcome of Koss and colleagues' (1987) early study on sexual victimisation which resulted in the widely circulated hypothesis that sexual aggression is the result of masculine hostility (Gidycz, 2011). Consequent definitions of rape therefore bound being female to being a victim (see Koss et al., 1994) and linked to feminist sociocultural theories of rape as a function of patriarchy, the social control of women and masculine expressions of dominance through female-targeted violence (Muehlenhard &

Kimes, 1999; Murnen, Wright, & Kaluzny, 2002). In fact, the women's liberation movement created the conditions of possibility for the understanding of rape as a function of patriarchal power and female vulnerability, particularly with regards to the transformation of rape from a personal and private incident to a public and political one. Specifically, the creation of a public forum and agenda for rape prevention by second-wave feminists resulted in scientific inquiry and historical analyses into the area, thus allowing for the conceptualisation of rape as a key concern for women, now constructed as an increasingly vulnerable population. Given that many of these historians and scholars formed part of the feminist movement, rape was produced in very particular ways so as to construct rape as an inevitability in women's and girls' lives (Rutherford, 2011). This has resulted in three decades of rape research being devoted to women's safety and thus primarily focusing on female victimisation and male perpetration. In turn, rape definitions have generated a range of well-established biological and social theories relating to the aetiology of masculine sexual aggression (Weiss, 2010a). Significantly, these feminist theories, amongst others, were also key to the surfacing of girls and women as objects of knowledge to be scientifically analysed and documented. This shift resulted in endless 'revisions' of established 'truths' about women and contributed to female-focused psychological questions and theories that, in effect, meant women became increasingly surveilled sexual subjects (Worell & Etaugh, 1994).

Later, as a result of increased feminist scholarship and legal reforms in the area, the definition of rape was broken down into typologies (marital rape, date rape) so that it was no longer confined to strangers and was expanded to include forms of penetration other than the penile-vaginal penetration type so that both heterosexual and homosexual rape and all of their oral and anal variants were made possible. Variations on the ability to consent were also included in the broadened definition so that contingencies were made for unconscious, mentally disabled, mentally ill or intoxicated victims as well as other elements of force such as psychological and physical coercion (Fisher & Cullen, 2000; Koss et al., 1994) to amount to sexual violence. However, these extensions and variations have resulted in the use of a range of words associated with sexual victimisation to describe the experience of rape (sexual assault, sexual battery, criminal sexual conduct) (Koss, 1992) thus blurring the concept further. More significantly, the term 'rape', with all its new and various meanings, gave rise to counterclaims from critics who argue that the term is now too broad and has thus given rise to a phantom epidemic of rape incidents (Koss, 2011). These critics argue that if rape were determined by victims' perceptions as opposed to laws and statutes that were over-inclusive,

the rape prevalence rates would be massively reduced. Consequently seminal researchers such as Koss (1985; 2011) have been severely criticised for conducting research that demonstrates that, despite the broad definition of rape, self-reports continue to show that rape is under-reported.

It is only very recently that the term has been re-defined to include males as potential victims and females as potential perpetrators. In South Africa, this reconceptualisation has been implemented at the level of the legal system, although this has not yet permeated entirely into public consciousness (Minister for Justice and Constitutional Development, 2007). The same cannot be said for international standards- in the United States of America the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) continues to define rape as the non-consensual penile penetration of a woman (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2004). Even so, its reconceptualisation in South Africa, coupled with the constant (and dramatic) adaptations to the term 'rape', is a prime example of how both sexuality and violence are dynamic and socially produced, serve a particular function in history and are given particular weight because they are mobilised as an outcome of new research. Additionally, with each reconceptualisation, criteria for both perpetration and victimisation shift (Muehlenhard & Kimes, 1999), thus ensuring that more and more social bodies become subject to regulatory surveillance mechanisms. This unfolding of definitions and increase in scope of the possibilities of sexual abuse is evident in the ebb and flow of crime reporting.

1.4. The production of FSA

The power inherent in sex abuse discourses to frame, produce and reproduce reality can be demonstrated by the example of South African female sex crime patterns which tend to shift in accordance with the larger discursive practices of a particular time and context. The graph below (see Figure 1.) is a summary of the number of South African female sexual offender convictions across the 12 year period spanning 2001 to 2012. Three peaks are of interest. The first is a dramatic increase from 12 convictions in 2001 to 42 in 2002 which is then followed by a further escalation of 50 convictions in 2003 (own calculations based on raw data from the Department of Correctional Services, 2013). This sudden rise in female sexual offender sentencing and incarceration occured simultaneously with and alongside the extremely publicised police raid of Advocate Cezanne Visser's home and her arrest for multiple sexual offences. Visser, better known to the South African public as Advocate Barbie, quickly became the centre of media and legal attention with her story being relayed across various

media networks and forums. The South African nation was gripped by the story of the succesful and well-respected advocate who had committed several child sexual crimes as well as manufactured pornography (Thom & Pieters, 2011). The public's struggle to comprehend a woman that would sexually offend was reflected by the media which fluctuated between treating Visser as a victim of her male accomplice, Dirk Prinsloo, characterised as a "sex monster" (Piliso & Philp, 2009) and positioning her at either end of the Madonna-whore spectrum at different points in her trial. The significance here is that the widely broadcasted case of Advocate Barbie resulted in a discursive explosion concerning potential sexual aggression and transgression of females. This required a shift in the legal, medical and public discourses on women and sex. The sex abuse apparatus, comprised of institutions, discourses and scientific statements, in this way pervades, produces and draws meaning to the female subject. The resultant possibilities for female sexuality and transgression, in turn, provided the conditions whereby police were able to take seriously reports of FSA and courts were able to pass judgements without relying on previously more narrow understandings. One possible result is an apparent rise in female sexual offender rates.

The other two peaks are slightly less dramatic but are worth mentioning given their obvious connections to broader temporal and contextual shifts. Prior to 2007, the South African legal definition of rape was limited to penile penetration of the vagina (South African Police Services, 2011) and thus was most often applied to cases of female victimisation. The Criminal Law (Sexual Offences and Related Matters) Amendment Act (Minister for Justice and Constitutional Development, 2007) reconstructed this definition so that rape was no longer limited to penile penetration (various objects could be utilised in the act of sexual violence). Furthermore, the pronouns utilised by the Act imply that perpetrators can be of any gender and victims are no longer assumed to be primarily women. This major shift in the legal framework for sexual offences in 2007 may not have necessarily shifted into the public realm immediately, however it was bound to have some effect at the level of the legal system. This shift is, at the very least, evident in the increased FSA convictions between 2007 and 2008 (see Figure 1.).

Finally, there is currently a wave of panic and public concern in South Africa about sexual violence which can be identified in various media references (see Abramjee, 2013; Bauer, 2013; Evans, 2013; Knoetze, 2013; Swart, 2013) as well as political and public calls, campaigns and advocacy projects. The study of rape has been central to the post-Apartheid

political project (Posel, 2005). However, the growth in awareness about other forms of sexual violence is more recent and has really only started gathering momentum over the last three years which coincides with the Crime Report by the South African Police Services (2011) that indicated up to 56 272 sexual offence cases for the 2010/2011 period. However, as the Crime Report carefully reminds us, the definitional shifts related to sexual offences in the Criminal Law (Sexual Offences and Related Matters) Amendment Act (Minister for Justice and Constitutional Development, 2007) has resulted in a range of additional transgressions being included under the term 'sexual offences' (such as pornography, public indecency and human trafficking). Additionally, the redefining of the term 'rape' to entail a range of activities beyond vaginal penetration by a penis has resulted in the production of a broad variety of behaviours, victims and perpetrators (South African Police Services, 2011). The reproduction of legal definitions concerning sexual violence and the filtering of these definitions into the public consciousness has resulted in the construction of a pandemic of sexual offences and an adjunct moral panic. The productive power of these new discursive coordinates is evidenced by the apparent rising number of FSA convictions over the last three years (see Figure 1.). What is construed as abuse, sex and crime, and therefore statistical trends in reporting, are evidently contingent on social and historical conditions. This has bearing on how these constructs were conceptualised in this study.

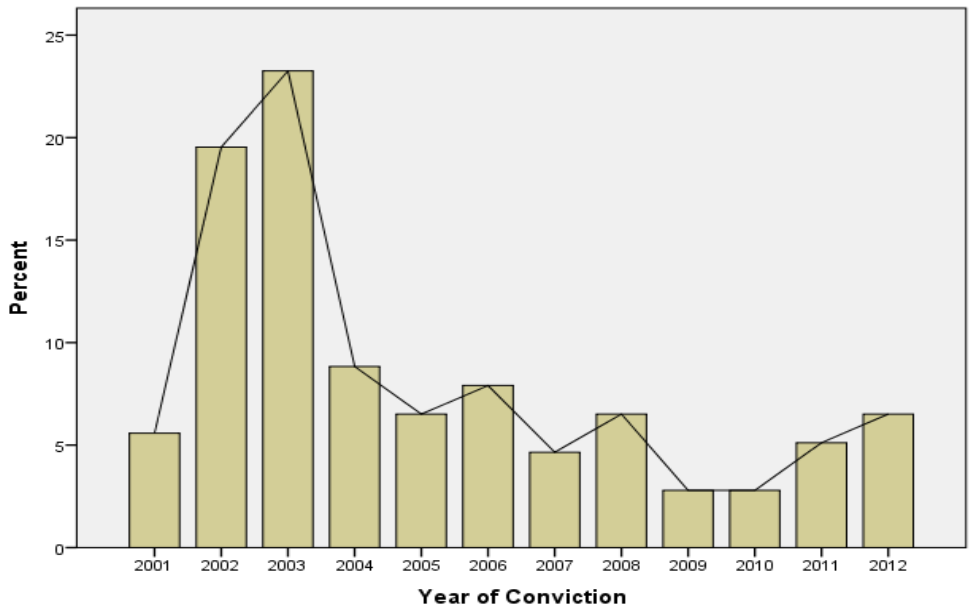


Figure 1. Female sex offender convictions per year (own calculations based on raw data from the Department of Correctional Services, 2013).

This study is based on the poststructuralist view that discourses are produced, reified and thereafter often accepted as 'truth'. This implies a difficulty for any project that attempts to understand just how such abuse comes to be 'thinkable' without producing 'abuse' as the very object it is trying to study. That is, inviting respondents to participate in a study about FSA[2] circumscribes and forecloses their experiences as abusive de facto by emphasising their subjective experiences as such. However, the fact those participants *self-identified* as victims means that they had already been constituted as abused subjects and therefore as rich sites for understanding the discourses that provided the conditions of possibility for this identification. The study's focus on participants' self-identifications as victims also allowed for the nature of this abuse to be contested rather than simply foreclosed by law.

1.5. Research aims and research questions

The primary objective of this research was to identify and interrogate the ways in which subjects construct themselves as victims of FSA. By doing so this research aims to demonstrate how constructions of gender and sexuality interact at the interface of modern power to produce the conditions of possibility for the position of an FSA victim. This was achieved by interviewing persons who self-identify as FSA victims. Thereafter Parker's (1992; 2004a) critical Foucauldian approach to discourse analysis was employed to interpret the transcriptions of these interviews. Critical approaches to discourse analysis address social concerns by recognising how discourse, as an historical, social and cultural constituent has been used as a means to construct and conceal power relations (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997). The key objective is to distinguish "the links between discursive practices and broader social and cultural developments and structures" by analysing discourse at the micro-level of language in interpersonal conversation as well as at the macro-level of the apparatus that filters into this discursive practice (Phillips & Jørgenson, 2002, p. 78). In doing so, a Foucauldian informed discourse analysis will be used to highlight the productive power of the apparatus of discourses, institutions and knowledge in constituting 'truth' (Parker, 2004a) in relation to FSA in this instance.

[2] Invitations to participate in this study were framed according to those sexual behaviours, acts and incidents described in the most recent South African Criminal Law (Sexual Offences and Related Matters) Amendment Act including sexual transgressions such as bestiality, public indecency and unnatural sexual offences and instances of sexual assault, incest, sexual offences against children and rape which comprises any vaginal, oral and anal penetration of a sexual nature (Minister for Justice and Constitutional Development, 2007).

Foucault's (1972; 1981) philosophy of history, sexuality and power argues that discourse is both an effect and an instrument of power that operates through selection, exclusion and inclusion. Parker's (1992) epistemological framework for discourse analysis aims to identify "contradictions, construction and functions of language" as a means to critically interrogate the constitution of the subject and its location in regimes of power and knowledge (Parker, 2004a, p. 310). Parker's (1992; 2004a) method therefore allows for a discursive analysis informed by Foucault's (1980; 1981) approach to language and power/knowledge. In view of this, the data in this study was analysed by exploring how the organisation of discourses at a particular cultural moment provides the conditions of possibility for FSA victimhood and the way particular discursive representations and practices of self-identified FSA victims materialise at the 'surfaces of emergence' of these discourses (Parker, 2004a).

Wilbraham (2004) suggests that discourse, as an historicised and institutionalised set of norms, rules and practices, locates subject positions for individuals by providing categories that produce and define self-knowledge. Following Foucault's (1978) theory of modern power, this study therefore aims to analyse how the power/knowledge coupling in contemporary regimes of sexuality provides the conditions for the identification of the subject as a victim of FSA. This critical approach to discourse analysis "is 'critical' in the sense that it aims to reveal the role of discursive practice in the maintenance of the social world, including those social relations that involve unequal relations of power" (Phillips & Jørgenson, 2002, p. 63).

In essence then, the analysis in this study assumes that "power is inscribed *within* discourses" and, as such, discourse has its "own intrinsic technology" that transmits, produces, reinforces and sustains power and in this way constitutes social subjects (Purvis & Hunt, 1993, p. 488). This research thus provides a framework for the understanding of how points of power are embedded within the discursive representations and practices of self-identified FSA victims and how this, in turn, determines the possibilities for their subject positions. Modern sexuality, in whatever formation, is always located at the nexus of relations of power and is therefore the site for the contestation of hierarchies and differences such as race, class, socioeconomic status and gender (Posel, 2005). Significantly, this study primarily takes place in a South African context characterised by multiple and contesting, diverse identities as well as a current explosion of public and scientific possibilities for sexuality driven by social inequalities, high rates of crime and sexual violence, and the HIV/AIDS pandemic (Bhana,

2006). Thus a secondary overall aim is to draw on both local and global data in order to identify whether the particularly gendered and sexualised, as well as inequitable political landscape of the country, shapes representations of FSA victimology and limit 'classed' possibilities for FSA victimhood in comparison to other countries characterised by different kinds of gender, sexual, socioeconomic and racial relations.

Accordingly the primary research question that frames the overall study is: What are the discursive conditions of possibility for the production of an FSA victim subject position by victims themselves? At this point it is necessary to note the inherent complexity of this thesis. Given its objective to identify particular discursive coordinates as a means to produce FSA victimhood, this research is centred on the construction of a specific object of knowledge, and in doing so is itself a relay for power and knowledge. This research treats FSA victimhood as a discursively emergent object and as an historical product. However, if this thesis aims to make visible FSA victimhood and thus, in some sense, contribute to the 'invention' in relation to it, then how do we understand the object outside of the constitution of it? More specifically, the act of analysis not only surfaces the object of knowledge (Bowman & Hook, 2010), but it also serves to solidify, define, visibilise and thus reify a particular phenomenon as a scientific object of knowledge. Through this reification, this research performs the very discursive function it critiques and thus inevitably also circumscribes the parameters of FSA victimhood. In fact, the use of the FSA acronym (and others such as CSA) further supports this discursive delimitation. The study cannot therefore be extracted from the body of human science from which it departs and to which it will contribute new possibilities for the production of FSA and victimhood.

1.6. Chapter outline

Chapter 2 provides an overview of the current theoretical formulations of FSA. Through the identification of the function of gender and sexuality in underwriting these formulations, the chapter outlines reasons for the continued conceptualisation of FSA as both rare and harmless. It furthermore emphasises how engrained and widely circulated discourses on men, women and children continue to delimit the sexual and gender lines in which it is thinkable. The chapter concludes with an outline of the possibilities for understanding how these lines produce South African FSA aetiologies and typologies.

In *Chapter 3* the focus is turned to Foucault's (1978) seminal work, *The History of Sexuality,* which is used to frame an understanding of how sexuality is contingent on material, political and historical conditions. The chapter progressively builds on Foucault's (1978) framework by demonstrating how gender and sexuality are products of the technologies of modern power and, with the support of the theoretical work of Butler (1989; 1999; 2004), lays the groundwork for a critical analysis that can accommodate the obviously important role of gender in the production of FSA victims. This is further developed through theoretical engagement with the implications of the variously conceptualised role of the hegemony of masculinity (Bartky, 1988; Connell, 1993; Hearn, 2004) in informing the power/knowledge coupling, such that various identity components including gender, sexuality and race are historically and socially determined. By detailing aspects of the modern construction of gender and sexuality, this chapter provides an entry point into the understanding of which subject positions are made possible and probable and how this comes to be so. The use of Butler's (1989; 1999; 2004) theory on performativity further demonstrates how these positions are maintained across historical and social contexts. The chapter culminates in a discussion about the specific implications of this hybrid theoretical framework for the current study.

Chapter 4 pays particular attention to FSA victimisation and the conditions that make it (im)possible. Specific institutionalised discourses that limit the possibility of FSA victimisation are identified. These include psychological discourses, specifically those pertaining to trauma and victimhood. Legal discourse is also highlighted as a significant mechanism that invisibilises FSA victimisation. The accent is placed on the exclusion of FSA from legal documents and the disbelief expressed by police and judicial system personnel that function to constrain reporting possibilities. The chapter concludes with an evaluation of the media's contribution to FSA victim invisibilisation which demonstrates how the media appears to sexualise the female perpetrator and ignores her victims.

In *Chapter 5* the methodology is detailed. Here the research design, participant selection process and data collection are explained. The analytic procedure is described and its utility for this particular research is supported with evidence from the literature. Importance is placed on Parker's (1992; 2004a) critical approach to discourse analysis given its emphasis on Foucauldian assumptions concerning the constitution of the subject as a product of power and knowledge. This is followed by a section pertaining to self-reflexivity which focuses on

exposing the way that the researcher is implicated in the construction of FSA victimhood over the course of the data collection and analysis. The chapter concludes by specifying the ethical considerations taken into account during the research process.

Chapter 6 discusses the findings of the discourse analysis. This commences with a description of the self-identified victims and their experiences and is followed by a discussion on the context-specific conditions that make FSA victimisation (im)possible. The discursive themes are then examined as they relate to the objectives of the study. Specifically, the themes cluster around gender constructions that uphold the impossibility of FSA victimisation at the institutional level and the ways that this creates barriers for FSA victimhood. The male participants' discourses are also explored with regards to the processes involved in negotiating their identities as both males and FSA victims. Themes concerning 'confession' as a site for the production of FSA victim discourse and the identification of conditions of possibility for FSA victimhood are also discussed. The chapter concludes with examples of alternative discourses offered by the participants that present the very particular conditions required for the identification of the self as a victim of FSA in the study.

The concluding comments in *Chapter 7* provide a synthesis of the arguments made in earlier chapters and extend on both the theoretical and practical implications of the study findings. Challenges relating to critical accounts of gender and sexuality are explored, especially as they impact further research in the area. The final comments summarise the importance of drawing on sexual transgressions such as FSA victimisation as a means to both question the universality of 'truths' about gender and sexuality and to contribute to the ever-growing repository of (counter) knowledge on human sexuality.

CHAPTER 2: FEMALE SEX ABUSE

Female sex abuse has recently emerged as an object of scientific inquiry and is gradually gaining momentum and visibility in various fields of study. This chapter traces this emergence through the identification of the range of previous studies in the area and their theoretical and practical implications. In doing so, an overview of current typological and aetiological FSA formulations is provided. This is further appreciated through the emphasis on the way that gender constructions operate in the continued theorisation of FSA as rare and innocuous. The chapter concludes with a proposal for how these theoretical formulations, embedded in gender and sexual discourses, give shape to a South African specific framework for FSA.

2.1. The emergence of female sex abuse

> …theoretical linkages between sexual aggression and masculinity, or hypermasculinity…are so well established in the ways in which rape and sexual assault have been conceptualized over the years that to envision men as victims (or women as aggressors) requires a conscious bracketing of preconceived notions about both sexual violence and gender (Weiss, 2010a, p. 276).

Sexual abuse discourses are rooted in constructions of the male aggressor and the female victim and sexual violence has historically been essentialised as a masculine behaviour emanating from a 'natural' masculine aggression (see Gidycz, 2011; Koss, Gidycz, & Wisniewski, 1987). Traditional sexual and gender codes endorse the image of an oversexed dominant male and an unassertive female succumbing to the male's needs, thus maintaining the legitimacy, 'normality' and social acceptance of male-to-female sexual coercion (Murnen et al., 2002). As a response, available sexual victimisation programmes aim to decrease vulnerabilities in women and aggressive tendencies in men (Gidycz, 2011; Koss et al., 1994), without any consideration of the alternatives. Sexual abuse is thus constructed as a predominantly male activity and sexual abuse victims are treated almost exclusively as objects of male sexual violence. In turn, FSA is considered rare, trivial and harmless (Denov, 2001) and the FSA victim remains invisible. These prevailing discourses are central to most understandings of sexual abuse including those of the medical system, the legal system, the media and the scientific literature and consequently the popular imagination. Of course this relationship is bi-directional such that the prevailing discourses in the popular imagination further reinforce the medico-legal discourses. In addition, these discourses are strengthened

by scientific studies that acknowledge the existence of FSA yet continue to rely on statistics that demonstrate that it is nonetheless rare (Cooper, Swaminath, Baxter, & Poulin, 1990; Davin, Hislop, & Dunbar, 1999; Higgs, Canavan, & Meyer, 1992). However, these studies are in direct conflict with self-reports that have led to suggestions that FSA is, in fact, "not rare, but rather under-recognized" (Denov, 2001, p. 306) - a suggestion that provides at least a platform for beginning to uncover the discursive coordinates that contour the conditions of self-identified FSA victimhood. This disparity results in conflicting prevalence rates of female sex abusers which, in some cases range from 1% to 8% in research conducted directly with female sex abusers as opposed to the approximately 58% reflected in victim self-reports (Denov, 2003). This discrepancy was reflected in a study conducted by Denov (2003), which attempted to address questions concerning FSA prevalence where sexual abuse broadly included all forms of unlawful sexual contact, assault and/or penetration. Specifically, the former rate reflects official law enforcement reports of offenders in America, the United Kingdom and Canada whereas the latter percentage reflects self-reports by both female and male victims collected from child abuse hotlines, college surveys and self-identified victims undergoing therapeutic treatment. Whilst Denov's (2003) observation is important, it is equally significant to note that self-reports tend to fluctuate according to the definition used. In South Africa, to date only 0.6% of all currently incarcerated sentenced female offenders have been categorised as sex crime offenders (Department of Correctional Services, 2011), with total cases amounting to 215 over the last 12 years (Department of Correctional Centres, 2013). More importantly, despite international recognition that Sub-Saharan Africa has some of the highest sexual abuse prevalence rates worldwide (Barth et al., 2013) and South Africa's research, medical and judicial focus on vulnerable populations, trauma, sexual violence and victimhood, South African FSA victims are not at all represented as a category in the country's health and criminal justice statistics. As a consequence there is no robust statistical information available concerning South African FSA victims.

Despite the continued debate about both the prevalence and nature of FSA, there is currently an increased scientific interest in the area (Lawson, 2008). The possibility for the construction of FSA as a category of sexual violence arose in the late 1970s as a result of sexual abuse becoming a central social issue. It was also due to the debates accompanying several variants of the feminist view that male aggression and sexuality resulted purely in female sexual victimisation. Before this, gender was only discussed in relation to sexual abuse as a means to demonstrate the absence of FSA (Bourke, 2007). Even so, research on

FSA continues to be limited to a few sporadic studies. More significantly, most studies remain focused on the abusers and this has resulted in limited research being conducted on FSA victims directly (McMahon, 2011). The few studies that have focused directly on FSA victims are either based on sexual coercion and/or abuse within lesbian relationships (Renzetti, 1992; Waterman, Dawson, & Bolagna, 1989), or indicate national data concerning male victims of FSA (Mendel, 1995; Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000; Weiss, 2010a) or survey-based self-reports by daughters concerning their sexually abusive mothers (Rosencrans, 1997). Whilst the abovementioned studies do begin to surface the FSA victim, they are all based on Euro-American data that most likely will not resonate with a more diverse and multi-cultured South African context. In addition, all of these studies are restricted to quantitative data that cannot present detailed FSA victimhood experiences. More recently, Ristock (2003) interviewed victims of interpersonal violence (including sexual violence) in lesbian relationships. Significantly, Ristock's (2003) study draws on discourse analysis to explore data gathered through interviews and focus groups, thus providing in-depth insights into female sex crimes, especially their power dynamics and how sexual violence continues to be negotiated in gendered and dichotomised terms. However, given the study's broad focus on interpersonal violence and narrow focus on lesbian relationships, only a small part of this study is devoted to actual FSA. Similarly Girshik (2002) explores female-to-female sexual violence by paying special attention to how these instances challenge and disrupt heteronormative laws in the justice system and heteronormative practices in the social provider system. Whilst both of these studies go a long way to visibilise FSA victims, they remain restricted to female victims, without considering the possibility of male victims.

The continued exclusion of FSA victims (and especially male FSA victims) from social scientific study reflects the way that discourse, materiality and history (Hook, 2001) as instruments and effects of modern power limit historical and social conditions and discursive possibilities for the construction of the FSA victim. Thus, while female sex abusers have recently been produced as real criminal subjects that sexually coerce men, children and other women; the objects of their coercion remain nameless, uncategorised and therefore peripheral to the scientific discourse on sexual violence. The current increased awareness of FSA is a slight move away from the previous outright denial of female sex crimes, especially with regards to rape (Freeman, 1996). Again, this is evidence of the way objects of social knowledge shift according to historical and social conditions. In a similar respect, the expansion of surveillance of new subjects in recent years means that new possibilities for

deviance emerge such that contemporary definitions of men, women and sexuality may provide the discursive conditions for the production of FSA victimhood.

FSA as an object of knowledge in academia emerged in the 1980s (see Finkelhor & Russell, 1984). One of the earliest studies involved the development of a proposed outline of female sex abuser characteristics based on research conducted with a clinical sample of 40 female sexual abusers (Faller, 1987). The sample comprised of mostly young white women who had sexually abused victims that were most often white females ranging from six to seven years old. This study found that most of the women had abused multiple victims who were usually their own children. It also found that up to 73% of the sample had co-offended with a male accomplice. However, the study detailed instances of single-parent maternal child sex abuse too. In addition, Faller (1987) found that the most often reported type of abuse was group sex. Some of the abusers in Faller's (1987) sample were reported to have poor psychological, social or mental functioning whilst others abused various substances or were exposed to sexual abuse during their own childhood.

Faller's (1987) study initiated a gradual interest in FSA as a significant and potentially complicated type of sex crime. By the early 1990s, Finkelhor (1994, p. 46), a seminal author in the field of CSA, stressed that "there is no question that women do sexually abuse children, that much of this abuse goes undetected, and that, until recently, it received little professional attention". However, the focus on female sexual perpetration was, and still remains, on CSA. A possible explanation for this narrow focus is that, due to the discursive conditions of possibility for the construction of the female sex offender as 'predisposed' to child molestation, a woman who sexually abuses a child is still conceivable despite the horror it invokes in the public imagination. In addition, the child has historically been constructed as innocent, naïve and vulnerable (Ariès, 1973) as well as desexualised and passive (Bhana, 2006); which presents the child with the opportunity to more readily occupy a victim subject position (Kramer, 2011). This is emphasised by the construction of the modern family as child-centred and contemporary cultural values that assert that the child requires on-going protection (Carrington, 1991). It is also more difficult to deny female child sex abusers because women, by virtue of their gender stereotyping, have more access to children and are also most likely to be engaged in child-rearing activities such as bathing and dressing (Vandiver, 2006). However, given the global and gendered discursive practices, which imply that women are victims of male aggression, the possibility of a female sexually abusing an

adult male challenges our current conceptualisation of the gendering of females (Kramer, 2010). Furthermore, discourse on gender implies that masculinity is incompatible with a victim identity, leaving men subjected to any form of violence, sexual or other, a limited range of discursive possibilities to make sense of their experiences (Eagle, 2006). Nonetheless, there has been some documentation of adult male victims of FSA. For example, the National Violence against Women Survey conducted on 8000 American men and 8000 American women recorded that 14 of these men had been raped by their intimate female partners. These victimised men were less likely than their female counterparts to report the incident or to seek assistance (Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000). Likewise, the most recent National Crime Victimization Survey, conducted nationwide in 2010 in the United States found that up to 9% of sexual assault and rape victims are men. Significantly, 54% of these sexual offences were perpetrated by men and 46% by women (Weiss, 2010a). In South Africa, the most recent crime report by the South African Police Services (2012) indicates that up to 11.4% of all sexual offence victims are adult males. These statistics, although not necessarily representative given reporting biases in sexual offences, nonetheless show at least the conditions for surfacing a potentially sexually transgressive woman that victimises a man.

The denial of FSA, and in fact all types of sexual abuse, is likely to be pronounced in Sub-Saharan Africa where patriarchal discourses and silencing of transgressions of taboos are common features of daily life (Shumba, 2001; 2004). This trend is exacerbated by gendered practices whereby, at least in many 'lower income contexts', women are regarded as victims and passive recipients of male authority. This is typically reinforced by discourse that endorses the male breadwinner, women and children as dependants and masculine aggression as normative which in turn promotes gender inequalities, economic disparities and women's reliance on their male partners for food, shelter and their children's financial access to education (Jewkes, Levin, & Loveday, 2003). These discourses consequently serve as vehicles for the continued denial of FSA. Given these issues and the resultant limit on the range of available subject positions for both abusers and victims of FSA in South Africa particularly (Kramer, 2010) and across the globe more broadly, it is useful to identify and explore the discursive conditions of possibility for the production of an FSA victim subject position. These conditions can be read from the discourses produced by subjects that occupy this position. The coordinates therefore provide at least the beginnings of counter-knowledge rooted in attempts to offer new understandings of the way that gender, sexuality and victimhood are related and produced through modern forms of power.

2.2. Previous female sex abuse research and its limitations

The primary challenge in researching female sexual abusers is that, compared with their male counterparts, very few women that commit sexual crimes are actually convicted and sentenced (Atkinson, 1996). Furthermore, at least in the case of South Africa, those that are convicted tend to receive extremely light sentences, with over half (51, 2%) of all convicted female sexual offenders receiving sentences of zero to six months incarceration across the last 12 years (own calculations based on raw data from the Department of Correctional Services, 2013). This is the case despite the provisions set up by the Criminal Law Amendment Act 105 of 1997 which imposed mandatory minimum sentences for particular crimes, including rape. This amendment resulted in offenders convicted for rape and other sexual offences receiving longer sentences (Neser, 2001). This has not, however, extended to the female sexual offenders. It is therefore difficult to access these women and their victims. Additionally, as a result of ingrained and socialised beliefs that men are aggressors and women are victims, reports of FSA are often dismissed by police and mental health services (Brockman & Bluglass, 1996) or withdrawn by the victims themselves. More significantly, convicted perpetrators are likely to encompass behaviours reflective of legal definitions of sexual violence (Muehlenhard & Kimes, 1999). This limits FSA research samples to circulated (and thus gendered) understandings of sex abuse, making the ability to draw conclusions difficult and findings repetitive of earlier traditional scientific studies that promote heteronormatively gendered interpretations of sex crimes. For example, those women that are apprehended and researched by the justice and mental health systems tend to have committed a sexual crime against a child and are most often an accomplice to a male offender (Vandiver, 2006). This does not necessarily indicate that women only act under the coercion of a male accomplice and that they only sexually abuse children, but rather that, given the conventional construction of the male aggressor and the female victim, women acting outside of this 'acceptable' framework for women, are often ignored, dismissed or denied (Kramer, 2010). This results in conditions for reporting being limited to these 'mainstream' FSA events and in consequence research being conducted only on those female sexual abusers that have male accomplices and child victims, thus narrowing the already constrained scope and range for describing female sex crime.

The current FSA literature is marked by discrepancies, controversies and inconsistencies. Furthermore, most studies that attempt to answer questions on the 'nature' of FSA are often left with more questions. While some studies claim that female sex abusers are a

heterogeneous group (Brockman & Bluglass, 1996; Gannon, Rose, & Ward, 2008; Sandler & Freeman, 2007), others have attempted to construct generalisable profiles, typologies and classifications (Sandler & Freeman, 2007; Vandiver & Kercher, 2004) in order to identify any existing similarities across female sex abuser samples. Over the last two decades, the traditional means of understanding FSA has been to place the abuser into one of three categories.

2.2.1. Typologies

These FSA categories were originally constructed from a study conducted by Mathews, Matthews and Speltz (1989) whereby qualitative data from interviews conducted with 16 convicted American female sexual offenders were used inductively to develop FSA typologies. The first constructed category is the *Lover/Teacher* type who rarely inflicts physical harm and views herself as a sexual educator. Her victims are primarily male children and adolescents (Higgs et al., 1992). Both prepubescent and adolescent male victims seldom view an incident of FSA as traumatic and subsequently criminality in this category of abusers is often overlooked. This lack of recognition is in line with the prevailing belief that sexual interaction with an older woman provides "the ultimate educational experience" (Travers, 1999, p. 36). This has obvious implications for the ability of these prepubescent and adolescent males to occupy an FSA victim subject position. Portrayals of these 'sexual educators' are often eroticised and men are constructed as always desiring and enjoying sexual interaction with a woman, even under forced circumstances (Bourke, 2007), and so it is unlikely that these subjects are able to take up a victim position.

The second category is the *Predisposed* type. These women are constructed as arising from "a long transgenerational familial history of sexual abuse...[resulting in] intense feelings of worthlessness" (Higgs et al., 1992, p. 136). This type is "described as very emotionally disturbed, psychotic or sociopathic" (Travers, 1999, p. 35). Such pathologising discourse is often used by the medico-legal system as a means to justify and rationalise FSA crimes. It also fails to recognise that there are cases where sexually transgressive women were raised in homes with positive emotional climates or come from families that have never been abusive (Bourke, 2007). Even more significant is that these pathological explanations are rarely applied to male sex abusers whose actions are rather understood to be a function of a 'naturally occurring' inclination towards sexual aggression. This contrast is a key example of the heteronormative gendering of sex abuse.

Finally, the third category encompasses the *Male-Coerced* type which describes female sex abusers that act under the often abusive instruction of a male accomplice (Higgs et al., 1992). In most of these cases the female abuser is romantically involved with or married to the male abuser and the victim is usually a family member or their own child. The accomplice type is most commonly tied to 'battered woman syndrome' and is often accompanied by excuses that such perpetrators are "victims of a patriarchal rule and should be absolved of responsibility for their actions" (Bourke, 2007, p. 228). While the majority of these relationships are described as abusive, there are cases where the female accomplice is an aggressive rather than a coerced participant (Vandiver, 2006). Either way this typology reinforces traditional sexual and gender codes and roles, which implicate females as passive or as victims of male sexual aggressors (Denov, 2003). It also ensures that accountability for the sexual abuse is placed on the male rather than the female accomplice and that the female abuser becomes the female victim (Bourke, 2007). Consequently, the persons subjected to the sexual abuse are perceived exclusively as objects of male sex abuse. For Denov (2003), female victimisation and passivity is used to explain FSA because heteronormative gendered discourse constrains the possibilities of generating alternative conceptual frameworks for these women's behaviours. In turn, these constraints limit the possibilities for persons subjected to FSA. Thus, although there is a growing public and academic interest in the area, it appears that the image of a woman capable of sexual perpetration is still implicitly unfathomable and is sustained as one of the greatest taboos in many areas (Travers, 1999). Female sexuality therefore remains a culturally ambivalent subject (Denov, 2003) and, in consequence, female sexual perpetration becomes a highly sensitive and uncomfortable issue that ensures "deliberate avoidance" (Bourke, 2007, p. 215).

More recently, Nathan and Ward (2002) have further differentiated the *Male-Coerced* type with the category *Male Accompanied- Rejected/Revengeful* to indicate female sexual abusers that experience anger or jealousy in their primary relationship and act with a male accomplice but not under his forceful coercion. Additionally, another two categories, namely the *Experimenter/Exploiter* type and the *Psychologically Disturbed* type have been added to the list of FSA typologies (Vandiver & Kercher, 2004). However, the *Experimenter/Exploiter* characteristics appear to resonate with the *Lover/Teacher* type and the same can be said of the *Psychologically Disturbed* and *Predisposed* types, these overlaps thus rendering distinct categorisation redundant.

In much the same way that the aforementioned typologies contribute to the production of FSA as an object of human sciences knowledge, so do various studies that aim to delineate categories of, risk factors for and statistics describing it. A study conducted by Vandiver and Kercher (2004) demonstrates that distinct categories for FSA do exist however it was emphasised that further clarification for each is required. These constructed categories include *heterosexual nurturers* (coincides with the original *Lover/Teacher* type) who target only male victims with an average age of 12, *noncriminal homosexual*[3] *offenders* who target mainly female victims with an average age of 13 and are the least likely group to have subsequent arrests, *female sexual predators* who have the highest number of offences and rearrests and tend to victimise younger males, *young adult child exploiters*, the youngest group of offenders who target both male and female children (average age of seven), *homosexual criminals* who target females with an average age of 11 years old for prostitution and forced sexual performance rather than for sexual assault, and finally, *aggressive homosexual offenders* who tend to target older female victims (average age of 31). Vandiver and Kercher's (2004) study was specific to a population in Texas and thus Sandler and Freeman (2007) replicated the method with a population of female sex abusers in New York. Their study indicates that female sex abusers are a 'heterogeneous group' and that while there do indeed seem to be distinct categories, these were different from the categories indicated by Vandiver and Kercher (2004). Sandler and Freeman's (2007) categories include *criminally-limited hebephiles* where hebephelia indicates this group's exclusive preference for pubescent children (between 11 and 14 years old), *criminally-prone hebephiles* who are more likely than the former group to be rearrested and have multiple offences, *young adult child molesters* who target young (average age of four years) male and female victims, *high-risk chronic offenders* who have the highest number of arrests and tend to target young female children, *older non-habitual offenders* who have no other offences outside of the registered sex offence and *homosexual child molesters* who target young female victims exclusively. Similarly, Gannon and colleagues (2008) developed a descriptive model of the offense process of FSA that provides a concise and detailed explanation by taking into account the

[3] The term 'homosexual' (along with heterosexual and hebephile) is used here to indicate categories listed by Vandiver and Kercher (2004) and Sandler and Freeman (2007). However, the researcher in no way intends to replicate the way in which these terms are offered so unproblematically. Firstly, the use of these terms to formulate psychological categories further reifies the hetero-homosexual binary. Secondly, the way in which these terms are used implies that there is a particular sexual attraction inherent in the act of sexual abuse, which may not necessarily be the case. Finally, and perhaps most significantly, the utilisation of 'homosexual' to describe a sexual abuse category is pathologising. Whilst homosexuality has not been classified as a mental illness since 1973 (Rich, 1980), this categorisation process does implicitly maintain some residue of this pathologising practice.

cognitive, affective, behavioural and context contributing factors. However, this study was conducted on a small English sample of 22 female sex abusers which limited applicability to other contexts. It also does not address FSA victims directly.

Despite these research limitations, the outcomes of these studies have provided the building blocks for a discursive construction of the female sexual offender. Research conducted on the basis of the aforementioned categories maintains that most female sex abusers are white women aged between 20 and 30 who target both male and female victims that are usually younger than 12 years old. Additionally, solo abusers are more likely to engage with a male victim while abusers acting with a male accomplice seem to target female victims (Vandiver, 2006). The victims are also usually their own children or a close relative or acquaintance (Vandiver & Kercher, 2004). Key risk factors constructed as part of these categories include "social isolation, maladaptive coping strategies, passive or aggressive personality styles, and mental health problems" (Gannon et al., 2008, p. 370). Previous studies that attempt to 'profile' the female sex abuser have implied some limited characteristics of the victims of abuse (see Faller, 1987; Nathan & Ward, 2002; Sandler & Freeman, 2007; Vandiver & Walker, 2002; Vandiver & Kercher, 2004; Wijkman et al., 2010). These studies suggest that the victims are usually young, ranging from three to seven years old (Faller, 1987; Vandiver & Walker, 2002). Additionally, up to 75% of FSA victims are relatives or acquaintances of the abuser (Wijkman et al., 2010). There also seems to be little gender discrepancy with victim choice - female sex abusers tend to abuse males and females equally (Vandiver & Kercher, 2004). However, the race of the victims tends to be less equivalent across racial categories, with up to 94% of victims being white in Faller's (1987) study. Nonetheless, it should be noted that this study took place in Michigan, which, at the time, comprised of up to an 80% white majority in the population (U. S. Census Bureau, n.d.). Thus these results may be a consequence of white children being the primary objects of surveillance and intervention as a result of the hegemony of whiteness in these areas (Bowman, 2010) rather than any reflection of 'real' victim numbers or of perpetrator characteristics.

These pattern and demographic descriptions are useful in outlining which conditions, types and risks are thinkable in the contexts of FSA victimhood however they have been produced from research with incarcerated perpetrators in contexts that are dissimilar from South Africa. Indeed, while South African female sex offenders reflect the global pattern pertaining to age at time of offence, with 71.6% of offenders being below 35, the racial patterns are starkly in

contrast with the vast majority of apprehended offenders being black (61.9%) rather than white (own calculations based on raw data from the Department of Correctional Services, 2013). However, statistics based on race in South Africa should be interpreted with caution as these may be proxies for other risks linked to violence such as socioeconomic inequality, unemployment, poverty and gender inequality (Kramer & Ratele, 2012). Furthermore, this large percentage of black female sexual offenders may simply be reflective of the demographic composition in South Africa where black citizens make up 79.5% of the population (Statistics South Africa, 2011). These proxies are also an outcome of the same gender and sexual discourses that are being investigated by this study.

2.2.2. Aetiologies

There are also a number of common theories of aetiology in the literature. These aetiological proposals further construct the female sexual abuser by providing psychological explanations for her existence. The construction of a psychological or social 'cause' for FSA provides a particularly powerful condition for its possibility. For example, some abusers' behaviours are constructed as a function of socioeconomic disadvantage or poverty. This is particularly pronounced in mothers who sell their children for prostitution. These women are characterised as both impoverished as well as compromised by an underprivileged lifestyle. Other abusers are either framed as mentally ill or hypersexual or as suffering from menstruation or hormonal effects. These theories are, however, limited as most of the evidence is developed from samples that are already in psychiatric care for other reasons. Female sex abusers are also far more likely to be sent for psychiatric help than their male counterparts (Bourke, 2007) and are also often regarded as alcoholics or drug abusers (Vandiver, 2006). More recently, Latent Profile Analysis has been used to typologise female sex offenders based on measurements of their personalities. These studies argue that female sex abusers have high levels of psychopathology and variants of the level and type of psychopathology interacts with other features (exposure to sex abuse, substance abuse) to create different types of abusers (see Miller, Turner, & Henderson, 2009; Turner, Miller, & Henderson, 2008). Significantly, none of the abovementioned typologies or theories of causation locate the responsibility for the abuse entirely within the abuser. The fault seems to have an indirect frame of reference rather than the more direct one that is often applied to male abusers. FSA is likely to be justified according to a variety of aetiologies whereas male sexual abusers are often simply understood as being unable to control their apparent natural tendency to be sexually aggressive (Denov, 2003). Such heteronormative gendering is

grounded in reified understandings of masculinity that provide both an explanation and an excuse for apparently 'typical' male behaviours (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). In fact, the hegemony of masculinity supporting these gendered discourses is the very mechanism through which men and women are continuously positioned in unequal relation to one another and thus support the constructed image of violent masculinity.

In a similar vein, a notable absence in the FSA literature is any reference to paraphilia (in light of general FSA) and paedophilia (in light of female perpetrated CSA). In stark contrast to the research based on male sex abuse, there appears to be little allusion to potential sexual psychopathology as a motivating force in FSA. When there is some description of sexual motivation, this is never accompanied by psychological terms such as 'paedophiliac' or 'paraphiliac' urges. For example, Beech and colleagues (2009) describe female sexual abusers' distorted cognitions and only briefly touch on sexual motivation and children as sex objects and do so without drawing on widely circulated pathologising terms. Gannon and Rose (2008) have also noted this absence and maintain that this is because female sexual abusers are less likely than their male counterparts to display paedophiliac interest and tendencies. However, as argued by Kramer and Bowman (2011), female paedophilia would necessitate the acknowledgement that women can be sexually transgressive outside of other motivating forces such as male coercion, substance use or mental illness. Further, paedophilia, as an attraction to prepubescent children, is so antithetical to the 'natural' maternal and caregiving functions attributed to women, that 'exposing' female paedophilia would necessitate a complete reframing of femininity. A male sexual abuser motivated by sexual urges only violates the juridical law, whereas a woman acting in the same capacity violates both juridical law and the limits of heteropatriarchy and idealised motherhood. This absence of categorising women as paedophiles is evident despite CSA being the most central object of surveillance and intervention in the FSA research agenda. Thus, whilst the act of both FSA and female perpetrated CSA may be acknowledged by the academic enterprise, the pathological sexualisation of these acts is notably absent. The invisibility of innate and uncontrollable aggression and/or sexual urges applied to aetiological explanations of FSA echoes a social fabric that cannot yet fully conceive of a woman violating heteronormative gendered and sexual norms.

While FSA typologies and theories of causation are able to demonstrate the ways in which female sex abusers are both similar and different from their male counterparts as well as

provide the foundation for understanding potential aetiologies of FSA, their narrow and constrained classifications undermine the heterogeneity that other studies investigating female sexual abusers have displayed (Brockman & Bluglass, 1996; Gannon et al., 2008). This is emphasised by self-reports that depict female sex abusers as exhibiting a range of different acts at different times making it difficult to consolidate these behaviours into the abovementioned categories. Such acts include child sexual abuse, non-consensual sexual interaction with adult men, forcing both adolescent and adult men to perform cunnilingus, statutory rape, gang rape and the raping of incapacitated or unconscious victims (Bourke, 2007). Bourke's (2007) extensive list of identified acts is based on examples from the Global North[4]. In the South African context, the majority of incarcerated female offenders are convicted for rape (24.7%) and indecent assault (20.5%) (own calculations based on raw data from the Department of Correctional Services, 2013) (see Table 1.). However, given the low reporting rate of sexual offences in general, and of FSA more specifically (Freeman, 1996; Giguere & Bumby, 2007) as well as the tendency for female sexual offenders to receive light sentences (if they are sentenced at all) (Denov, 2001), these data may not necessarily be reflective of all South African FSA events.

Crime	Frequency	Percent
Rape	53	24.7
Indecent Assault	44	20.5
Illegal Carnal Intercourse	5	2.3
Immoral Offences	30	14.0
Attempted rape	2	.9
Unnatural Sexual offences	12	5.6
Indecent Exposure	24	11.2
Public Pornography	13	6.0
Incest	1	.5
Intercourse with minor	3	1.4
Living by proceeds from immorality	20	9.3
Bestiality	1	.5
Pimping	3	1.4
Brothel keeping	4	1.9
Total	215	100.0

[4] The Global North refers to those countries demonstrating high human development as measured by the Human Development Index and reported in the *Human Development Report* (United Nations Development Programme, 2014).

Table 1. Female sex offender crimes (own calculations based on raw data from the Department of Correctional Services, 2013).

2.2.3. Conclusions and implications

The state of FSA knowledge production clearly shows that binaries such as masculine-feminine or perpetrator-victim are fictions that limit the range of subject positions people may occupy in different contexts. It also disrupts constraining gendered discourses such as the idealisation of maternity and the sentimentality of motherhood. Bourke (2007, p. 248) emphasises this disruption with the comment that, "nurturing housewife and child abuser may be the same person". Thus a critical exploration of FSA would expose entrenched gender ontologies which rely on modern power to remain invisible. Given the emerging counter-knowledge that has begun to challenge this invisibility of the female sexual abuser, it is likely that the emergence of an FSA victim subject position may provide an even wider and perhaps different kind of counter-knowledge on gender, power and sexuality. However, as Weiss (2010a, p. 276) reminds us, theories of sexual violence "are so well established…over the years that to envision men as victims (or women as aggressors) requires a conscious bracketing of preconceived notions about both sexual violence and gender".

To date, there is no research in South Africa that has been conducted directly with FSA victims. Internationally available knowledge on this group is based primarily on research conducted with samples of female sexual abusers. Furthermore, this information, as well as that of more victim-focused studies, is mostly quantitative - providing only statistical descriptions of the abusers and their victims. This broad and generalisable information is both important and useful because it points us to a particular type of knowledge production from which to understand the outlines of FSA. However this information fails to provide the more qualitative detailed and nuanced FSA victim information that would critically engage with how the production of certain social science discourses under particular cultural and historical conditions reify a category of victims. This study attempts to address this gap in the literature by exploring possibilities for FSA victim subject positions through reading interviews with victims for the way that the position of FSA victim is enabled by a particular arrangement of discourses on gender, power and sexuality.

Given that South African research is characterised by a political and academic focus on male violence (and especially male violence against women), shifting the focus to female violence

"may serve to obfuscate the violence of male power and patriarchy" and "disrupt discourses that essentialize women and present women as powerless victims" (Kruger, van Straaten, Taylor, & Dukas, 2014, p. 463). The current gendered and sexualised political landscape in South Africa, amplified by the recent surge in moral panic about rape and other forms of sexual violence (see Ambramjee, 2013; Bauer, 2013; Evans, 2013; Knoetze, 2013; Swart, 2013) provides an appropriate backdrop for the exploration of the (im)possibility of FSA victimhood. While the very current public, media and political discursive explosions of interest surrounding sexual violence have provided the conditions of possibility for the emergence of the female sexual offender; her victims continue to remain anonymous and invisible. It is therefore the objective of this study to identify the material, political and historical conditions for the possibility for identifying as a victim of FSA in a country where sexual violence is consistently relayed as a ubiquitous threat to all.

CHAPTER 3: MATERIAL, POLITICAL AND HISTORICAL CONDITIONS FOR GENDER AND SEXUALITY

This chapter begins the work of demonstrating the conditions of possibility for FSA victimhood. In order to achieve this, Foucault's (1978) seminal work, *The History of Sexuality,* is used to structure an argument on how sexuality is subject to particular material, political and historical conditions. The argument follows Foucault's (1978) formulation of biopower in order to reveal the ways that gender and sexuality are products of the technologies of modern power. This is further supported by Butler's (1989; 1999; 2004) theoretical postulations and understood in terms of the range of theorised functions of the hegemony of masculinity (Bartky, 1988; Connell, 1993; Hearn, 2004) in the social determination of gender and sexuality. This framework for the historical and social construction of gender and sexual identity components exposes the role of the power/knowledge coupling in the making of possible, conceivable and 'real' subject positions. In addition, the use of Butler's (1989; 1999; 2004) theory on performativity to support this framework provides a clear portrayal of how these positions are products of the modern constructions of gender and sexuality and, more significantly, how these positions are reproduced and sustained. The implications of these arguments are presented through particular examples of sexual 'deviance', female criminality and male victimhood. These examples underpin the importance of the role of gender and sexuality constructions for the critical analysis of FSA victimhood.

3.1. The history of sexuality, gender and power

The fundamental assumption of this study rests on Foucault's (1978) conceptualisation of sexuality and, by extension, gender as discursive constructs arising out of historical and institutionalised practices that are both instruments and effects of modern power. Power is materialised in the apparatuses of knowledge entrenched in religious, political, economic and legal practices and the organised hierarchical network of interactions between them such that subjects and social practices are both the channels for and the products of power (Digeser, 1992). Discourses emanating from these apparatuses inscribe themselves onto the site of the body which in turn becomes "a nodal point or nexus for relations of juridical and productive power" (Butler, 1989, p. 601). Foucault (1978) uses the term 'biopower' to indicate that the anchor points for forms, exercises and strategies of power are populations, or the social body (Genel, 2006). Biopower is thus comprised of "numerous and diverse techniques for achieving the subjugation of bodies and the control of populations" (Foucault, 1978, p. 140).

This form of power, emerging at the threshold of modernity, moves through a capillary of networks and relations and is thus distinct from sovereign power, which is characterised by a monarchy that exerts legal and political influence in a top-down fashion. For Foucault (1980), biopower comprises diffuse points that exist everywhere and thus both regulate the social body and are practiced and reproduced by the individual body. There are therefore two poles along which biopower operates, linked together by a network of relations. The first is anamatopolitics which is centred on the disciplining of the individual body. The second is focused on the monitoring, surveillance and regulation of the social body or a biopolitics of the population (Foucault, 1978).

The calculus of populations is reducible to the sex of its constituents and therefore biopower targets sexuality as the lynchpin around which subjectivity and identity are clustered (Cahill, 2000). For Posel (2005) this sexuality within modern society is a political site for the operation of multiple and contesting regulatory and disciplinary effects. Sexuality and gender (which are informed by 'truths' about sexuality) can therefore be more critically appreciated through the understanding of the historical, political and material conditions that constitute them as well as the recognition of their interaction with modern power to produce subject positions that have a regulatory function. Thus, in line with a Foucauldian understanding of power, both gender and sexuality should be understood as historical and malleable products that have been moulded and continue to be remoulded by biopower. Weeks (1981, p. 288) thus emphasises that the meanings applied to gender and sexuality "are not eternal givens, are not simple products of objective forces outside human control, but are products of human endeavour in the context of given historical circumstances".

Whilst Foucault's (1978) account of the history of sexuality provides an entry point into understanding sexuality, his major blind spot is arguably the differential power/knowledge effects on and of the female and male bodies (Bartky, 1988). Because the current research actively engages with femaleness in sexual abuse, it is important to identify and examine those discursive strategies that produce the female sexual perpetrator and her victims, be they male or female. Thus, whilst a Foucauldian theoretical framework with which to examine sexuality is critical to this study, the application of this framework to the differential effects of modern power upon the gendered body is also important. Butler's (1989; 1999; 2004) gender theory is therefore used to support this application. Likewise, given the firm location of this research in the postcolonial context of South Africa, it is equally significant to

acknowledge that Foucault rarely engages with the ways that colonialism and imperialism utilise the site of the colonised body as a means to the construction of sexuality in colonised contexts (Stoler, 1995). The use of Foucault's (1978) analysis of the emergence of sexuality as discourse for understanding South African sexuality is therefore problematic in the sense that it runs the risk of reproducing and thus reinforcing the very colonial discourse that reifies nineteenth century European sexuality and marginalises the effects of colonial discourse on the colonial context and the colonised body. This is not to suggest that Foucault ignored colonialism and racism. In fact, Foucault (1977b) argued that evocations of race and racism have surfaced at different historical periods as social technologies underwritten largely by a biopower that defines who is or cannot be 'human'. At the intersection of racial and sexual discourses in the invention of particular subjects and objects, Stoler (1995) proposes that Foucault's (1978) appreciation of the incitement of sexuality discourse as both an instrument and effect of modern power is mainly centred on the production of *particular* objects of knowledge, such as the perverse adult, the hysterical woman and the bourgeois family. Stoler (1995, p. 6-7) argues that these nineteenth century objects of knowledge could not exist without "a racially erotic counterpoint, without reference to the libidinal energies of the savage, the primitive, the colonized". Stoler's (1995) recognition that the sexual discourse of European bourgeois society and that of the colonised empire were mutually constitutive is important for this research given the backdrop of postcolonial South Africa and the conditions for sexuality that it implies. Thus, whilst Foucault's central concerns are privileged throughout the following chapters, they are continuously interrogated by, supplemented with and juxtaposed to theories that may more fully appreciate the complex intersections of race, power, gender and sexuality, especially as they emerge in an African context. This research thus attempts to follow Terre Blanche's (2002) suggestion that when using Foucauldian frameworks to support an analysis in Africa it is important to resist treating the African body as solely a product of European colonisation and rather understand it as performative and productive in its own right. While the sexual discourse of the coloniser and the colonised are mutually constitutive, the African body is constructed by different kinds of gender-sexuality-race intersections that result in a unique object, distinctive from its European counterparts. The objective of this research is therefore to go beyond the limits of Foucault's (1978) work and identify particular articulations of race, sexuality, class and gender and their multidirectional and intersecting capacities to co-construct identity. This objective echoes Collins' (1998) call for the use of intersectionality in the investigation of

African identities through the treatment of social class, gender, race and sexuality as mutually constructing and intersecting systems.

This study supports Butler's (2004) argument that gender and sexuality cannot be defined in binary and rigid terms. Narrow definitions of gender or sexuality that are based on masculine-feminine or hetero-homosexual dichotomies ignore the multiple productive possibilities for gender and sexuality and foreclose the possibility of interrogating how they have been produced by material, historical and institutionalised conditions. Moreover, given that productions of sexuality inform the very meanings of masculinity and femininity and gender roles are based on the constructed assumption of heterosexuality, gender and sexuality are often mutually constitutive. Furthermore, the way gender and sexuality are mapped onto the individual body and taken up by the subject has profound macro-level political as well as micro-level relational and subjective effects. Widely circulated discourses on gender and sexuality presented as 'truths' about the social body are stamped onto individuals such that their identities become instantiations of these truths. Consequently individuals reproduce and thus maintain these by (re)performing them in social contexts. However, where there is power, there is resistance and this makes the emergence of alternative discourses and a consequential reframing of the overriding apparatus of knowledge into a counter-knowledge possible. Gender and sexuality are produced through heteronormative constructions and this has obvious implications for the way that FSA victims are excluded from discourse and the way that these victims frame their experiences, if they are able to frame them at all. The historical and social constitution of gender and sexuality are thus integral to the identification of the current material and cultural conditions that may or may not give rise to FSA victimhood.

3.1.1. The production of gender and sexuality

Foucault's (1978) analysis of sexuality "calls into question classical notions of the universality of truth by establishing the historicity of knowledge" (Rawlinson, 1987, p. 374), thus undermining and disrupting scientific 'fact', 'neutrality' and 'objectivity' and producing an alternative language that resists normalising and naturalising systems of 'truth'. The investigation of the historical production of sexuality allows for an interrogation of why it is that sexuality has been understood by modern society as ahistorical, primordial and natural (Bem, 1993). In light of this, a postmodernist framework is useful as a means to impugn the more radical essentialist conceptualisation of sexuality as an inexorable biological instinct.

That is not to say that biological sexuality does not exist, but rather that it "is only a precondition, a set of potentialities, which is never unmediated by human reality" (Weeks, 1981, p. 11). For Foucault (1978) this precondition is bodies and populations.

The widespread belief in modern society has long been that heterosexuality is an ahistorical and biological fact (Bem, 1993) and thus, given its biological nature, it is additionally immutable. In his seminal work, *The History of Sexuality*, Foucault (1978, p. 105) impugns this assumption with the assertion that "sexuality...is the name that can be given to a historical construct", a production of modernity, and he therefore tracks the production of sexuality from its roots in the seventeenth century. During this period, sexual discourses and practices were not governed by set laws and regulations produced by a legal system that acted in the name of some natural order. There were also no medical categories available to describe and classify instances of sexual deviancy. Even sexual interaction between adults and children occurred with little consequence (Ariès, 1973). As the institutional character of modern society gradually developed, previous permissive discourses around sex and sexuality appeared to shut down at the level of everyday interaction and this seemed to be replaced with silence, shame and taboo. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries a large-scale transformation of what is now the Global North occurred with the shift from a traditional and hierarchical social system to a more individualistic and modern one characterised by industrialisation and capitalism. Moreover, power, traditionally embodied in the figure of a monarch gradually transformed from state-sanctioned sovereign power into disciplinary power so that it became anonymous and moved through diffuse capillaries and networks that relay the structure of power onto the sites of bodies and populations (Bartky, 1988). Power no longer operated from a singular and identifiable authoritative source but rather power was everywhere and operated through surveillance, objectification and subjectification. This rearrangement of power created the conditions of possibility for the emergence of disciplines, the social sciences and clinical medicine, which in turn provided the conditions for these institutions to invent the modern subject as the target of modern power (Butchart, 1997). Alongside this shift, sexuality took on a new function in "defining and normalizing the modern self" (Halperin, 1998, p. 96) and the human body became rearranged through machineries of power (Foucault, 1978). This occurred particularly through the realms of science, medicine and the law, which analysed, documented, classified and diagnosed apparently different forms of sexuality. Foucault (1978, p. 35) thus argues that although sex had been exploited "as *the* secret" and the silence and taboo circulating the topic

could be interpreted as a repression of sexuality, science was in fact carefully surveilling, documenting and categorising different forms of hitherto 'corporeal desire' into new coded types of 'sexuality'.

The 'truth' of these discourses has been reinforced across the last three centuries, making heteronormative monogamy appear a biological reality (Phelan, 1990). Hence, through legal, medical and scientific discourses, apparently 'normal' standards of sexuality and sexual development came to exist and in this way the very perversions and abnormalities that were deemed taboo were in fact simultaneously produced and sustained by the discourses on normative sex. (Weeks, 1995). The 'truth' about sexuality is therefore produced rather than discovered and discourse "participates in normalization even as it claims to challenge it" (Phelan, 1990, p. 432). More significantly, the production of this knowledge and the promotion of it as legal or scientific 'fact', resulted in classification schemes that, when taken up by subjects, ensured the social regulation, and consequently self-regulation, of individuals. The availability of a new and vast scientific discourse allowed for a subjectification of both the human 'mind' and the body which could now be documented, analysed, corrected and thus regulated (Rawlinson, 1987). Accordingly, Weeks (1981, p. 5) highlights that "sexual behaviour is organised not through mechanisms of 'repression' but through powers of 'incitement', definition and regulation" and it is in this way that discourses contribute to the reproduction of sexuality (Phillips & Jørgenson, 2002). An apt example is the various revisions attached to the term 'rape' since the early 1970s and the consequent reactions from critics arguing that these revisions have resulted in the false impression that there exists a rape epidemic (Koss, 1992). However, whilst these counterclaims appear to limit the frame of reference for rape victims, it is their very accusations that ensured the consistent revisions to the term, allowing for additional bodies and subjects to be exposed to analysis, surveillance and regulation. In fact, Koss (2011), a key figure in the defining and redefining of the theoretical framework for rape and an advocate for definitions that implicate male aggressors and female victims, recently stated, "I deeply regret that…I thought it was appropriate to defend a research initiative that prevented LGBT[5] people from reporting their experiences of same-sex victimisation and precluded inquiry into sexual aggression perpetration by women and men's sexual victimization" (p. 350). Koss' (2011) statement thus forms part of the

[5] LGBT is an acronym that stands for lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender.

scientific discourse currently in circulation that begins to surface conditions for the redefinition of 'rape'.

Sexual discourse has therefore provided modern power with the means to police and regulate society and the façade of silence was merely a means of censorship, restriction and prohibition that formed part of the mechanisms that drove the discursive explosion on sexuality through science. Foucault's (1978) 'the perverse implantation' describes the explosion of multiple and unorthodox sexualities and argues that the production of a variety of abnormal sexualities justifies the use of regulatory measures to document and regulate them. The perverse implantation was thus a key driver for disciplinary power in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, particularly given its capacity to compel "figures, scarcely noticed in the past, to step forward and speak, to make the difficult confession of what they were" (Foucault, 1978, p. 39). Thus rather than treating sexuality as a fixed, stable, natural or immovable somatic fact, a postmodern framework begins with the assumption that sexuality is a "uniquely modern production" (Halperin, 1989, p. 258). Foucault (1978, p. 105-106) summarises these points in the following way,

> Sexuality must not be thought of as a kind of natural given which power tries to hold in check, or as an obscure domain which knowledge tries gradually to uncover. It is the name which can be given to a historical construct: not a furtive reality that is difficult to grasp, but a great surface network in which the stimulation of bodies, the intensification of pleasures, the incitement to discourse, the formation of special knowledges, the strengthening of controls and resistances, are linked to one another, in accordance with a few major strategies of knowledge and power.

Thus sex and sexuality are vehicles for the transmission of modern power and in this way sex became the centre of both subjectivity and 'truth'. Sexuality takes on a normalising, productive and regulatory function - it both produces the subject and ensures that the subject is disciplined, productive and reproductive (Phelan, 1990). The demands of capitalism necessitate certain healthy and productive subjects (although other subjects must be sick and poor) and thus sexual norms and standards developed through legal and medical technologies are utilised as discursive strategies to ensure a disciplined populace (Dean, 1994). Specifically, exclusive heterosexuality has historically been constructed as that which is both privileged and desired, thus the institutionalised requirement that the biological sex of the body match the gender of one's identity (Bem, 1993). By resisting conformity to the

heterosexual imperative, one risks the consequence of being categorised as 'abnormal'. In this way, the heterosexual and procreative couple is constituted as the biological and natural 'norm' and the modern subject is read through the very concept that society appears to repress - sexuality (Winnubst, 1999). Sexuality is therefore a cultural and social product mapped onto the body as a means to social regulation and control (McNay, 1991).

The cultural and historical character of the sexualisation of the body is easily demonstrated by showing how constructions vary across cultures and time in terms of the way the body is coded (Cahill, 2000). For example, while sexuality in modernity is grounded in the anatomical differences between men and women or the binary between heterosexuality and homosexuality, sexuality in classical Athens was regulated according to power differentials. In this particular historical period and context, sexual object choices were based on superordinate-subordinate relationships, regardless of gender (Halperin, 1989).

Significantly, social regulation occurs through productive, rather than through prohibitory power by "imposing a grid of definition on the possibilities of the body" (Weeks, 1981, p. 7). Power is thus relayed in the form of discipline and surveillance through "examination and insistent observation...[and] the medicalization of the sexually peculiar" (Foucault, 1978, p. 44). Power then, is bound to knowledge and "functions through it and the systems of meaning upon which it rests" (Phelan, 1990, p. 424). However, because modernity is constructed as the age of liberation that provides for the freedom of the subject, modern power and its objective to control and discipline the body must remain invisible, as knowledge that we own as taken for granted, as evidence of a sexual selfhood or self-knowledge. This occurs through the individual subject internalising institutionalised disciplinary power and experiencing it as self, rather than social regulation. It is through the masking of modern power as self-knowledge that a permanent state of self-regulation is produced in the individual and, in turn, this self-regulation is celebrated as individualism, the hallmark of modernity and capitalism (Bartky, 1988).

Foucault (1978) has argued then that sexuality occupies a critical symbolic function rather than representing a biological reality and that these constructions, masked as scientific 'truths', allow institutions such as science, medicine and psychology a privileged position in the constitution of the modern subject (Miller, 1998). For Foucault (1978), this is particularly with reference to the way language has structured and shaped scientific discourse on biology

and sexuality. These objects of study have been constructed as 'fact' by the human sciences. This has implications for the way discourse on sexuality is then taken up and used to structure individual bodies and subjectivities. Furthermore, values and meanings are constructed by culture and history and the subjection of the body to these produces the speaking and 'self-identifying' subject (Butler, 1989). In this way, scientific discourse is mapped onto human individuals and thereafter produced and reproduced as self-knowledge through the subject in the act of speaking and performing these 'truths'. Thus studies in human sciences that purport the unlikelihood of FSA and are supported by institutionalised social science discourses that circulate constructions of the male aggressor and female victim exclude discourses that would provide at least the coordinates by which a subject could self-identify as an FSA victim. Consequently, individuals that may have been involved in sexual 'transgressions' with a female are unlikely to speak, perform or self-identify as a victim.

Language has productive power and is thus "the field out of which the figure of "man" emerges" (Winnubst, 1999, p. 17). The structure of language provides man[6] with his material existence and the subject emerges through the effects of language, which ground individual subjectivity. All individual and social ontologies are therefore effects of signifiers rooted in language systems. Language becomes a site of power through its ability to constitute meaning. For example, gender is "a position constructed in language" and thus femininity, for example, is "a position that can be taken up by men as well as women" (Moi, 2004, p. 842). An understanding of gender as a position in language implies that subjects are free to take up certain positions. However this apparent freedom is constrained by the materiality of biopower and the discursive limits on gendered and sexualised possibilities for being human therein. Rather than merely inheriting a biological destiny, these limits are translated as social and cultural meanings and practices of sexuality and gender (Bem, 1993). Donaldson (1993, p. 651) thus argues that "there is nothing outside gender...to be involved in social relations is to be inextricably "inside" gender". This is made possible by the relay of institutionalised norms onto the individual through disciplinary and pastoral technologies such as the family, the school and the church.

[6] The use of the word 'man' has obvious gender implications in the context of a study that aims to demonstrate the implications of widely circulated constructions of masculinity and femininity. The use of this word in no way implies that 'man' encapsulates humanity. Rather it simply alludes to the comment put forward by Winnubst (1999).

3.1.1.1. Gender, families and patriarchy

For Collins (1998), the family is the primary space where gender hierarchies and heterosexuality are reinforced and other sexualities are made invisible and it is in this way that the individual replicates institutionalised gendered discursive practices and thus becomes "a deeply implicated...collaborator in the social reproduction of male power" (Bem, 1993, p. 139). Sexuality tends to be organised within the framework of the family particularly because it is through the family that the survival of heteronormativity can be leveraged. As a product of these widely circulated domestic discourses, heterosexual marriage becomes "deeply engrained in the social consciousness" (Weeks, 1981, p. 214) and "the heterosexually constituted family...[thus becomes] the basic social unit" (Rich, 1980, p. 657). This is made possible through what Foucault (1978) calls the Malthusian unit or the Malthusian couple whereby prevailing legal, medical and educational discourses have normalised the child-centred nuclear family as the natural mode for the modern family and have thus ensured the family's adherence to social norms. This adherence guarantees that modern power is able to regulate or police individual bodies through the apparatus of the family (Donzelot, 1979). Family policing is made possible through normative practices whereby intimate details of family life are made available for public use, recorded and documented by other larger institutions such as the hospital, school and legal system (Gubrium & Holstein, 1994). Given that "politics, economics, technology are gendered" (Donaldson, 1993, p. 651) availing the details of the family to these institutions, genders the family unit.

Butler (2004) argues that gender regulation in modernity is due to the operation of heterosexist normativity and that gendered subject positions imply sexual subject positions. Sexual and gender constructions inform one another because heteronormative sexual constructions produce and reinforce gender binaries (Butler, 1999). Butler (2004, p. 13) further argues that "norms encode operations of power" and thus "power emerges in language". Sexual and gendered norms, although sometimes explicit, are, for the most part, implicitly embedded in language such that they are only clearly decipherable in the consequences that they produce. To further develop this argument, gender and sexual assumptions are so entrenched in social discourses, institutions, and individual psychologies that they are able to invisibly reproduce the effects of modern power across generations (Bem, 1993). These norms operate at the nexus of power and knowledge and thus the organisation of gender and sexuality in turn organise understandings of the social world (Foucault, 1978). Specifically, the organisation of these norms is restricted to dichotomous

definitions emphasising the masculine-feminine and hetero-homosexual binaries as the exclusive means of understanding gender and sexuality. These binaries serve a regulatory function of power that naturalises the hegemony of heteronormativity and forecloses the possibility of its resistance (Butler, 2004). Given that heteronormative assumptions are key constructs to the production of the gender hegemony of masculinity, this dichotomising process thus also sustains patriarchal norms and practices.

The binary of masculinity and femininity is particularly strongly consolidated in social discourse and thus has the tendency to erode other possibilities in discursive constructions of gender. The undue focus on feminine versus masculine behaviours in both the public imagination as well as within academia itself often results in the exclusion of alternative conceptualisations of gender as fluid and diverse. For example, discussions on femininity are often based on white Eurocentric and thus dominant constructions of the female body. However, the constituents of femininity and masculinity will vary as they intersect with other social constructions such as culture, race and ethnicity (Shefer, 2010) and while some of these racialised or social discourses may be subordinate to the discourse on femaleness, they may be dominant enough in a given culture such that they have the effect of constituting the female body. In addition, key sexuality discourses in Sub-Saharan Africa do not necessarily have the same contours and effects as in the Global North despite being framed in relation to them. Given the location of this study in a South African context of female sex abuse it is necessary to recognise that whilst some South African women may be excluded from the dominant discourse that relates to the white or colonial female, they are still measured against this standard (Mohanty, 1988). Additionally, womeness (and gender in general) is raced, ethnicised and cultured through the power of discourse, however each articulation of femininity will have varying degrees of productive power in the social structure (Cahill, 2000). In the context of this study it is important to follow suggestions proposed by Winnubst (1999) - whilst Foucault's (1978) analysis of history does not regard the subject through the lens of sexual difference, it is still possible to use a Foucauldian understanding of the cultural constitution of the social body as a means to understand gender and other cultural (racial, ethnic, economic) differences by invoking and accentuating these constructions throughout the analysis. In light of this, a Foucauldian understanding of FSA victimhood in both a South African and global context requires an appreciation of the forms and effects of various intersecting discourses that bind gender, sexuality and power across diverse and unequal contexts. For South Africa, a country still characterised by the racialised legacies of

colonialism and Apartheid, this is important given that the ability to self-identify as an FSA victim may be conditional on the possibilities that emerge through various cultural domains. For example, under the Apartheid regime, white children were constructed as vulnerable and thus subjected to constant surveillance, monitoring, regulation and intervention (Bowman, 2010). These practices provided the conditions of possibility necessary for these subjects to assume victimhood. In contrast, black children were treated as threats to the hegemonic Apartheid system and thus were unable to access the same conditions of possibility. Likewise, young black men in urban areas of South Africa are more likely than any other demographic population to be victims of interpersonal violence. Here, the intersectionality of race, socioeconomic status and gender are central to victimhood. The imagined set of rules that govern manhood (aggression, alcohol consumption, gangsterism) combined with the impoverished infrastructure of many South African environments results in young black South African men defining and identifying with a particular (and usually violent) masculinity that will ensure their survival. However, it is this same masculinity that renders them vulnerable to other men faced with similar conditions (Ratele, 2009). In the case of South African FSA victims, it will thus be interesting to note whether similar conditions of (im)possibility emerging at the intersection of economic status, race, gender and sexuality have filtered into constructions of post-Apartheid victimhood.

3.1.2. The hegemony of masculinity, power and the disciplined body

For Foucault (1978) biopower is ubiquitous and all social subjects are participants in its exercises and relations. That is, there is an "event of power struggle with everybody attempting to affect the others and everybody resisting the effect of others" (McWhorter, 2004, p. 42). This understanding underlines how social subjects are all relays in the operations of biopower. It also reveals how no individual dominant system can operate as a singular source of power. Rather, different systems of power, such as the legal system or medical knowledge are each "but one node in a complex matrix of relationships and institutions" that renders each dominant system as both able to express and relay discourses and as subject to other dominant discourses (Cahill, 2000, p. 57). Thus, the authors or 'knowers' of a particular discourse; be they scientists, lawyers, doctors, psychologists or politicians, are also a function of that discourse (Phelan, 1990). In contrast to traditional monarchies, there is no individual who is formally empowered to exercise social control in modernity. Rather, the gender hegemony of masculinity operates through and as a function of modern power (Bartky, 1988). The hegemony of masculinity is an historical effect of various

institutionalised practices that have emerged across time and space and have been produced and reproduced by and through networks within widely circulated apparatuses of knowledge. Connell (1993, p. 602) lists examples of these apparatuses:

> Thus we cannot begin to talk intelligibly about "masculinity and power" without addressing the institutionalized masculinization of state elites, the gender differentiation of parts of the state apparatus (consider the military in the Gulf deployment), the history of state strategies for the control of populations via women's fertility. The sexual division of labor in production, the masculinized character of the very concept of "the economic," the levels of income and asset inequality between men and women, make it impossible to speak about "masculinity and work" as if they were somehow separate entities being brought into relation.

Connell (1993) further adds that beyond this institutionalisation through systems of knowledge, two other factors have ensured the construction and maintenance of some forms of masculinity as hegemonic. Firstly, modern sexuality is fundamental to the construction of gender difference and thus gender and sexuality must be understood as mutually constitutive components of masculine social practices that constitute the hegemony of masculinity. Secondly, these masculine social practices have further reified the masculine character of Connell's (1993) above-mentioned institutionalised conditions in which the gender hegemony of masculinity originally arose, thus reproducing and intensifying these institutions and their adjunct masculine practices. The gender hegemony of masculinity therefore exists primarily within institutions, structures, relationships and discourses rather than within individual masculine figures. As such, masculine discourses, rather than masculine individuals or groups, practice their own control and restrict themselves (Foucault, 1981). As Hearn (2004, p. 51) has argued,

> To say that all men are (all) powerful or men are all powerful: that is not so: this is especially clear from a global perspective on men. Rather it is that power is a very significant, pervasive aspect of men's social relations, actions and experiences...

Whilst classical social theory views power as operating top-down and argues that dominant groups relay discourses based on the gender hegemony of masculinity onto individual bodies and social structures of subordinate groups, a Foucauldian viewpoint suggests that the hegemony of masculinity operates bottom-up in a capillary-like fashion through nodal points of modern power that exist everywhere between people within the social body (Hearn, 2004). As society, culture and power relations are all constituted by discourse, "it is in discourse that

power and knowledge are joined together" (Foucault, 1978, p. 100). Power, domination and the hegemony of masculinity are therefore made legitimate through discursive practices (van Dijk, 2001). These discourses are hegemonic in that they remain dominant in our understandings of reality and are sustained through various modes such as the media and social institutions that continue to assert their normality and naturalness (Donaldson, 1993). These normative discourses have a regulatory function and operate as technologies of discipline and surveillance (Foucault, 1978). This is possible because "relations of power...circumscribe in advance what will and will not count as truth, which order[s] the world in certain regular and regulatable ways, and which we come to accept as the given field of knowledge" (Butler, 2004, p. 57-58). As such, sexual and gender regulations make gendered and sexual agency difficult. Additionally, pathologising sexual and gendered discourses that map out the normal-abnormal binary allow subject positions to be taken up that either restrict or enable 'freedom'. By submitting to these discourses, one can seemingly gain such freedom. However, in light of this pattern, freedom is really, what Butler (2004, p. 101) calls "unfreedom" as it is heavily policed, surveilled and regulated through modern power. In summary then, "we live, more or less implicitly, with received notions of reality, implicit accounts of ontology, which determine what kinds of bodies and sexualities will be considered real and true, and which kind will not" (Butler, 2004, p. 214). It is in this way that hegemonic masculinity is an important social construction (that implicates sex and gender) against which subjects normalise and therefore regulate themselves (Bartky, 1988).

3.1.2.1. Power/knowledge and patriarchy

A Foucauldian analysis of power and knowledge illustrates how the material body is made visible through technologies of modern power. Power is created by the relationships that sustain it rather than as a unitary and single force. Moreover, power operates in relation to knowledge production (Weeks, 1981) because authoritative, scientific or religious discourse implies that these productions represent sound and rational 'truth'. Power does not only produce knowledge but "power and knowledge directly imply one another... [and thus] there is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute...power relations" (Foucault, 1977a, p. 27). The body therefore becomes a fundamental site onto which sexual and gender constructions are mapped (McNay, 1991). Regardless of status, profession or social presence, individual men are not powerful in society. Rather, male bodies are inscribed with a dominant status and female bodies with an inferior status and "the disciplinary power that inscribes

femininity in the female body [and masculinity in the male body] is everywhere and is nowhere; the disciplinarian is everyone and yet no one in particular" (Bartky, 1988, p. 103). Foucault (1977a, p. 28) uses the term 'body politic' to describe the discourses and practices "that serve as weapons, relays, communication routes and supports for the power and knowledge relations that invest human bodies and subjugate them by turning them into objects of knowledge". Because the material body is the privileged site upon which power and knowledge come to rest, power exists in the dynamics, relations and structure of social systems and creates conditions of possibility for the subject.

Given that discourses represent a vehicle for power/knowledge and the gender hegemony of masculinity is a dominant discourse, gendered codes are continuously mapped onto the modern grid of the body. These codes have traditionally upheld masculinity as the dominant gender pole. However, as modern society changes, in part through resistant discourses, gendered bodies transform. In the current context older forms of gendering are being eroded and replaced with new versions. Bartky (1988, p. 107) identifies these changes:

> Women are no longer required to be chaste or modest, to restrict their sphere of activity to the home, or even to realize their properly feminine destiny in maternity. Normative femininity is coming more and more to be centred on woman's body- not its duties or obligations or even capacity to bear children, but its sexuality, more precisely, its presumed heterosexuality and its appearance.

While these increased provisions for female economic, sexual and political empowerment, currently circulate as possibilities for the female or 'feminine' subject, the gender hegemony of masculinity remains recalcitrant. Evidence for this can be found in both the implicit and explicit restrictions placed on women's salaries and/or professional positions; by the continued employment of pejorative terms such as 'whore' or 'slut' to describe sexually promiscuous women and the on-going assumption that women will be the primary caregivers regardless of professional status (Shaw, 2010). These embedded aspects of discourse result in women either being forced to occupy a masculine position and risk vilification or to remain constrained by traditional female roles that are not necessarily professionally, economically or sexually conducive to modernity. Hegemony is also maintained through variously circulated images and messages that produce the empowered female as necessarily white, heterosexual and middle-income (Gill, 2012). Women operating outside of these categories are therefore forced to either occupy typical positions reserved for the 'marginalised' (Shaw,

2010) or alternatively assume a hegemonic position through the replication of valued heteronormative, middleclass and Anglo-Saxon preoccupations, behaviours and viewpoints. Apparent female sexual empowerment thus serves as a useful example of how hegemony can be sustained despite apparent shifts towards non-hegemonic values (the virginal and virtuous female is now constructed as sexually confident), which are then themselves incorporated within heteronormative codes of living. At least in middle and high income contexts sexual confidence is now regarded as part of compulsory heterosexual behaviour (albeit the social valuations of this behaviour, evident in pejorative terms such as 'whore' or 'slut', have not necessarily been replaced) and so apparently sexual freedom is actually another form of hegemonic regulation of social bodies.

Nonetheless, with the more recent focus on female sexuality and shifting hegemonic masculine values, women's bodies become the sites of increased surveillance and women begin to operate within the incitement to new and alternative discourses. Whilst women have always participated in the incitement to discourse, particularly with regards to the hysterisation of female sexuality and bodies (Foucault, 1978) and in terms of reproductive capacities, women have, up until recently, been able to operate outside of particular sexual abuse surveillance machineries. Thus while women's bodies were previously monitored primarily as a means to demonstrate the intrinsic pathological hysteria apparently present in female sexuality (Gilman, King, Porter, Rousseau, & Showalter, 1993), they were rarely surveilled as agents of sexual violence. However women's sexual behaviours are now being organised through alternative definitions, regulations and knowledge formations. This has profound implications for the recent emergence of the female sexual offender and the coterminous surfacing of her victims. Nonetheless, it must also be noted that given the particular rooting of this research in a South African context, gendered bodies cannot be understood as clones of their European and American variants. Gender always intersects with other aspects of identity such as race and socioeconomic status (Shefer, 2010) and different social systems will have different dominant gender discourses. Thus, even if two given societies are both configured by and through hegemonic masculinity, those masculine hegemonies may have very different meanings, values and implications. Furthermore, there is a complex interplay of subordination, marginalisation and domination in the discursive relay of the hegemony of masculinity, which often results in the same body being produced as dominant in one instance and subordinate in another. This most typically occurs at the intersection of race, ethnicity and economic status (Hearn, 2004). For example, some black

men in rural parts of South Africa may accept and practice aspects of hegemonic masculinity, however these men may remain marginalised in their relationship to the hegemony of whiteness implicated in urban masculinities (Morrell, Jewkes, & Lindegger, 2012).

Hegemonic masculinity, at least in its older more traditional sense, represents an ideal masculinity. Whilst it is normative, it is by no means "normal in a statistical sense; only a minority of men might enact it", thus serving to position other men, women and children against it (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005, p. 832). Traditionally, hegemonic masculinity has been relayed through rigid images of the ideal man - physically strong, sexually assertive, intellectually powerful and heterosexual. However, with context and temporal changes across history, counter-hegemonies have surfaced whereby alternative permissible discourses about men and masculinity (and consequently women and femininity) have become included in the repertoire of dominant discourses (Donaldson, 1993; Shefer, Stevens & Clowes, 2010). For example, before the 1970s hegemonic masculinity required heterosexuality which was enforced through legal systems and the pathologisation of homosexuality (Weeks, 1981). This was particularly a result of prevailing discourses that implied the association between homosexuality and femininity. Thus, homophobia has historically been discursively linked to hegemonic masculinity (Donaldson, 1993). However, today there are contexts where homosexuality and other different forms of masculinities such as the image of the metrosexual and the 'stay at home father' are constructed as appropriate and acceptable forms of masculinity and thus fit neatly into some (most often Global North) versions of hegemonic masculinity. Additionally, it has become obvious that many men who hold social power cannot comfortably be classified into the masculine categories aligned with hegemonic discourse. Thus, even men with power do not necessarily occupy a traditional masculine position characterised by typical male traits such as physical strength, aggression and economic success. It thus seems that whilst this normative discourse on masculinity may be constitutive of the 'ideal man' that represents that to which men 'should' aspire, it is possible that "hegemonic masculinities…do not correspond closely to the lives of any actual men" (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005, p. 838), regardless of the status, position and power of these men. This is significant as the image of the strong and sexually assertive 'ideal man' is potentially incompatible with discourses that may accommodate a male victim of FSA.

Although the hegemony of masculinity has been sustained across space and time, it has temporal and contextual qualities that can change and therefore create new conditions of

possibility for masculinity and thus for femininity and gender and sexuality more generally. Furthermore, hegemonic masculinity is a representation of a set of discursive positions available for adoption or resistance by subjects. Thus even hegemonic masculinity cannot be understood monoculturally but should rather be understood as a diffuse and diverse representation of gender within the context of multiculturalism and political and social pluralities (Hearn, 2004; Connel & Messerschmidt, 2005). Demetriou (2001, p. 340) highlights this point by arguing that "since gender practice takes place within different historic-cultural contexts and since it is also performed by agents of different race, class, or generation, we need to talk about masculinities/femininities, not masculinity/femininity". Thus, even though the same hegemonic, gendered representations of masculinity and femininity may be relayed across different contexts, these representations meet at the intersection of various other social constructions including race, culture and ethnicity. This intersection results in the gender hegemony being re-articulated and, in turn, translated, transformed and re-contextualised.

This is significant as certain parts of South Africa are rooted in a hegemonic system that is quite different from Global North expressions of masculine power (although other parts are perfectly in concert with these expressions). During Apartheid, sexuality in South Africa was subjected to censorship, prohibition and policing, particularly driven by attempts to police sexual boundaries between the 'races' and the control of black fertility. Sex was predominantly a private issue however sexual violence was targeted publicly if it involved a black perpetrator and a white victim. This prohibition on sexual images, messages and practices was very quickly replaced by a proliferation of sexual representations in post-Apartheid South Africa. Whilst gender and racial inequalities along with issues concerning economic and educational transformations were foregrounded as key post-Apartheid priorities, sex and sexuality was not. The centrality of sex and sexuality and its resultant politicisation was thus unexpected but, as argued by Posel (2005, p. 127) both inevitable and "perhaps the most revealing marker of the complexities and vulnerabilities of the drive to produce a newly democratic, unified nation". Posel (2005, p. 127) develops this further by showing that:

> Modern sexuality is always, therefore, a political phenomenon: entangled in relations of power, and fashioned in ways which bear the imprints of other vectors of inequality and difference, such as race, class, status and generation. Meanings and materialities of desire, forms and technologies

> of pleasure, ways of practising sex, and the sexual identities which attach to all of these, form and re-form within other hierarchies of dominance and the contestations they provoke. And, of course, sexuality is always the site of multiple and contending regimes of moral regulation.

Shaped by particular axes, nodes and channels of power, sexual discourse and the silences that structure it are now central sites of regulation, mobilisation, conflict and contest and thus key to the politicisation of the country. This discourse is relayed through particular cultural strategies, moments and sites such as the rise of the consumer black elite, social movements promoting and supporting alternative sexualities, sexual violence as a mounting platform for public outrage, and the HIV/AIDS pandemic. Framing these sites is the continued representation of male heterosexuality as threatening, dangerous and predatory (Posel, 2005). By bringing sexuality into public discourse, South Africa has sustained the image of traditional masculine power and gendered relationships. This is particularly in rural areas, where traditional 'African' authority is based on a patriarchal masculinity defined through strength, chiefship and sexual and economic entitlement (O'Sullivan, Harrison, Morrell, Monroe-Wise, & Kubeka, 2006). In many South African contexts, traditional values and codes maintain older hegemonic masculinity discourses. These codes are both instruments and effects of the high prevalence of the rape of women; women being dependant on their husbands for food, shelter and their children's education and high levels of male-perpetrated intimate partner violence (Jewkes, Penn-Kekana, Levin, Ratsaka, & Schreiber, 1999). Therefore in this context it is through this particular instantiation of power/knowledge that victimhood is tied to womanhood and perpetration to men within conventional constructions of sexual violence. These constantly circulating constructions ensure that FSA remains unlikely in the network of discourses and in turn, the identity coordinates for victimhood, especially amongst males, remain excluded from South African discourse. These particularly South African race-gender intersections that impede on the conditions of possibility for FSA victimhood are key to the significance of this context (and its comparison to other contexts) for analysis.

Bem (1993) notes that the hegemony of masculinity that sustains cultural discourses and social institutions does not only disadvantage women, but also minority races, classes and sexualities. Additionally, even postmodern feminists fail to acknowledge the full range of available genders and sexualities and thus restrict the diversity and variety that exists in human identity (Petchesky, 2008). For example, women are often framed as a single and

united category rather than as identifying with a range of classes, races, nationalities, economic statuses and educational backgrounds. The assumption is thus made that all women are subject to the same level of oppression which fails to acknowledge the specificity and complexity of each individual woman's particular identity and experience (Fuss, 1989). This assumption also fails to acknowledge that some women benefit from hegemonic values and some men do not (Hearn, 2004). For example, when a woman belonging to a marginalised group reports sexual violence involving a white male perpetrator, she is less likely to be believed than a white woman reporting sexual assault involving a black male perpetrator (Alcoff & Gray, 1993). Whilst the gender hegemony of masculinity may have traditionally been based on a masculine-dominated and female-subordinated social structure, contemporary hegemony is concerned with representations of complex gender relations that intersect across culture, economy, age and race resulting in a variety of multiple and hybridised masculinities and femininities (Demetriou, 2001). For example, whilst female sexuality is characteristically constructed around purity and innocence in the Global North, the sexuality of African women is often constructed as morally corrupting and dirty (McFadden, 2003). The implication here is that when FSA emerges in South Africa, it may have a completely different configuration to those in the Global North.

Because this study takes place in the multiracial and multicultural context of South Africa these are significant precautions to take into account when analysing the transcribed interviews of South African FSA victims. Given the racial, class and economic diversity that characterises the country, the hegemony of masculinity tends to relay itself in different ways and modes across the social body (in part through influences of globalisation), and thus it is likely that discourses and constructions of FSA will bear the marks of 'glocalisation'. For example, there are contexts where the hegemony of masculinity is maintained only as a silent and implicit underlying current and women are given opportunities to be sexually, physically and intellectually assertive, albeit within boundaries. In other words, much like in the Global North, there are some South African contexts where the male-female binary is currently being discernibly eroded. This may be due to the fact that, in line with Hopper's (2007) argument, previously acceptable behaviour is becoming more heavily criticised resulting in increased surveillance and the tightening of social standards. Previously, women, by virtue of their gender, were able to operate outside of the incitement to particular sexual discourses, specifically those that imply sexual agency. However, with shifting boundaries of sexuality, regulations and knowledge formations, there is a resultant increase in disciplinary

surveillance and women's ability to remain outside of this surveillance is reduced. This reconfiguration of sexuality is evident in contemporary fertility technologies that regulate and monitor the female body, such as encouragement to use contraceptive pills. This is only a suggestion and there may be a number of other reasons for the erosion of these binaries including modern practices such as women's entry into the economic domain (Collins, Saltzman Chafetz, Lesser Blumberg, Coltrane, & Turner, 1993).

It is also important to acknowledge that despite the current modern tendency to assert female economic power, sexuality and desire, this tendency is still immersed in the implicit assumption that such desire and its accompanying behaviour should take place in a heterosexual context with the long-term ambition of cohabitation reproduction. This is evidenced by media images that promote female sexual power so long as these are read through a desiring heterosexual male gaze or as a point of heterosexual identification for the female gaze (Gill, 2008). This again illustrates the way sexual 'liberation' continues to be confined to a heteronormativity that is always organised around female subordination (Lorber, 2000). Moreover, various mechanisms such as reproductive techniques that appear to liberate women can be understood as, in effect, surveillance technologies that aim to monitor, control and regulate female bodies with the medical and scientific objective of ensuring the continued invention of the female body as reproductive and childbearing (Shaw, 2010). As such, biopower is indispensable to the gender hegemony of masculinity "insofar as it provides instruments for the insertion of women's bodies into the machinery of reproduction" (Sawicki, 1999, p. 91). It is perhaps for these reasons that there continues to be public disbelief and shock in circumstances of gender nonconformity such as female crime, despite the common held belief that women's social roles and statuses have fundamentally changed in modernity (Kruttschnitt, Gartner, & Husseman, 2008). It thus appears that whilst current hegemonic representations have made way for an increased gender plurality, these representations are still constrained by implicit gender boundaries that impose limits on the subject (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). Such discursive limits are based on the centrality of sexuality in modernity and the implicit discourses that continue to privilege those sexualities and genders that, in some way ensure both the production and the reproduction of humanity. These discursive limits have implications for the kinds of subject positions that are made possible by the power/knowledge coupling and the ways that these positions are maintained at the level of populations whilst simultaneously informing the subjection of individuals.

3.1.3. Subjection and performativity as instruments and effects of modern power: Implications for gender and sexuality

Postmodern theories view the subject as a cultural construction rather than as a natural or essential consequence of human sentience that should always be regarded as "a condition of knowledge" (Gubrium & Holstein, 1994, p. 687). Accordingly, personhood and individuality are not born from pre-given biological roots but are rather the social (re)productions of on-going cultural and interpersonal relations that have the power to invent and reinvent the subject (Richardson & May, 1999). Therefore the subject can be understood as located at the intersection of a variety of discursive nodal points that make subject positions available. When a person takes up a subject position made available in discourse, the individual in question is producing his/her subjectivity (Staunæs, 2003). In this way, that which the individual believes is subjectivity, is actually the process of becoming "subjected to the power and regulation of the discourse" and thus an instrument and effect of power (Weedon, 1987, p. 119). At the micro-level of the individual, discourses remain invisible as 'taken-for-granted' knowledge and thus the occupation of a discursively relayed subject position is understood by the individual as self-knowledge (Wilbraham, 2004). However, people are not powerless in the face of discursive regulation. While discourses may be finite and thus constraining, people are able to "take up, ignore or resist accessible discourses" (Staunæs, 2003, p. 103). Furthermore, new conditions of possibility generate new counter-knowledge which in turn generates new potential subject positions (Weedon, 1987). It is for this reason that, through the analysis of discourse in a particular context, human beings can come to occupy new subject positions that will inform their recursive processes of subjection.

Subjection is thus the process of the subject being positioned by and within various discursive nodes available in circulated discourse at a particular historical moment in a specific cultural context and one understanding of subjectivity is the personal experience of this process. One of the outcomes of this process is the production of sexual subjectivity, thus ensuring that individual experiences of sexual subjectivity are personalised, individuated and considered different to the sexuality of others. It further allows for the internalisation of widely circulated sexual regulations which are thereafter imagined by the subject to be self-generating (Posel, 2005). Thus, while "the social body precedes the sexual body," the cultural implication that sexuality is a biologically determined and individual aspect of a particular person ensures that sexuality discourse is able to invisibly construct the individual at the level of subjectivity (Halperin, 1989, p. 263). This is particularly powerful because sexuality has

been constructed as part of human 'nature', so long as it is heteronormative. Thus, whilst sexuality discourse constructs one individual, it simultaneously excludes another. This discursive exclusion has profound effects for sexual violence and victimisation as it determines who can and cannot be considered a victim, and what does and does not constitute sexual violence. An appropriate example of differential treatment of sexual victimisation as a consequence of sexual subjectification is the 'normalisation' of male-to-female rape and the pathologising of homosexual rape, even at the level of the victim (Richardson & May, 1999).

For Butler (1999, p. 7), gender, as a subject position, is a performance, a social expectation "that ends up producing the very phenomenon that it anticipates". Butler's (1999) concept of performativity refers to the ritualised and repeated acts that serve to naturalise gender onto the body. Gender, sexuality and in fact all aspects of identity are performed, acted out and in this way, reinforced. Norms therefore persist "to the extent that...[they are] acted out in social practice and reidealized and reinstituted in and through the daily social rituals of bodily life" (Butler, 2004, p. 48). In this sense, gender is not a fixed and rigid set of social codes that are passively inscribed onto bodies and thereafter internalised, but rather they are selected, produced and reproduced through various social practices and dynamically performed (Demetriou, 2001). For example, femininity has no essential meaning outside of the institutions (such as marriage and the nuclear family) that it operates within. However, gender, sexuality and other identity elements must also be understood in the Foucauldian sense, as part of a technology of self, as an organisation of relations within the subject.

The concept of performativity necessitates an understanding of the body as malleable. Whilst this research rests on the assumption that subjects are constituted by modern power, this constitution is not monolithic. In fact, although Foucault (1980) regards the body as a 'docile' site in reference to its constitution, production and reproduction of dominant discourses, he simultaneously argues that the body is also a site for resistance. Foucault (1980) explains that the body's ability to defy the constraints of discourse is an effect of the nature of power as "diffuse, lacking a single source as well as a single object" and effecting multiple sites unevenly (Cahill, 2000, p. 47). Thus, resistance, as an attempt to avoid objectification and surveillance, is evidence of modern power's success in the invention of the 'autonomous' self-regulating subject (Butchart, 1997). However, a subjective sense of resistance does not necessarily mean that oppressing discursive frameworks are being disrupted. As an instantiation of this important caveat, Lamb and Peterson (2012) give the example of the

current promotion of female sexual empowerment and warn that whilst women may subjectively feel empowered this is really only a 'false consciousness'. Gill (2012, p. 743) concurs by suggesting that "fake" female sexual empowerment is ubiquitous and comprises feminist concepts that "have been taken up and sold back to us emptied of their political force". Thus while women may feel empowered by images and messages that celebrate female sexuality, the actual power in this subjective experience is the way that these messages sustain a heteronormative society. In particular, the commodification of *heterosexual* female sexuality serves a regulating function that ensures women remain tied to capital and heteronormativity, despite the implicit messages that recent female sexual 'liberation' serves to free femininity. This is clear in the case of FSA because despite the apparent acceptance of female sexuality and prowess, as suggested earlier the female sexual offender remains effete and her victims invisible to public consciousness.

Whilst resistance is possible, the Foucauldian project would assert that absolute bodily liberation from discourse is impossible given that the 'natural' body does not exist other than within and through the discourses that constitute it. As Foucault (1978, p. 95) reminds, "where there is power, there is resistance, and yet, or rather consequently, this resistance is never in a position of exteriority in relation to power". Thus, performativity and resistance offer subjects the opportunity to both align with and/or contest dominant discourses, however absolute resistance is never achievable outside or against power because the body is always already inscribed within and by power and discourse. Sensations may pre-exist culture however body-consciousness is a cultural production and thus the body is culturally constituted from conception (Foucault, 1978). The body therefore serves as a text for both explicit and implicit dominant discourses and the reading of the body therefore makes both the recognition and the resistance of sexual and gendered constructions possible. While the body is therefore broadly always implicated in networks of power, the local conditions in which it is situated will also obviously delimit these networks and their meanings. This allows for an explanation of context and temporal differences across bodies and subjects (Butler, 1989). This is a significant point given that this research is rooted in a South African context and targets both South African and international FSA victims. These local conditions are important in as far as they are able to illuminate the way that FSA may in some ways be related to the specificities of context.

3.2. Gendered and sexualised constructions: Relevant consequences

Gender and sexuality are mapped onto the body through subjectification, and so even self-knowledge and subjectivity are socially constructed. It is in this way that "the conditions within which those defined can begin to develop their own consciousness and identity" (Weeks, 1981, p. 108). Whilst dominant gender discourses are primarily well-established and stable, the conditions under which these are constructed vary (Kruttschnitt et al., 2008), resulting in varying expressions of gender and sexuality across contexts. Additionally, because sexuality has been constructed as an innate and intrinsic aspect of the self that is central to understandings of human psychology, sexuality (along with gender and other derivatives of sexual selfhood) has come to occupy a particularly powerful discursive position in the modern world (Halperin, 1989). This has the effect of ensuring that modern sexuality itself becomes a political project and consequently the site for multiple technologies of power and regulation. Posel (2005) develops this argument by explaining that modern sexuality is always interweaved in relations of power and always intersects with other constructions of difference and inequality such as race and class. Thus sexual identities are constantly produced and reproduced within structures of dominance and the resistances that these incite.

This political quality of modern sexuality as well as its complex (self)-regulatory functions embedded in individual expressions of sexuality is nonetheless always governed through biopower. This has profound implications for the types of sexual behaviours that are considered acceptable and normative as well as for who is able to occupy these.

3.2.1. The historical and cultural constitution of sexual 'deviance' and other sexual 'abnormalities'

Psychology, biomedicine and the social sciences have often assumed that the human exists as a body and mind to be discovered, mapped and studied. However, according to Armstrong (1986), the body and all of its physical, psychological and emotional components have been constructed by the very disciplines that claim to have discovered them and thus the human as an object of knowledge only exists in so far as it is produced, reproduced and sustained through the methods of modern disciplines. In this way, scientific observation and analysis are procedures through which the body, the mind and the social are created (Butchart, 1997). This process of analysis is itself framed by disciplinary history and thus contemporary understandings of sex, sexuality, sexual practices and sexual deviance are constructed

consequences of the material and historical circumstances that gave rise to the conditions that made them possible, fathomable, conceivable and historical.

Scientific discourse not only draws the boundaries for what is thinkable but it also produces a normative standard, against which sex and sexuality are policed and regulated (Rawlinson, 1987). The current classification schemes that delimit sexual deviancy did not exist until the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, which were characterised by the consolidation of medico-legal discourse and institutions. Through operations of power expressed through vehicles such as clinical technologies and the establishment of the hospital as a site of discipline, human anatomy became an atlas for producing new knowledge on disease and pathology (Pryce, 2000). During the course of this history, the production of standardised norms and multiple types of 'pathological' sexual deviations came to be produced, defined and accepted as 'truth' through discursive practices that implied that these 'abnormalities' "are unnatural or immoral from a religious perspective or... biologically anomalous or psychologically pathological from a scientific perspective" (Bem, 1993, p. 81). Categorisation and classification of sexuality and gender allowed for the unexplainable to be explained and the not so obviously sexual to become sexualised (Lützen, 1995) thus producing the sexually abnormal in what had, up until then, appeared to be acceptable (Weeks, 1981) or at the worst defined as sin (Pryce, 2000). This also resulted in the division of sexualities so that any behaviour that did not fit neatly into these categories, or into the heterosexual and reproductive requirement more generally, became marked as a deviation from the norm (Weeks, 1995). For example, whilst the act of sodomy may have occurred and may have even been viewed as immoral, it is only with the construction of rigid classification schemes that such an act constituted a particular type of abnormality attached to a homosexual subjectivity which then came to be both pathologised and illegal (Halperin, 1998). Thus, 'perversions' and 'pathologies' are not natural biological, genetic or psychological phenomena but are rather historical products.

This production of institutionalised discourse provided the foundation for the development of categories of sexual deviancy that could be endorsed as 'fact' and 'truth' as a result of their embededness in a specific type of discourse (Foucault, 1978). The construction of these so-called abnormalities, perversions and pathologies, masked as a scientific and medical discovery, provide the means to consistently surveil and regulate human sexuality (Halperin, 1998). Moreover, this practice of presenting sexuality as fact is recursive so that apparently

'new' knowledge and insight can further direct social and individual freedom. It is in this way that the body politic is treated as a cohort to be either 'cured' or controlled (Swartz & Levett, 1989). Research and empirical evidence demonstrating the existence of pathology thus serve to reify and reinforce pathologising discourses (Levett, 1992) and in this manner science itself is a particularly productive relay of biopower.

Sexual deviation is thus produced as an instrument and effect of biopower which (at least in the case of eighteenth century biopower) was key to ordering the social imperatives of the time (Foucault, 1978). By extension then, "it is through 'discourses'…that our relation to reality is organised" (Weeks, 1981, p. 5). Therefore an understanding of the history of sexual deviancy takes seriously the argument that there is no 'natural' or 'normal' type of sexuality but rather there are *normalised* sexualities that have constituted the abnormal frontiers of human sexuality. So entrenched is this normalisation that the individual now scans the surface of his/her desire and body in an attempt to define his/her sexual self. This process of self-regulation through self-examination ensures the continued organisation and government of sexuality (Pryce, 2000).

Whilst medical and/or scientific discourse does operate as a privileged source of 'fact', other widely circulated dominant discourses can and do result in a complex matrix of competing knowledge systems. The recent surfacing of female sex crime is a powerful example of how the emergence of new discourses and concepts "marks the site of struggle between competing discourses" (Winnubst, 1999, p. 23). In cases of male-perpetrated sex offences, "the penalties are...more severe [for other sexualities] than those for equivalent heterosexual offences" (Freeman, 1996, p. 430). In modern society, constructions of sexual perversions continue to result in harsher sentencing for male sexual offenders and disproportionate interest and prejudice from the realm of psychiatry compared to other offenders (Brockman & Bluglass, 1996). So entrenched are these constructions of pathology that they are even able to supersede certain scientific 'facts'. For example, harsher sentencing and psychiatric prejudice persist despite scientific 'evidence' that demonstrates medical and legal intervention to be ineffective as indicated by high recidivism rates in spite of psychiatric treatment (Freeman, 1996). However, in the case of female sexual offenders, gender constructions tend to override prevailing discourses concerning sexual offenders as "sexual abuse perpetrated by women is perceived in a gendered context" (Denov, 2003, p. 312). Consequently gender differences "play a role in the willingness of various criminal justice and treatment professionals to

acknowledge female sexual offending" (Giguere & Bumby, 2007, p. 3). As Denov (2003, p. 311) has illustrated, "both psychiatrists and police officers...[make] efforts, either consciously or unconsciously, to transform the female sex offender and her offence to realign them with more culturally acceptable notions of female behaviour". This leads to the denial of the existence of female sexual perpetration and consequently the continued invisibility of the victim. This is exacerbated by an adherence to apparent scientific representations of stereotyped and pathologised groups of violent individuals in the identification of sexual abusers which results in limited definitions for what can and cannot be demarcated as a sex crime or indeed sexual violence (Richardson & May, 1999). However, it also illustrates that behaviours constructed as deviant by science can be reformulated should they be pitted against more embedded constructions of gender. Notwithstanding these competing discourses, ChildLine in Britain has recently begun to take female child sexual perpetration more seriously which has resulted in the deconstruction of the previously taken-for-granted assumptions about males as sexual perpetrators (Holden, 2009). This has resulted in the visibilisation of female CSA and, as such, the increasing 'acknowledgement' of women as possible perpetrators of child sex crimes that were historically the preserve of men. However, the same cannot be said for other types of female sexual offences.

Through the construction of sexual deviance as that which falls beyond the boundaries of our 'normal' social ontology, particular behaviours such as female sex crimes cannot be assimilated into the daily structure of social life. This results in reactions to these crimes that often include either minimisation or revulsion, appal and moral panic, which in turn drives the increasing scrutiny and regulation of female sex offenders (Bartky, 1998). In fact, moral panic has played a particularly powerful role in the social regulation of sexual behaviour across the course of history. For example, until the 1970s, rape was rarely a subject of study. However, as research interest in the area grew, so too developed a scientific language for the sexual victimisation of women "that prompted claims that rape and sexual assault…heretofore rendered invisible, were rampant" (Fisher & Cullen, 2000, p. 317) and this in turn prompted further research in a mutually constitutive cycle. This 'discovery' of modern rape in the 1970s spurred a rapid interest in the area so that by the 1980s multiple assessments, measures and legal documents devoted to understanding sexual victimisation were established (Fisher & Cullen, 2000). This was further driven by research demonstrating that the effects of sexual abuse included a range of psychological symptoms, disorders and syndromes such as depression, post-traumatic stress disorder, anxiety disorders and alcohol

and substance abuse (see Koss et al., 1994), thus further pathologising both the perpetrator and the victim. As a consequence more stringent surveillance systems in the home, school and clinic were installed to further document this prevalence. Similarly, it was only in the 1960s that CSA was even considered a possibility. However, by the 1990s, the sexual victimisation of children (albeit mostly female children) was firmly located in the public consciousness as a very real and serious social issue. This resulted in widespread social hysteria concerning the prevalence and manifestations of CSA which had the effect of pressurising legal, medical and police systems to become more sensitised to its possibilities (Finkelhor, 1994) which in turn catalysed further moral panic. It is thus likely that the recent FSA emergence will be coupled with a growth of scientific investigation in the area that will undoubtedly stimulate further research, legal and medical FSA initiatives and widespread moral panic. This possibility will be an outcome of the capacity for science to construct, normalise and thereafter reify particular categories of existence through the noble ruse of 'medical discovery'.

This practice of naturalising pathology through science is thus admittedly also the very practice that will ensure the emergence of FSA victims. Much like the popular adherence to traditional gender roles of the masculine aggressor and female victim has made male-to-female sexual assault both possible and 'real' (Murnen et al., 2002); so will a reconfiguration of this traditional gendering language through the act of scientific research provide the conditions of possibility for the emergence of the FSA victim.

3.2.2. The rise of female criminality

Historically, women, by virtue of their gender, have been able to escape particular forms of confessionals and operate outside of the incitement to criminal discourse. Due to gendered social practices that exclude certain behaviours, such as criminal acts, from the circulated framework for femininity, female criminals have traditionally been 'unthinkably rare' (Dean, 1994). However, within modern technologies of power, the entry of women into the economic domain and the increased surveillance of women through clinical mechanisms such as the contraceptive pill and fertility treatments, the number of spaces that enable women to remain outside of new kinds of surveillance are rapidly decreasing, resulting in the appearance that females are suddenly occupying gender-conflicting roles and behaviours. One example of this is the apparent rise of female crime.

There is a widespread belief that, unlike male children, female children are not socialised into acting violently or sexually as a primary means of expression and thus males are more likely to become offenders (Bourke, 2007). In fact, Higgs and colleagues (1992, p. 137-138) go so far as to assert that "males of most species appear to possess a biologically based drive which renders them more sexually aggressive than females". Denov (2003) argues that such ideas are built on the widely circulated impressions that men are unable to control their aggressive and sexual drives and urges. These gendered constructions have inadvertently provided men with more freedom to deviate from the norm as their deviance is paradoxically normalised by the constructed intractability of their aggressive sex drives (Naffine, 1987). Gendered constructions of apparently 'natural' masculine aggressive tendencies often targeted at a female victim, in combination with very particular definitions of what does and does not constitute violence (Muehlenhard & Kimes, 1999), have ensured the continued denial of female crime. This is further evidenced by the circumstances typically surrounding a female-perpetrated crime - the offender is often never arrested and if she is, she tends to evade being formally charged (Cauffman, 2008) and is likely to be treated more leniently than her male counterpart by correctional officials (Kramer, 2010; White & Kowalski, 1994). In addition, female offenders recognised by the system have been accused of deviating from their feminine roles and treatment suggestions have focused on a readjustment to feminine norms (Klein, 1976). The justification here is often based on the assumption that female offenders had poor maternal childhood relationships and have subsequently failed to internalise nurturing and maternal characteristics that define femininity (Higgs et al., 1992). However women, both masculine and feminine, can and do behave in ways that challenge these definitions (Travers, 1999; White & Kowalski, 1994). Notwithstanding this comment, the arrest, charging and treatment patterns (or lack thereof) typified in a female crime event have traced the emergence of the barely discernible (but nonetheless emerging) female criminal.

Female crime has gradually been targeted by criminology and sociology as a legitimate object of research with the consequence of both a surge in theories relating to female offending and an increased visibilisation of women that commit crimes. One notable early theory is the gender equality hypothesis that suggests that the increased prevalence of female crime is directly associated with modernisation, feminist movements and women's increasing access to gender equality (see Adler, 1975; Simon, 1975; Sutherland, 1924). In fact, Adler (1975) argues that it is the very emancipation of women that has ironically resulted in the rise of female crime or what she calls the 'darker side of liberation' whereby women, now given

the same opportunities as men, become and act like men. However, by the 1980s the gender equality and masculinisation hypotheses were refuted by feminists who argued for a gender inequality hypothesis that located the aetiology of female crime in the continued pattern of global gender discriminatory practices. These theories contend that sustained inequality results in female victimisation and economic marginality and consequently criminal offences by women (see Chesney-Lind, 1989; Miller 1986), thus linking female crime to economic motive. Still later, Steffensmeier and Allan (1996) argue that whilst gender inequality is an important consideration, it is the organisation of gender that is paramount to elucidating patterns of female crime. Thus female subordination as a primary explanation is replaced with an understanding of the way particular gender roles that govern female behaviour present the conditions of possibility for a female crime event. Specifically, Steffensmeier and Allan (1996) highlight that five areas of social life govern crime in general and these areas result in the facilitation of male crime and the constraints on female crime. These areas include gender norms, moral development and relationships, social control, physical strength and aggression and sexuality. The fundamental assumption of this theory is that types of crimes are dictated by normative social standards and thus females only have the opportunity to commit crimes that resonate with traditional female roles (fraud, shoplifting, embezzlement, prostitution and possibly homicide in the context of battered woman's syndrome). Where there are examples of female-perpetrated crimes at odds with gender norms, Steffensmeier and Allan (1996, p. 480) have argued that "for women to kill, they generally must see their situation as life-threatening, as affecting the physical or emotional well-being of themselves or their children". In offering this argument, they reassert that which the act of homicide had seemingly eroded - the traditional female role as nurturer. In a similar way, they explain female substance abuse by emphasising its routes as based on emotional or relationship difficulties or as a result of introduction to drugs by a male figure.

The aforementioned theories all attempt to explain female crime by showing how particular offences are enabled by an inherently pathological relationship to gender. However, these hypotheses could not be sustained in the context of the ever-increasing presence of non-traditional gender behaviours in female offences, such as the escalating 'recognition' of female-perpetrated violence. With reported rates of female-perpetrated violence rising to comparability with those of males (Cauffman, 2008; Graves, 2007; Kruttschnitt et al., 2008), it becomes impossible to ignore the potential for the female aggressor, regardless of circumstance. Furthermore, there are many recent examples of female-perpetrated violence in

intimate partner contexts that are so obviously aggressive that they can no longer be rationalised as defensive (Muftić, Bouffard, & Bouffard, 2007). In response, a number of different theories have been offered such as Graves' (2007) proposal that female crime is based on a gender paradox whereby some individuals develop strong gender-atypical disorders (such as aggressive tendencies in females) and consequently behave atypically (violently). Other theories are based on sex-specific aetiologies locating the cause within the biology, hormones or personalities of women (White & Kowalski, 1994). Whilst theories such as these do ensure the longevity of constraining gender frameworks for offenders, there is simultaneously a growing recognition that gender differences account for less variation between female and male offenders than previously acknowledged. This is reflected in the recent call for the treatment of female offenders as a heterogeneous group as well as recommendations for individually-tailored rather than gender-specific interventions in correctional settings (see Cauffman, 2008). This recognition however comes with a cost - the acknowledgement that gendered social boundaries can and do shift as well as the appreciation that traditional mechanisms of informal control over women's lives have weakened. The perception that women are no longer informally controlled and regulated through their expectations to remain limited to particular roles (housewife, mother) further results in the sense that there is a general decline in the regulation and discipline of the nuclear family unit (Kruttschnitt et al., 2008) - a key area for the reproduction and maintenance of gendered discourses. This decline thus sets off additional shifts in normative gender discourse, which consequently allows for a further emergence of non-gendered behaviour such as female crime.

The recent acknowledgement of female crime over the course of the last three decades has coincided with broader gender-specific changes such as the entry of women into the economic workforce, media representations of and emphasis on female sexuality and the promotion of female empowerment and gender equity (see Gavey, 2012; Gill, 2012; Lamb & Peterson, 2012). However, as previously indicated, publicly circulated images and messages of female empowerment through various media, political, legal and educational communication channels often function to legitimise the continued surveillance, regulation and control of femininity through the implicit heteronormative assumptions that frame these communications (Shaw, 2010). In fact, this discursive explosion concerning female sexual, political and economic empowerment is the very technology through which the female body becomes the site of a deepening surveillance. The apparent rise of female criminality is a key

example of this. Over the course of history, the accent on the 'natural' association of femininity to nurturing, caregiving, attachment and passivity resulted in limited reporting and incarceration of female offenders (Denov, 2003). However, as discursive frameworks for female subjection began to include the 'thinkability' of female sexual prowess, desire and liberation, so the number of female sexual offenders began to 'rise'. The public emphasis on and promotion of female sexuality provides the impression that female empowerment and gender equity are superseding gender roles that emanate from the hegemony of masculinity (Gavey, 2012). However, this sexual 'liberation' of the female is merely a commodity sold to women as a means to mask its function as a mechanism by which an increased number of (female) bodies are made subject to disciplinary power. This is evidenced by the sudden media exposure and legal prosecution of female teachers in sexual contact with their male students in the last decade, beginning with the highly publicised case of Mary Kay Letourneau in the United States in 1997 (Knoll, 2010). Whilst these teacher-offenders are still framed within gendered terms (pretty, emotional, harmless), their media and public exposure did provide the foundation for the acknowledgement of female sex crime (Chan & Frei, 2013). In turn, the last decade has seen an explosion of academic, legal and medical interest in the area, with research expanding beyond the teacher-offender type to include a more heterogeneous categorisation scheme of female sex offenders as previously discussed (see Brockman & Bluglass, 1996; Gannon et al, 2008; Miller et al., 2009; Nathan & Ward, 2002; Sandler & Freeman, 2007; Turner et al., 2008; Vandiver & Kercher, 2004; Vandiver & Walker, 2002; Wijkman et al., 2010). The wider the conditions of possibility for female sexuality and transgression grow, the more cases of female sexually perpetrated crimes there seem to be. The exploitation of FSA as a taboo 'secret' and the adjunct discursive explosion on FSA through science aligns to Foucault's (1978) critique of the repressive hypothesis. In fact, the multiple categories and lists of FSA typologies offered by Vandiver and Kercher (2004) and Sandler and Freeman (2007) echo Foucault's (1978) list of emerging unorthodox and absurd sexualities in his discussion of 'the perverse implantation' as a mechanism through which perversity is produced against normalising power. Thus in the same way that Foucault (1978, p. 49) shows how apparent prohibitions, silences and taboos concerning these absurd sexualities in effect resulted in "a visible explosion of unorthodox sexualities", so too FSA, in all its disparate formations, begins to surface as a consequence of prohibition and ostensible 'repression'.

Recently, the first study on female sexual homicide was conducted by Chan and Frei (2013). The combination of homicidal and sexually aggressive tendencies examined in their study would have been incompatible with femininity less than a decade ago. However, with society becoming ever more regulated and exposed to the diffusion of disciplinary power, it is unlikely that women would continue to remain outside of the historical constraints on female criminality. Rather, the presence of a growing network of disciplinary channels necessitates the provision of conditions of possibility for transgressive female behaviour. Such conditions (presence of female empowerment, promotion of female sexual liberation, for example) ensure the increased regulation of the female body and consequently the manifestation of an epidemic of female (sexual) transgressions.

3.2.3. Conditions of possibility for the male victim

Until recently, rape was understood as the forced penetration of a vagina by a penis and feminist writers asserted that this act was thus a representation of male sexual dominance (Freeman, 1996). This understanding of rape, which is still highly pronounced in public consciousness, implies that the woman is harmless because she lacks a dangerous phallic weapon, the penis. Even when a woman is convicted of rape, it is still perceived as less emotionally and physically damaging than penile penetration. This dismissiveness is present, even when the sexual perpetration occurs between a mother and a child. It is, however, most pronounced with male victims as men are believed to always desire and enjoy sexual interaction with a woman, even under forced circumstances (Bourke, 2007). It is perhaps for this reason that male victims are more likely to report a sexual offence when the perpetrator is male rather than female and are less likely to utilise the term rape, despite the event's alignment with the current legal definition (Weiss, 2010a).

In much the same way as the female perpetrator, the male sexual violence victim is made invisible through various intersecting gendered structures and discourses, despite the possibility that the consequences of any form of abuse may transcend gender roles (Vandiver, 2006). This invisibility is primarily a result of discursive codes placed on the body that denote the phallus as a weapon capable of violation and the vagina as vulnerable to it (Woodhull, 1988). In his discussions on the legal system's understanding of human sexuality, Foucault (1988) questions why rape, defined by penile penetration and assault at the time, should have different legal consequences to an assault performed by any other body part. In asking this question, Foucault (1988) interrogates the definition of rape as penile and

therefore masculine and implies that other parts of the body and other genders may also be imbued with the capacity to rape. However, given Foucault's (1978) overall lack of specific interest in gender politics and the differential effects of power on the masculine and feminine body (Dean, 1994), he does not venture further than this. Nonetheless, Foucault's (1988) questioning does point to the way historical productions of the body have ensured that certain body parts are oversexualised. Cahill (2000) advances this further by noting how rape, often defined as something a woman, rather than a man, experiences is not only reflective of a culture that promotes women as victims but also how, when subjected to an act of sexual abuse such as rape, a man is feminised. This is because masculinity remains irreconciable with victimhood and vulnerabity. So, definitions typically attached to sexual abuse in medical and legal documents tend to centre on female victimisation and ignore male-specific factors. As a consequence men take up a masculine identity and those implicated in FSA often do not consider themselves to be victims or the event to be criminal. Male sexual violence victims thus have very few subject positions available to occupy and these are often limited to being identified as weak, homosexual or feminine (Barth et al., 2013) and as having failed to meet the standards of hegemonic masculinity (Weiss, 2010a). This heteronormative gendering of sexual violence results in socio-cultural barriers to the possibility of male sexual victimisation and a sense that, unlike in the case of the 'normalcy' of female victimhood, male victimisation is abnormal.

Male victims are also constructed as potential future perpetrators (victim-offenders), which is not the case with women (Schaeffer et al., 2011). In fact, despite their being scant research in the area of male sexual victimisation, there appears to be an abundance of studies that have set out to prove that the cycle of sexual violence in male victims (e.g. Duncan & Williams, 1998; Glasser et al., 2001; Lambie, Seymour, Lee, & Adams, 2002; Salter et al., 2003; Thomas & Fremouw, 2009), is attributable to the victim's mother (Lambie et al., 2002) or another female (Duncan & Williams, 1998; Salter et al., 2003). This has the effect of regenerating the vicious cycle whereby male victims are reluctant to report their experiences which results in a significantly small measured prevalence of male sexual abuse. In response, fewer studies are conducted on male victims (Finkelhor, 1994) which is evidenced by the discrepancy between the vast available research on female sexual victimisation versus the scant literature on male victims (Weiss, 2010a). Given all of these legal, academic and public constraints, males subjected to sex abuse are unable to easily position themselves within the possibilities of victimhood. Even when men are able to self-identify as victims, they tend to

draw on other discursive codes for masculinity in delineating their experiences of victimisation in order to "repair, reclaim or reassert masculinity" (Weiss, 2010a, p. 289) and counteract the feminisation associated with victimisation. Thus, typical narratives relayed by male victims often emphasise alcoholic or substance intoxication at the time of abuse and other ways in which his capacity to offer resistance was compromised (Weiss, 2010a). This is significant as it demonstrates the stability of gendered discourses - despite evidence for extremely high rates of various types of masculine victimisation in South Africa (Kramer & Ratele, 2012), the impossibility of masculine victimhood continues to be perpetuated, even by male victims themselves. Through the very act of being sexually victimised by a woman, the male victim threatens masculine discourses as he can no longer be structured as sexually potent and assertive. As Weiss argues (2010a, p. 293), "when men report sexual victimization [by women], they are publically admitting that they were not interested in sex, were unable to control situations, and were not able to take care of matters themselves - all statements that run counter to hegemonic constructs of masculinity". Those men that do occupy a victim subject position, and thus acknowledge lack of consent for sexual interaction, thus violate gender codes that imply that only women can and want to exercise sexual restraint. The violation is often renegotiated at the level of the legal system where it is upheld that men are incapable of being "aroused if they are unwilling participants" (Giguere & Bumby, 2007, p. 3). Thus, male victims of FSA that have experienced arousal or ejaculation are often regarded as consenting parties rather than as victims and their experiences are often used in court as evidence that female sexual crime perpetration is not possible in such cases (Bourke, 2007). Adherence to gendered and (hetero)sexual norms that imply that women are sexual gatekeepers whereas men are incapable of sexual restraint thus assist the legal system in maintaining that these are not 'real' crimes (Weiss, 2010a). This is further supported by social constructions of victims as innocent, passive and incapable of self-defence, which are attributes reserved for women rather than men. It thus seems that sexual violence is understood in relation to who the victim is, rather than according to the situation in which the violence occurred (Richardson & May, 1999).

FSA represents a challenge to the dichotomy of the sexes especially because it serves as a reminder that "not only the female body, but the male body as well, is violable, penetrable" (Bourke, 2007, p. 212). Whilst the discursive associations between masculinity and victimhood are still blurry and are primarily excluded from sexual abuse discourses, the international recognition that lower-income countries such as South Africa have higher

prevalence rates of male sexual abuse victims (Barth et al., 2013) does provide a platform for interrogating the emergence of both male victims generally and FSA victims particularly. This surfacing will surely disrupt the recalcitrant image of the male perpetrator and female victim and, by extension, male victims and female perpetrators will more readily occupy subject positions currently incompatible with their gender stereotypes (Weiss, 2010a).

The above review of the material, political and historical conditions of possibility for gender and sexuality has illustrated how sexuality, as a socio-historical construction, has come to occupy a powerful position in circulated knowledge and is thus able to prescribe available subject positions and, in consequence, subjectivities that can be taken up or resisted by individuals. By questioning the exclusion of FSA victimhood in modern discourse, this research begins a process of what Halperin (1989, p. 273) has referred to as de-centring sexuality so that the "historicity, conditions of emergence, modes of construction, and ideological contingencies" of sexuality can be examined. This will present an opportunity to detail the ways social science, at particular points in history, has thus far constructed sexuality and how, given the recent shifts in the possibilities of gender as demonstrated by the rise of female criminality and the surfacing of the male victim, the current South African and global context provides an historical moment for the emergence of the FSA victim and thus points of possible identifications of the self-therein.

CHAPTER FOUR: DISCURSIVE POSSIBILITIES FOR VICTIMS OF FEMALE SEX ABUSE

This chapter builds on the earlier demonstration of how particular gender and sexuality constructions are contingent on material, political and historical conditions by applying this framework to the specific example of FSA victimhood. FSA victimisation is thus understood as (im)possible in light of specific institutionalised discourses that are very evidently entrenched in a grid of gender and sexuality constructions. For example, psychological discourses concerning trauma and victimhood and legal discourses in the form of laws, statutes and judicial and law enforcement principles and attitudes are imbedded in gendered philosophies that limit men, women and children to particular roles in a sex abuse event. These discourses are further understood in terms of their bidirectional relationship to public discourses promulgated by media messages and images sexualising the female perpetrator and invisibilising her victims. The chapter concludes by indicating that the overall theoretical framework of FSA victimhood as contingent on particular conditions provides an impetus to disrupt normative categories of gender and sexuality through the critical analysis of discursive coordinates employed by self-identified FSA victims.

4.1. Victim subject positions: The role of gender, power and sexuality

In line with Foucault's understanding of the discursive constitution of subjectivity, it is understood that subjects are constituted in discourse through power (Foucault, 1978) and configured through technologies of the self (Foucault, 1985). Thus while an individual is shaped and formed through subjection and this regulation brings subjectivity into being, the practices of the self sustain it. For Foucault (1985), these technologies of the self are the behaviours and manners in which subjects comply with the ensemble of discursive codes they are regulated by. Foucault (1985, p. 25) refers to these codes as 'moral orthopaedics', and describes them as "a set of values and rules of action that are recommended to individuals through the intermediary of various prescriptive agencies such as the family…educational institutions, churches, and so forth". The inference is that those individuals that do not comply with this 'moral code' are drawing on technologies of the self even to practice resistance. This echoes Butler's (1997) contention that performativity is discursively constitutive in either the reproduction or resistance of authoritative codes. It is thus through the application of the idea of the technologies of the self or performativity that an identification with FSA victimhood could be understood as a form of resistance.

‘Subject positions’ exist within discourse as a system of concepts that are historically and culturally supported by various authoritative institutions (Weedon, 1987). Thus, knowledge about sexual abuse, the conditions of possibility for which are enabled, consolidated and perpetuated by the social and medical sciences, provides the grounding for potential subject positions, which includes a victim that is often female and an aggressor that is almost always male (Levett, 1990). While the possibility of male victim subject positions and, more recently, female aggressor subject positions are rare, they are possible at the periphery of normative discourses. However, other than the potentially conceivable child victim, the subject position for an FSA victim is almost completely excluded from discourse. Butler (2004) proposes that gendered and sexualised normative discourses are unable to encapsulate the full range of potential human identity as they are constrained by boundaries that are incapable of including those identities outside of the given organisation of ‘truth’. However, normative gender and sexuality stand against abnormality (Dean, 1994) and thus reading non-normative victim positions will always provide some insight into the way normative positions are constituted. This is the underlying logic supporting the study of non-normative self-identification of subjects as victims of FSA. A focus on these peripheral and largely excluded forms of victimhood points very precisely to the way that gender, sexuality and abuse are constituted in the construction of FSA and in sexual violence more broadly.

Given the widely circulated discourses that imply that the female is passive and maternal, not only is FSA itself considered a rare practice, but the potential for it to be harmful and therefore produce trauma is also regarded as unlikely (Denov, 2001). However, for Butler (1997; 1999) performativity implies that these normative discourses are not absolute. While performativity refers to a means of reproducing discourse and the consequent disciplining of bodies, it also refers to forms of subversion of discourse and thus the enabling of different bodies and subjects. Although sexual and gender norms have the power to shape self-knowledge and consequently subjectivity, this shaping is neither monolithic nor impervious to multiple contestations. This is primarily because the production of subjects is always in flux and as such never delivers a final end point or product. Rather, gender and sexual identity formation is a dynamic process subject to both production and reproduction. Additionally, sexuality and gender are relational and can only be understood as performances in social interaction as well as in the meanings attached to them by the individual (Weeks, 1981). As such, social structural forces operate in concert with individual psychological forces in producing the subject (Bem, 1993). As argued by Butler (2004, p. 15), “norms do

not exercise a final or fatalistic control...[and] sexuality is never fully captured by any regulation". In fact, Butler (2004) proposes that sexuality can and often does surpass norms, regulation and naturalised discursive practices by taking on alternative forms in response to these normative rules. Butler (2004, p. 29) cites the examples of "drag, butch, femme, transgender, transsexual persons...[who] make us not only question what is real, and what "must" be, but they also show us how the norms that govern contemporary notions of reality can be questioned and how new modes of reality can become instituted". In light of this, the subject is not entirely determined but its possibilities are at least constrained by the normative sex and gender discourses that precede it. It is here that performativity's productive function becomes significant - while there is currently a limited frame of reference for FSA victims, the subversion of gendered and sexualised discourses that imply the impossibility of these victims must de facto surface alternative arrangements of sex, gender and abuse in the contemporary world. In the act of discursively renegotiating their subjectivities, persons subjected to FSA will be performing an alternative discourse that opens up the possibilities for a victim subject position. In the act of giving 'testimony' about their abuse at the hands of women, these performances are then acts of resistance that disrupt the institutionalised discourses that limit the sexual and gender diversities of human identity (Gregson & Rose, 2000).

4.2. Institutionalised discourses and FSA victimhood

A Foucauldian position views "power as a productive and creative force that fabricates individual and collective human bodies through the microtechniques of the social-medical sciences" (Butchart, 1997, p. 102) and other authoritative institutions such as religion, the law and the media. Discourses on gender, sexuality and other identity components are circulated by these institutions, relayed onto bodies and incorporated into various subjectivities. However, these discourses exclude victimhood from FSA. This exclusion occurs primarily through an interlocking network of discourses that constrain what can and cannot be considered 'victimisation' as well as the meaning, severity and seriousness of the consequences of female sex acts (Muehlenhard & Kimes, 1999). South African discourses that exclude FSA victimhood do, in some ways, overlap with Euro-American discourses. However, South African discourses are likely to be further complicated by their uneven dispersion across a context characterised by multiple inequalities. It is therefore necessary to further explore the particular ways that race, power, pathology, gender and sexuality intersect and take shape across the racialised context of post-Apartheid South Africa.

Acts of transgression, such as FSA, provide evidence for an entrenched ontology of gender because these events so obviously oppose those gender constructions declared by discourse as 'real' (Butler, 2004). The 'truth' about sex and sexuality, therefore, is not necessarily about objectivity and neutrality but rather about what is available in discourse. Parker (2005a) stresses that 'truth' is grounded in language rather than in seemingly 'natural states' and subjectivity is thus a social construction rather than an ontological fact. However, as a consequence of these constructions, subjectivities become "materially effective in the way that people use and are used by language" (Parker, 2005a, p. 165). Given the FSA victim's invisibility in currently circulated discourse, the opportunity for persons subjected to FSA to take up a victim subject position is limited and therefore he/she cannot exist in discursive 'truth'. In order to bring the FSA victim into the realm of discourse, an incitement to discourse is necessary. This is traditionally achieved through the mode of the confession.

4.2.1. Psychological discourse: Trauma and the role of the confession

For Foucault (1978) one of the primary means of self-making occurs through the process of confession. This process dates back to the traditional penance and "the obligation to admit to violations of the laws of sex" (Foucault, 1978, p. 20). In the act of the confession, the speaker's actions are transformed from illegitimate to legitimate and his "subjectivity from bad to good, from outside law and truth to inside" (Alcoff & Gray, 1993, p. 270). These confessional requirements have become so deeply engrained in the structure of modern societies that the confessional context has become both normative and one of the primary means to the production of discourses on sexuality. This has resulted in the invisibility of the disciplinary obligation to confess and, in turn, the invisibility of the role of power in such obligations (Foucault, 1978). Furthermore, the apparatus of the confession implies that 'truth' is hidden within a given subject as an assembly of secrets that must be liberated (Phelan, 1990). So, "the self is not disclosed by confession, it is constituted by confession" (Tell, 2007, p. 4). Thus, Foucault (1978) argues that confessions are critically constitutive of sexual and gender subjectivities.

Today, the therapeutic context has replaced the church as an appropriate space for confession. The therapeutic model thus provides a means for the production of categories of sexual abuse in concert with the constitution of sexual abusers and victims of abuse as particular subjects that 'inhabit' sexual abuse subjectivities. This is possible because the historical constitution of sexual deviancy has implicated the psychotherapeutic model as a therapeutic confessional

site that facilitates healing[7] (Pryce, 2000). The confession functions to incite discourses that are legitimated or corroborated by expert listeners. Through its normalising potential, the confession is thus central to production of sexual norms and the transgressions thereof (Alcoff & Gray, 1993).

For Foucault (1978), the confession is an essential relay in the surveillance of the subject. For Levett (1990) there are specific rules that apply to confessions that may be considered to reflect the traumatic or are *trauma-related.* Individuals that identify as sexually abused expect to be traumatised "although they may be unclear as to what exactly this 'damage' would involve" (Levett, 1990, p. 43). Discourse on sexual trauma also implies that there must be a victim (usually female) and an aggressor (usually male). Thus, sex traumas replete with 'discourses of damage' (Levett, 1990) circumscribe victimhood as an inevitable outcome of abuse. Addressing this 'damage' requires consistent surveillance of the self so that the minutiae of the act and its impact can be disclosed to the expert (most usually construed as a mental health practitioner or psychologist). The psychologist expert is therefore key to the incitement to sex that is taken up as an object for study and treatment by the human sciences.

Trauma is thus arguably the product of intersecting social processes and definitions rather than an outcome of any particular event (Swartz & Levett, 1989). Furthermore, trauma resulting from sexual victimisation is often associated with subsequent cases of sexual revictimisation- a phenomenon whereby one instance of sexual abuse is postulated to result in learned subordination, a victim identity and thus exposure to further sexual assaults (Gidycz, 2011). This frequently cited 'finding' demonstrates both the power and durability of the victim subject position once it has been occupied. However, given that the gender of the aggressor in FSA is incompatible with understandings of sexual and violence related trauma, FSA victims tend to escape both the incitement to discourse in the confessional context and the related experience of being traumatised.

In the confessional context of the therapeutic space, sexual abuse is a particularly powerful mode of relaying Foucault's (1985) practices of the self as they do or do not comply with 'moral orthopaedics'. Because sexual abuse and rape are primarily framed as experiences that

[7] In South Africa, social and psychological healing may be facilitated by different cultural actors such as 'witch doctors', sangomas (Zulu term for South African practitioners of traditional African medicine), charismatic leaders, and other traditional healers.

occur on the body of the female subject, "the socially produced feminine body is precisely that...of a *guilty* pre-victim" (Cahill, 2000, p. 56). If the female body is constructed as sexually penetrable then this expectation renders the female subject potentially responsible - "she was somewhere she should not have been, moving her body in ways that she should not have, carrying on in a manner so free and easy as to convey an utter abdication of her responsibility of self-protection" (Cahill, 2000, p. 56). Richardson and May (1999) take this a step further by describing how violence is always gendered and how victimhood is always mediated through culpability. These two points, taken together, may explain why certain victims are treated as 'deserving victims' (Boonzaier, 2014). For example, a woman dressed in a 'provocative' way or a gay victim of homophobic violence (both subjects being threats to the heteronormative social order and perceived as promiscuous) "are unlikely to be construed as 'innocent' victims" (Richardson & May, 1999, p. 310). Studies have demonstrated that homosexual male rape victims are likely to be held more accountable for their sexual victimisation than their heterosexual counterparts. In addition, homosexual victims are perceived to experience pleasure in the act of a sexual assault, especially if this act involved sodomy. Both hetero- and homosexual male victims are frequently considered less traumatised than female victims of the same sex crime (Mitchell, Hirschman, & Hall, 1999). Children, however, are constructed as pure, naïve and innocent (Ariès, 1973) and therefore their experiences are viewed as incommensurate with any conception of adult sexuality (Bhana, 2006). Children therefore cannot be considered responsible for their victimisation (see Wyatt & Peters, 1986) and, in consequence, continue to be treated as powerless. However, this treatment of children is not entirely stable across history and context and, in some cases, children are made accountable for their experiences of violence. For example, under the South African Apartheid regime, black children were not necessarily constructed in the same way as their white counterparts - whereas white children were imbued with innocence and defencelessness, black children, by virtue of their 'blackness', were constructed as always vulnerable to their innate violent impulses and thus not necessarily pure and naïve (Swartz & Levett, 1989). Whilst South Africa is no longer an Apartheid state, the social undercurrents of continued racial inequality as well as the powerful remnants of a previously politically violent landscape means that the country accommodates multiple modes of victimhood that may or may not overlap with social structures that construct victims in other countries.

Constructions of rape require the identification of who is and/or is not accountable and deserving in the event and therefore who has the adjunct responsibility to confess (Weiss, 2010b) which leads to victims actively seeking opportunities for disclosure both in private settings as well as on public platforms (Posel, 2005). This implied accountability is hypothesised to result in the typical feelings of guilt, shame and self-loathing that arise in victims of rape and sexual abuse. These feelings are particularly attached to beliefs that the act of rape defiles and tarnishes a female sexuality and body that is often (although not universally) constructed as sanitized and pure (Weiss, 2010b). The construction of rape as an event that occurs on a fragile and penetrable female body is reinforced by biological 'truths' inscribed on the gendered body that imply that while all men may not be rapists, all women are potentially rape victims. These constructions tend to foreclose the possibility of a male rape victim.

In light of the exclusion of FSA (and its victims more particularly) from normative discourse, the confessional context remains largely inaccessible to FSA victims. This discursive exclusion and inaccessible confessional context has the effect of ensuring that persons subjected to FSA are unable to occupy a victim subject position and produce themselves as traumatised subjects. Recent understandings of sexual abuse, sexual victimisation and rape have asserted the importance of victims' own self-perceptions of a potentially abusive sexual encounter (Koss, 2011). Thus, instead of a heavy reliance on legal or medical definitions, current sexual abuse assessments attempt to measure a given individual's self-perception of victimisation. Koss' (2011) review has demonstrated how apparent self-perceptions and consequent self-making are merely reflective of larger regulating institutionalised discourses. In fact, historical changes in the meanings of terms such as 'rape', 'sexual abuse' and 'sexual victimisation' "filter into the culture at large", with the effect of subjects 'realising' the applicability of these new definitions to their experiences (Koss et al., 1994, p. 510). Given that medicine, psychology and the law are not always readily available as sites of confession, the interview setting is well geared to provide the conditions for surfacing the discourses that underlie self-identification as a victim of FSA.

4.2.1.1. Interview as confession

The structure of the data collection component of this study is somewhat aligned to the confessional context as it was designed to incite discourse on FSA by inviting participants into the 'confessional mode'. The interview is an interactional process in which discourses

are elicited, exchanged and negotiated. The call to participate in the interview process is therefore itself indivisible from the discursive architecture that continues to construct and reify FSA victimhood as a possibility. However, it extended rather than initiated this reification because by virtue of their self-selection as victims, participants had already identified with the FSA subject position. The interview therefore provided a theoretically informed opportunity for performing this position (Butler, 2004; Weiss, 2010a). The interview as both confessional and performative thus provided rich data from which to extract and analyse constructions of gender, sexuality and power in the production of FSA victimhood. In constructing FSA victimhood as the object of the research study and interviewing self-identified victims, the project participated in the refinement and further reification of this category. However, as is the case with all objects of power, it also created new possibilities for rethinking gender, sexuality and abuse in contemporary South Africa.

4.2.2. Legal discourse: Constraining reporting possibilities

Given the legal system's role as a powerful surveillance and regulatory mechanism capable of meting out punishment, legal discourse in the form of statutes, laws and practices presents a particularly powerful resource for self-regulation by individuals (Richardson & May, 1999). Legal definitions limit and regulate behaviours so that they are consistent with what is socially acceptable, socially expected and socially desirable. In view of the fact that the law is principally concerned with governing violence, sexuality and gender, it is important that a legal definition of FSA and victimhood be explored in the context of this study.

Violence risk is often understood in dichotomous terms using variables such as as public (a place of risk) versus private (a place of safety) and male (agressor) versus female (victim) as a way to frame both the definition of violence and our understandings of acceptable versus nonacceptable social behaviour. Additionally, spatio-temporal markers of violence circumscribe how the legal system treats the victim thereof (Richardson & May, 1999). Muehlenhard and Kimes (1999) have proposed that, since definitions of violence are temporal and context specific rather than reflections of universal human experience, that which is considered violent and victims of this violence are context bound. This results in an array of behaviours being the subject to scholarly analysis, medical examination and legal penalty while another set of behaviours (such as female sexual transgressions) escape such scrutiny and are thus not considered violent. In addition, despite the widening of legal definitions for rape, the residue of older laws (such as those prohibiting wives from making

rape allegations against their husbands or definitions that only include penile penetration) continue to influence legal perceptions of who can lay a legitimate claim to victimhood (Weiss, 2010b). This has the effect of both invisibilising and condoning particular behaviours. For example, the lenient treatment of South African female sexual offenders continues (Kramer, 2010; 2011), despite the amendment of the Sexual Offences Act to include women as potential sexual offenders (Minister for Justice and Constitutional Development, 2007). Limited references to FSA in legal discourse also compounds this invisibility. Those victims that do, however, come forward have no legal framework to support their experiences and are thus treated completely differently to victims of male sexual abuse. This differential treatment takes the form of dismissal, mistrust, doubt or disbelief.

Generally, the legal system treats victims of any sexual violence differently from victims of other forms of violence. Victim discourse is typically constrained or prohibited in some way - reported sexual assault is often dismissed across the legal system and this limited reporting to local police stations is reflected in the alarmingly low conviction rates across the criminal justice system. This non-support and thus silencing of victims is most evident in cases that threaten to disrupt hegemonic structures - in cases of husband-rape, women are often accused of being mad or lying. Likewise in cases of incest, children are regularly viewed as being incapable of providing credible reporting. This exclusion of victims' accounts from legal discourse ringfences the way narratives must be shaped in order to be recognised. Often, this practice of exclusion further ensures that victims do not identify as such and therefore fail to report a sex crime. As Weiss (2011, p. 447) argues, "vocabularies that excuse and justify unwanted sexual situations are so entrenched within the culture's language and belief systems that victims invoke them somewhat unwittingly". The pattern of excluding sexual abuse victim discourse within the legal system is likely to be even more pronounced in FSA cases, especially where victims are male and reporting would disrupt the very meaning of both masculinity and sexuality.

Until very recently, at least in South Africa, the law held that men could not be raped. Whilst these legal frameworks have been revised, there continues to be legal reluctance to prosecute cases of male rape and public reticence to view them as harmful (Bourke, 2007). Thus, the reporting of FSA is particularly complicated when the victim is a male. Given the mostly unfathomable status of the male victim, men exposed to FSA often do not view themselves as victims or the event to be a crime. This results in limited reporting. Early traditional theories

focused on more general female crime have offered a chivalry hypothesis to explain this. The theory assumes that where police are men, exchanges between law enforcers and offenders are transformed into exchanges between men and women and thus gender roles and expectations become more salient than the offence. This results in the preferential and more lenient treatment of female offenders in the criminal justice system. Male victims of female perpetrators are therefore reluctant to report their experiences to the police because law enforcers are unlikely to make arrests or to press charges (see Pollak, 1950; Visher, 1983). This pattern of (non)reporting is further exacerbated when the crime is sexual and the reporting of the crime would result in the male victim challenging his traditionally sexually potent and assertive forms of masculinity (Weiss, 2010a). Those male victims that do report FSA are challenged by the legal discourses which use arousal, ejaculation or men's incapacity to exercise sexual restraint as evidence for its 'impossibility' (Giguere & Bumby, 2007; Weiss, 2010). Whilst most men that experience erections or ejaculations in FSA cases express their shock at the betrayal by their own bodies, the courts use these examples as evidence of pleasure and desire (Bourke, 2007). In fact, the legal assumption that pleasure cannot be experienced during an act of sexual violence further constrains reporting, especially for male children who experience themselves as shameful or deviant as a result of often typical experiences of pleasure during mother-son incest (Kelly, Wood, Gonzalez, MacDonald, & Waterman, 2002). Sexual violence is therefore often legally constructed according to who the victim is and can be, rather than as a function of the nature of the reported case (Richardson & May, 1999).

Nonetheless, regardless of gender, victims are often unwilling or unable to report a crime (White & Kowalski, 1994) and thus the lack of access to reporting mechanisms for FSA victims further undermines institutional legitimisation of their victimhoods. In addition, sexual violence victims typically report experiencing shame, guilt and self-blame as a consequence of participation in sexual transgressions that violate culturally acceptable and normative sexual moral codes. In fact, many female victims often resist reporting sexual victimisation in anticipation of the scrutiny of their behaviours at the 'pre-victim' stage (Weiss, 2010b). In light of FSA being both sexual *and* gender transgressive, this experience of shame is likely to be exacerbated, reducing the liklihood of reporting even further. The lack of reporting results in sustained victim invisibility through the implication that the perpetrator is not guilty and in turn the insinuation that there is no 'real' crime to report (Weiss, 2011). This has consequences for our ability to introduce FSA into broader discourse

- the potential presence of a guilty female perpetrator (usually a male) and an innocent male victim (usually a female) completely disrupts our understandings of 'real' sexuality and thus reportable sexual violence.

Most of the historical legal discourse on sexual abuse and forms of it such as rape has centred on the penetration of the vagina by the penis. So engrained is this discourse, that rape has come to play a central role in the production of the modern female body, a body that is defined by its vulnerability and penetratability (Cahill, 2000). The construction of rape as particular to the female experience influences the subjection of both its victims and perpetrators (Ryan, 2011). According to early feminists (Brownmiller, 1975; Griffin, 1979; Riger & Gordon, 1981), rape has historically functioned as an instrument of social regulation whereby its threat ensures that all women are affected by it, regardless of whether they are actually raped or not. The construction of rape as something that potentially always happens to a woman's body results in women self-regulating their movements, appearance and behaviours through space and time. Thus, the earlier traditional definition of rape ensures that women impose restrictions on their own behaviour and thus remain passive and victimised (Riger & Gordon, 1981). The implication that rape is a potential threat to all female bodies not only isolates men as potential rape victims but also ensures that women are incapable of being viewed as potential rapists. This has obvious implications for the conditions of possibility for female perpetrators of rape and therefore the identificatory possibilities of their victims. Historically, by legal definition, because females did not have penises, they could not be considered rapists. Whilst legal reforms across the globe have recently begun to recognise FSA as a potential sex crime, the discursive organisation of these laws (the use of terms such as 'forcing sexual activity without consent' as opposed to 'rape') implies that the experience of FSA is less traumatising and significant than a male perpetrated sex crime (Bourke, 2007). This discursive positioning also continues to constrain the possibilities of female sex crime to non-penetrative sexual abuse. In South Africa the legal amendments made to the Sexual Offences Act (Minister for Justice and Constitutional Development, 2007) appear to be slightly more progressive than other global reforms given their inclusion of women as potential sexual offenders across all types of sexual abuse, including rape. However, the residue of more traditional laws and the gendered political landscape of the country appear to hamper these reforms from filtering into medico-legal and policing practices, as implied by the continued professional denial of female sex crimes (Kramer & Bowman, 2011).

The surfacing of victims of FSA would thus necessitate legal redefinitions of rape (at least in contexts still reliant on traditional definitions) as well as shifts in the actual criminal justice practices and procedures. This in turn would constitute a major transformation in gendered discourses that circulate within and from the legal system. Such a redefinition would shift our understanding of the female body as (only) fragile and penetrable and extend this biological 'truth' to male bodies and thus both into multiple fields of potential resistance.

4.2.3. Media discourse: The absence of FSA victims in the popular imagination

The media is one of the key vehicles for the circulation of discourses and is thus central to the construction, invention and maintenance of public consciousness (Beckett, 1996). Gender and sexuality are enduring themes in the media that are produced through images, narratives and stories, transmitted as either fact or fiction. This is significant given the media's tendency to produce gendered and sexualised content that aligns with orthodox views of men, women and sexuality. For example, there is a proclivity for the media to publish images of objectified women and sexually preoccupied men. Further, the media is able to adjust the content so that the public consumption of it is received in particular ways. For example, a sexually 'transgressive woman' is often constructed in a particularly negative way, thus assuring that the audience views her in the same vein (Ryan, 2011). Even more problematic is the ability of the media to reformulate particular events or to exclude certain images, so that taken-for-granted constructions of sexuality and gender remain unchallenged.

Female sex abuse has recently come into focus in the media, both globally ("Female teacher," 2009; "Hubby's penis put through garbage," 2011; Jones, 2012; Morris, 2009; Morris & Carter, 2009; Plefka, 2012; Sheridan, 2011; Thompson, 2011; Thompson, 2012; Welch, 2012; Wilson, 2012; "Woman gets 15 more years," 2011; "Would be robber," 2011) and within the localised Sub-Saharan African context ("Barbie 'not remorseful'", 2010; Conway-Smith, 2012; Masingi, 2011; Nkomo, 2012; "Nanny gets life," 2011; Rademeyer, 2010; "Visser to appeal," 2010). This relatively recent media attention on FSA and related crime is most likely the result of a combination of factors including increased surveillance of women in general, more 'liberated' discourses fixed on women's sexual behaviour and a heightened public focus on sexual violence. Whilst this increased visibility surfaces FSA, it also does so in ways that continue to replicate normative gender constructions. For example, a number of films have depicted situations where men are forced to have sex with women against their will, however these situations are treated by the filmmakers (and thus the audience) as wry

and humorous. Similarly, films portraying sexual relationships between an older woman and an underage boy are presented as desirable for all young men. Even in the act of being what is conventionally constructed as abusive in cases of male perpetrators, female sexual perpetrators are treated as desirable, erotic or seductive objects by films and other forms of media (Bourke, 2007).

Newspapers reporting on cases of FSA also tend to replicate normative discourses. For example, media detailing the famous United Kingdom nursery school sexual abuse case treats Vanessa George, one of the three accused, as "cuddly", "an angel", "a good mum" and an "emotionally vulnerable" victim of her male accomplice, Colin Blanchard (Morris & Carter, 2009). These comments are presented despite police evidence demonstrating that George physically perpetrated the abuse, whilst Blanchard was receiving digital images of it. Likewise, Cindy Clifton, an American teacher accused of having sex with her students has been described as "a devoted wife, hardworking teacher, a faithful member of her church and a well-respected member of her community" who "wept in her police booking photo" (Thompson, 2011). Emily Thurber, an American woman convicted for her sexual abuse of minors has been depicted by the media as having problems that "stem from serious trauma that probably occurred at a very young age" (Welch, 2012). This is in contrast to the media's treatment of male sex abusers who are mostly defined as 'monsters' that cannot curb their innate aggression rather than as driven by some sort of psychological damage that is beyond their control. These male-female contrasts are particularly evident in the South African media recounts of Cezanne Visser's case[8]. In addition to providing Visser with the nickname 'Advocate Barbie', media reports have characterised her as having "blonde hair and surgically enhanced breasts" and as "severely depressed before and during the sexual offences" due to being a "battered woman" under the influence of her accomplice, Dirk Prinsloo ("Visser to appeal," 2010). Prinsloo, however, has been depicted in the media as having "depraved sexual needs" and whose last victim has described him as a "perverted bastard" and "a monster" (Rademeyer, 2010). Other examples of the perpetuation of normative discourse by the news media is the way young boys are viewed as regarding "early sex with an older woman as an opportunity to boast" and assert their "manhood" (Masingi, 2011).

[8] Cezanne Visser, a well-known and respected South African advocate, was recently arrested and convicted for several child sex crimes as well as the manufacturing of pornography.

In typical cases of male-perpetrated sexual violence, the media have constructed victims as a commodity to increase viewership and readership. Rape, sexual abuse and sexual violence victims are regularly represented as anguished, damaged and violated. Victims' experiences are eroticised and sensationalised through the use of various angles and visual frames that characteristically encourage voyeurism and thus ensure increased audience numbers. These images are often supported by 'expert' interpretations, analyses and comments (Alcoff & Gray, 1993). In addition, the victims' identities are often concealed (usually for ethical reasons), so that there is a proliferation of nameless subjects circulating as possible victims within the public imagination. This has the effect of amplifying typical constructions of sexual violence as a shameful and humiliating experience for the victim (Weiss, 2010b) as well as anonymising it such that limitless identification with gendered modes of victimhood is possible. Despite these constructions of sexual violence victims by the media, FSA victims are mostly invisible. This is particularly true of male FSA victims. Thus, FSA reports tend to centre on the perpetrator and the crime and whilst there may be mention of the age or gender of the victim, there is very little other representation of him/her and, in contrast to other cases of sexual violence, very little 'psychologically dense' information is provided. Indeed, in the highly publicised case of Vanessa George and her accomplices, the victims remain completely unidentified, by both the police and the media (Morris, 2009). While this may be the result of ethical obligations to anonymise sexual abuse victims, it does stand in stark contrast to the way that the media attempt to detail as much victim information as possible in the description of male sexual abuse events. An apt example is the collection of media representations of the recent male-on-female gang rape of a South African girl, Anene Booysen, whose history, relationships, personality profile and post-rape physical trauma has been related in detail by the mass media (e.g. Knoetze, 2013). In those rare reports where FSA victims are visiblised by the media, their stories and experiences are produced in ways that align with conventional frameworks for sexual violence. For example, despite the decidedly publicised character of the Cezanne Visser case, very little is mentioned about the victims (other than demographic details) and when they are surfaced in the media, readers are reminded that Visser is herself a "victim to manipulation by her then boyfriend, Dirk Prinsloo" ("Barbie 'not remorseful'," 2010). This is in stark contrast to a three-page article devoted to a summary of Dirk's victim, Anastasia, a "petite, 23-year-old green-eyed blonde" which includes a comprehensive description of the sex abuse from her perspective and a detailed review of the consequent emotional and psychological damage that she has experienced (see Rademeyer, 2010).

The invisibility and/or conventional configuration of FSA victims in the media echo the mass media's early treatment of child sex abuse victims. Up until the 'discovery' of child sex abuse in the 1960s, child sex abuse victims were entirely invisible in the media. Even in the 1970s, the term 'child abuse' was often substituted with phrases such as 'cruelty to children'. However, despite the media's initial practice of configuring child sex abuse to conform to the normative discourses of the time, it was also the media that was key to driving public awareness about child abuse and shifting the global exercise of collective denial into a state of collective consciousness (Beckett, 1996). These reality-making activities by the media in this instance are likely to be replicated in the case of FSA, as more female sex crimes are 'discovered' and thereafter produced in the media en masse. This is likely to result in the eventual consistent visibilisation of FSA victims.

While it is noteworthy that the images and messages conveyed by and through the media are important relays for the channelling of institutionalised discourses, Gill (2012, p. 738) reminds us that it is equally important to acknowledge that the media is less a "homogenous, monolithic and all-powerful" entity and more a variety of combined and diverse platforms characterised by contradictions, differences and context-bound particularities. While the media is typically heteronormative, classist, gendered and racialised, its operation at the intersection of politics, culture and economy and the capacity and desire for subjects to critically engage with media-based material, does somewhat erode its totalising effects. This is evidenced by recent media platforms where readers are able to post comments with reference to online articles. An apt example is the public response to a News 24 article detailing the events of a female caregiver who raped a five-year-old boy ("Nanny gets life", 2011). The readers' comments demonstrate a critical engagement with the way the media constructed the story - ranging from debates about the definition of 'rape' to discussions concerning the very possibility of FSA, the fairness of the caregiver's sentence given her gender, the quality of the perpetrator's legal representation, and a hypothetical gender-switching comparison. Likewise, an article written by Masingi (2011) during the Sixteen Days of Activism against Gender Violence in South Africa cautions readers against viewing violence in gendered terms and calls for the acknowledgement of female sex abusers and male victims. These comments represent the possibilities for counter discourses and knowledge on FSA.

The above review draws on psychological, legal and media discourse to demonstrate the ways that gender and sexuality constructions are mobilised to limit and constrain possibilities for FSA victimhood. By establishing how FSA victimhood is contingent on particular historical and material conditions supported by institutionalised discourse, a rationale is presented for the critical exploration of FSA victimhood possibilities. Accordingly, this research aims to explore the role of power, gender and sexuality in producing the conditions of possibility for victimhood in cases of FSA. Specifically, this study aims to identify those discursive coordinates by which persons subjected to FSA are able to identify as victims. In so doing it becomes yet another mechanism in the power/knowledge coupling that reifies this category of personhood. However, disrupting the normative flows of gender and sexuality as they take hold of the subject also promises to shift many of the taken-for-granted knowledge conditions that continue to define modern selfhood. Having outlined the history, aim and politics of the project, the following chapter describes the methods used to respond thereto.

CHAPTER 5: METHODOLOGY

5.1. Research design

This research is embedded in a critical framework that analyses interview-based qualitative data using Parker's (1992; 2004a) critical and Foucauldian informed discourse analysis in order to identify the discursive conditions of possibility for the production of victimhood in personal accounts of FSA. The project employs words, language, descriptions and participants' responses as data (Whitley, 2002) in order to critically analyse, interpret, reflect and conceptualise the available information (Parker, 2004b). The researcher is a crucial part of the process as she is the analytic instrument by which the data are interpreted. Given the relatively invisible status of the FSA victim in the current sexual violence literature (McMahon, 2011), and the apparent absence of studies of FSA that address the accounts of victims directly, a critical qualitative project was best geared to surface the discursive coordinates by which these victims come to be able to identify their victimhood. This is particularly with reference to Butler's (2004, p. 67) suggestion that qualitative self-reporting is the most apt means of examining discourse in that it is performative - it takes place "before a certain audience for whom a verbal and visual picture of selfhood is being produced". Performativity allows norms to be exposed as well as for a demonstration of how such norms can be both reproduced and challenged. Thus interviews as performances through discourse provided the most viable data for the study and discourse analysis its most logical method of analysis.

5.2. Participants

Once ethics clearance was obtained from the University of the Witwatersrand, a range of psychologists, social workers and sex therapists and various organisations[9] (see Appendix A for the complete list of organisations approached) such as the ChildLine provincial offices in South Africa, Child Welfare South Africa, Women and Men against Child Abuse, Sonke Gender Justice, the Child Protection Unit (CPU) of the South African Police Services and the Teddy Bear Clinic were approached with a letter (see Appendix B) in order to access the

[9] ChildLine (www.childline.org.za),
Child Welfare South Africa (www.childwelfaresa.org.za)
Women and Men against Child Abuse (www.wmaca.org.za)
Sonke Gender Justice (www.genderjustice.org.za)
South African Police Services (www.saps.gov.za)
Teddy Bear Clinic (ttbc.org.za)

participants. Each specialist and/or organisation had the opportunity to observe a presentation prepared by the researcher in which the proposed study's aims, objectives and methods were detailed. A list of criteria for participant identification was also included in the presentation. The main criterion for participation in the study was self-identification as a victim of FSA. Here sexual abuse refers to any instance of sexual coercion or sexual behaviour deemed inappropriate by the Criminal Law (Sexual Offences and Related Matters) Amendment Act including instances of sexual assault, incest, sexual offences against children and rape (Minister for Justice and Constitutional Development, 2007). While this definition was a useful tool to assist specialists and organisations in the identification of potential participants, participant selection was not constrained to this definition but rather relied on self-identified victims' own constructions of sex abuse. In addition, whilst some persons subjected to FSA may not identify themselves as victims per se (Travers, 1999), criteria such as non-consensual sexual interactions or subjects being incapacitated at the time were used to facilitate the means to such identification in the participants. Organisations were requested to assist in the identification of the participants according to these broad selection criteria.

Most of the specialists, organisations and their various partners were willing to assist and attempted to do so by circulating the letter across their networks and trying to identify relevant cases. However, in line with the central assumptions of this research, victims remained invisible at the level of the legal and health systems and not a single participant was identified or self-selected as a participant for the study. Given that the aim of this research is to explore the discursive coordinates that make possible the FSA victim subject position, self-identification was essential to the participant recruitment strategy. In light of this aim, a call for participants was circulated through publically accessible channels across South Africa (see Appendix C). These channels included a variety of platforms such as on-air calls on various radio stations, online calls on various blogs, social networks and online magazines and newspapers and in print media (magazines and newspapers). These calls resulted in approximately 35 responses from FSA victims, FSA perpetrators and people who had some knowledge about FSA cases. Of these 35 respondents, 16 self-identified as FSA victims and were thus requested to participate in the study. Two of these self-identified FSA victims indicated that they were unwilling to participate due to fear of their statuses being exposed. They also both suggested that they had responded to the call for participation in order to reassure the researcher that FSA is a 'real' occurrence and that the study will be valuable and meaningful especially for the cohort of typically 'invisible' FSA victims. Three of the

requests for participation went unanswered and one respondent agreed to participate but did not arrive at the interview location on the agreed date and time and was thereafter unreachable via email or telephone. Despite these difficulties, the call for participants did manage to produce a final group of ten participants, including five men and five women. Seven of these purposively selected participants were South African (four men and three women); one male participant was Zimbabwean whilst the other two female participants were Australian and American. These latter three participants serve as international comparison cases that add value to the data (and therefore the study) by juxtaposing the local contexts and their specificities as important to the ways in which possibilities for victimhood are produced. Participants were selected according to an extreme case purposive sampling strategy which allows for the investigation of that which is considered 'deviant' and/or 'transgressive' in order to illuminate the normative (Patton, 2002). This is appropriate for a study that intends to investigate largely excluded forms of victimhood in order to point to the way that gender and sexuality are constituted in FSA specifically and in sexual violence more broadly.

While the study aimed to interview victims who had been sexually abused by a female at any point in their lives, for ethical reasons they were required to be adults (18 years or older) at the time of participation in the research. The possible time lapse between the sexual abuse incident and the interview as well as potential memory distortions are typically identified as sources of reporting bias that disrupt the credibility or 'truth value' of the experiences shared by participants in sex abuse research (Appleton, 1995; Sandelowski, 1986). However, given the critical orientation of the project, 'biases' are just another form of data because the objective of this constructionist-oriented study is to identify discourses that make possible an FSA victim position, rather than to engage the truth value of these claims.

5.2.1. Defining FSA victimhood: Criteria for participant selection

Given the centrality of poststructuralist theory and discourse analysis to this research, interviews were assumed to be useful vehicles for inciting the discursive possibilities for points of identification as an FSA victim. Accordingly, the researcher attempted to avoid defining sexual victimisation in data collection documents and discussions during the selection process and rather prioritised the participants' own constructions of victimhood. In line with this, the participants defined abuse and victimhood through the course of the interviews.

5.3. Data collection procedure

On their consent, participants engaged in a one to two hour interview with the researcher, using a semi-structured interview as a means to gather relevant data (see Appendix D). The interactive and informal nature of the semi-structured interview (Whitley, 2002) enabled the interview to take the form of a discussion whilst still preserving the focus on self-identified sexual victimhood. Interviews took place with a particular participant in a specific time and space and given that the interpersonal context between researcher and participant varied across the participants, it should be taken into account that in an alternative context the resulting data may arise somewhat differently. This is of significance given that some of the interviews were conducted in psychologist colleagues' rooms, others in hotel business centres, others in the researcher's work environment and others in conference rooms during the International Congress of Psychology. The interviews with the American and Australian participants were conducted over Skype, with both participants electing not to utilise the video function. The implications of these spatio-temporal contexts on the relationship between researcher and participant will be further discussed in the self-reflexivity section below, especially as they relate to the way 'truth' emerges as a function of the co-construction of the data. Importantly though, and as indicated earlier, the interview is not a conduit to real events. Rather, the interview and its resultant data are parallel sites of analysis.

The interviews were semi-structured and thus the interview schedule was merely a framework from which to conduct the interviews. However, the interview questions still covered a range of important areas in order to explore and analyse different aspects of the participants' experiences. Questions were asked primarily based on a particular participant's lead and thus not every question in the schedule was utilised in every interview. Different questions applied to different participants and particular participants directed the interviews away from predetermined questions. Thus the interview schedule was simply an outline of possible questions that may have been asked during the interview process.

Specifically, in accordance with some of the historical conventions of confessional contexts, the interviews explored participants' background life histories and their experiences of their self-identified sexual victimhood. Participants were also asked to discuss if and how they think the experience has affected their lives in the long term and whether they feel that this effect may have differed if their abuser had been a male. Those victims who have been sexually abused by persons of both sexes were asked to compare each experience.

Participants were also asked about their understandings of terms such as 'victim', violence, 'abuse' and trauma.

5.4. Data analysis

On completion of data collection, the digitally recorded interviews were transcribed and were thereafter considered a corpus of transcriptions that formed the raw data for analysis. These were subsequently subjected to a discourse analysis in order to construct subthemes, themes and thematic clusters arising from the raw data. Note taking during the collection phase also supplemented this process.

Specifically, the critical Foucauldian approach suggested by Parker (1992; 2004a) which aims to demonstrate the way discourses construct objects of knowledge and subjects within frameworks of power was utilised to analyse these transcripts. The detailed and rich material that this type of discourse analysis is able to analyse means that it is geared for application to interview data to explore victims' discursive accounts of their FSA events. More importantly, Parker's (1992; 2004a) particular approach draws on a Foucauldian framework to critically explore "the constitution of the modern psychological subject and its place in regimes of knowledge and power" by deconstructing the emergent discourses in the data (Parker, 2004a, p. 310).

Parker (1992) offers seven criteria for distinguishing discourses. Firstly, discourse is always *realised in texts*. Texts refer to "tissues of meaning" (Parker, 1992, p. 6) that are considered able to evoke connotations, interpretations and allusions beyond the individual that 'authored' them. Discourses are also arrangements of meanings that *constitute objects* and thus analysis requires some degree of objectification. Furthermore, discourses *contain subjects* because they make available positions for particular types of selfhoods. Discourses are comprised of metaphors, statements and allusions that can be pulled together into a *coherent and regulatory system of meanings*. However, discursive systems are not isolated but rather "embed, entail and presuppose other discourses" (Parker, 1992, p. 13) and thus discourses are always *in articulation with other competing and collaborating discourses*. Additionally, because there are contradictions in discourses and discourses implicitly contain their own negations, "a *discourse reflects on its own way of speaking*" (Parker, 1992, p. 14). Finally, discourse is *located in time and history* and is thus always in flux. To these seven criteria Parker (1992) provides three auxiliary criteria proposing that discourses are implicated in the

structure of institutions; discourse reproduces relations of power and discourse has political effects through its capacity to sustain these power relations.

Following these criteria, Parker (1992) outlines 20 steps that frame his discourse analysis process. These 20 steps involve the researcher 1) turning the text into the written form (transcription); 2) free associating to different meanings as a means to access cultural networks; 3) systematically itemizing the objects of knowledge within the text; 4) treating the text itself as an object of study, rather than what it appears to refer to; 5) systematically itemizing the subjects and subject positions in the text; 6) reconstructing presupposed roles and rights of subjects specified in the data; 7) mapping the networks of relationships into discourses to then be located in relations of knowledge and power; 8) bringing knowledge of discourses from outside of the text to amplify the system of discursive relationships inside of the text; 9) contrasting discourses against one another in order to identify the different objects that they constitute; 10) identifying overlapping discourses that constitute the same objects in different ways; 11) drawing on other texts to elaborate on the discursive networks within the text of analysis; 12) reflecting on words used to describe particular discourses especially those that are morally and/or politically loaded; 13) identifying how and where the discourses emerged; 14) describing how the discourses are dynamic and changing; 15) identifying those institutions reinforced by particular discourses; 16) identifying those institutions subverted by the emergence and circulation of particular discourses; 17) indicating those subjects that are advantaged and/or disadvantaged by the circulation of a discourse; 18) ascertaining which subjects and institutions would want to promote and/or dissolve a given discourse; 19) demonstrating the ways that a discourse connects with other discourses that sanction oppression and 20) demonstrating how discourses endorse the dominant narrative and subjugate the marginalised narrative. This process is possible because institutionalised discourse "pervades, constructs and draws sustenance" at the level of the subject and the organisation of discourse in a particular cultural context provides opportunities "at the 'surfaces of emergence', for certain representations and practices of the self" (Parker, 2004a, p. 311).

These principles and stages informed the way data were selected, understood and interpreted. Accordingly, a combined analysis took place by relating core themes and patterns within the data to discursive patterns within the larger cultural context. Specifically, metaphors, wording, expressions, idioms and colloquialisms used by the participants were systematically

coded according to the most significant themes that ran through the data and interpreted in terms of how language forms part of the construction of subjectivities and contributes to either the reproduction or the resistance of masculine hegemonic discourses (Phillips & Jørgenson, 2002). This coding process was guided by Butler's (2004) theory of performativity, especially regarding the ways that participants produced their victim subject positions. The Foucauldian understanding of discourse as a means "to describe and critique the discursive world people inhabit and to explore their implications for subjectivity and experience" underwrote the analytic procedure (Willig, 2001, p. 91) as well as an awareness that the analysis of a particular construct is, in effect, the procedure through which that construct is (at least partly) being produced (Butchart, 1997). The use of Foucault's (1978) theoretical work on sexuality as the framework of this research necessitates acknowledging that in analysing FSA victim subject positions, this research inescapably becomes the machinery through which FSA victim subject positions are further reproduced and reified.

The overall analysis involved the reading of the transcripts according to the above frameworks and stages and the selecting of discursive themes in the data. These themes were then either collapsed into one another to form larger themes or structured hierarchically to form sets of subthemes with an overarching theme. Themes were thereafter labelled and defined. It must be noted that this process is cyclical and requires multiple levels of re-reading and recoding (Willig, 2001). The findings are, however, presented linearly for the purpose of clarity.

A critical approach to discourse analysis is not a politically neutral process (Phillips & Jørgenson, 2002). It aims to expose, interpret and override current prevailing discursive practices (van Dijk, 2001). While language conventionally transmits culturally normative productions of the self, the 'critical' imperative of this type of discourse analysis attempts to understand the mechanisms underlying this transmission. It is in this way that the analysis operates as the means through which resistance narratives and discourses can be produced and reproduced and in doing so, challenge dominant narratives and give voice to excluded discursive frameworks most often belonging to marginalised groups. As a critical process, a Foucauldian informed discourse analysis necessarily begins at the interview stage with note taking and observation. Thus throughout both the data collection and analysis phases the researcher is the instrument through which the data is understood and interpreted. The researcher's ideological and cultural value systems thus form an integral part of the analytic

process and will inevitably emerge in the research material. Thus the researcher's own social experiences and reality will undoubtedly speak back into the way the interviews were conducted and the data was read, understood and selected for inclusion in the final analysis. Given this nature of discourse analysis, along with the appreciation that the data is both co-constructed and influenced by the researcher and the participants, the analysis included an exploration of these effects on the study outcomes. The findings of this research are therefore always open to further interpretation and discussion.

5.5. Self-reflexivity

Lynch (2000) argues that reflexivity does not necessarily offer its object of self-reference any methodological advantage or privileged critical understanding. He adds that the act of reflexivity does not inevitably provide profound insight or revelation and rather, the effects of a reflexive approach are always contingent on the way it is executed and for what purposes. It is therefore important to specify exactly what is reflexive about a reflexive methodology and the form, function and limits of this reflexivity. In the case of this study, as the researcher, I was central to the co-construction of the object of investigation. FSA victimhood emerged at the data collection phase as a result of the collaborative performances of myself and the participants. This emergence was further reified through the analysis in which I was the primary instrument through which data was selected, coded and understood. It is therefore useful to identify the ways that I was a co-collaborator in the reproduction and reification of FSA victimhood.

Cupples (2002) cautions that researchers in the field of sexuality should not overlook the role and impact of their own subjection and consequent identity structures on the research process and outcome. Social constructions of gender, sexuality, power and identity do not escape the research process and thus as the researcher I needed to be conscious of my ideological positions as well as the possible ways others might have been viewing me. Self-reflexivity may be important in some qualitative research in general, however, given the sensitive nature of this particular research it was imperative to go beyond simply noting my own values and ideological positions and actually engage in what was occurring between myself and each participant during the data collection phases, as well as explore how my own theoretical viewpoints impacted on the analysis. In addition, given the multicultural context of South Africa, and the resultant racial, ethnic and sexual diversity of the participants, it was equally imperative to avoid the colonising character that typifies most cross-cultural research

conducted by white, heteronormative middle-income researchers (Cupples, 2002; Robinson, 1994). This section aims to engage with these issues and explore the various ways in which I situated and understood my own position within the research process.

Macbeth (2001) describes reflexivity as a deconstructive process that aims to recognise the researcher's impact and influence on the entire research process as well as to analyse the power dynamics, points of resistance and social-historical influences that shape the data gathering and analytic procedures. This is further supported by the recognition of power and status positions in the social relationships between the participants and the researcher (Stevens, 2008) and thus the positional reflexivity between researcher and participant (Macbeth, 2001). More specifically then, the production of FSA victimhood positions cannot simply be understood as emanating from the participants' discursive practices but also needs to be regarded as a result of the interactional context set up between the researcher and the participant. By applying a reflexive approach to both the interview context and the subsequent data analysis, I attempted to draw attention to these interactional influences so often 'erased' in the reported analysis.

During the data collection phase, each interview was completely unique in both content and researcher-participant relationship. However, the key thread across the interviews was the use of the format as a 'confessional' space by the participant. This was most certainly emphasised by the use of particular spaces for the interviews, which positioned me firmly in the field of psychology such as conference rooms at the International Congress of Psychology and psychologist colleagues' practice rooms. Given the traditional ethical procedure that requires informed consent and assurance of confidentiality at the beginning of the research procedure, all of the participants related their stories, often for the first time, with the understanding that they were private and confidential. This ethical requirement inadvertently and ironically supported the confessional format and thus the incitement to sexual abuse discourse. In almost all of the interviews, the participants referred to the sexual abuse event as 'a/the secret'. Whilst most sexual violence survivors in general feel that there is an implicit cultural narrative that suggests that they should remain silent about their experiences (Enns, McNeilly, Corkery, & Gilbert, 1995), the tendency to silence experiences seemed to have a different function for the participants in this study. As will be argued in the findings and discussion chapters to follow, rather than being silent for fear of being blamed or not believed, as is typical of other sexual violence victims, the silence in these interviews seemed

to be more a function of the lack of access to a language that could frame the FSA experience. In addition, the continuous assertion of the experience as 'the secret' was a reflection of the institutionalised practice of excluding FSA victimhood from widely circulated discourses on sexual violence. Experiences that do not typically fit inside the dominant cultural narrative are silenced through the act of discursive exclusion (Fivush, 2010) and thus it was my intention to utilise the 'confessional' context of the interview space, as well as to exploit this 'secret' as a means to bringing these apparently atypical experiences into discourse. This was achieved through the recognition that performance is inherent to subjectivity as proposed by Butler (2004). A semi-structured interview that is constructed around sexual victimisation by a woman allows for both the surfacing of FSA victimhood as well as an incitement to these performances via reflections on the gender of the self and the perpetrator. This is not only evidenced by the content of participants' discourse, but also the choice of discourse and the identification of excluded discourse (Weiss, 2010a). In addition, both the discourse voiced as well as that which remains silenced is socially produced in the interaction between researcher and participant where "voice and silence are negotiated, imposed, contested, and provided" (Fivush, 2010, p. 89) especially as a function of larger cultural narratives that detail that which is considered normative and those experiences that are considered deviations from these norms. These points were key considerations for me to keep in mind during the interviews.

As each interview progressed, the participant's narrative coupled with my research objectives and questions, framed in a particular language, as well as the on-going rapport between myself and each participant resulted in the production of the multiple possibilities for a victimhood position. In addition, given my position in the discipline of psychology, together with questions directly related to participants' sexuality, sex life as well as the context of the interview as an anonymous and confidential space, participants felt not only the desire to speak but also, the obligation to do so. This is in line with Pryce's (2000) suggestion that the incitement to discourse operates at the nexus of the expert (or psychological) gaze and the implication that the interview is the standard device to elicit content to be interpreted and decoded. Furthermore, the interview, by virtue of its structure, implies that there is a value to confession, especially if there is an expert present. Thus the interview itself is a key vehicle for the production and transmission of power/knowledge and the further refinement of FSA victimhood as a category for human science and (self)knowledge. Additionally, the confessional context is typified by the 'expert' other's interpretation and evaluation of the

status, identity, experiences and speech of the confessor. Thus, although the confession appears to empower the victim through the provision of an opportunity to speak, it is the 'expert' listener who is able to determine the legitimacy and value of the victim's discourse (Alcoff & Gray, 1993). The findings of this study are thus dependant on my selection of interview material to be included for analysis, my conceptualisation of what constitutes FSA victimhood and my identification of conditions of possibility for each victim's narrative. However, the 'expert' researcher is not all-powerful as the opportunity to narrate an experience is dialectically related to the speaker's identity (Fivush, 2010) and thus in the act of speaking, the participants constructed their own sense of selves and subjectivities.

This research recognises that, in the act of surfacing discursive coordinates that make possible the FSA victim subject position, the data collection procedure simultaneously reifies this position. More significantly, given that the assumption of a victim position is an identity defining experience that produces the subject as dependent and helpless (Furedi, 1998), an invitation to occupy and discursively negotiate a victim identity presupposes the possibility of disempowering the participants. Whilst I was constantly aware of the tension inherent in the reification of a particular type of victimhood and the consequent potential subjective effects based on the participants' experience of victimhood, there appeared to be an expectation that the interviews also constituted healing spaces. Thus, despite my concern that in the act of constructing a victim position, the participants would experience trauma or inevitable 'damage', as suggested by Levett (1990; 1992) participants, having already self-identified as victims, felt that this interview context would, in some sense, be therapeutic. This echoes Pryce's (2000) observation that the historical constitution of the (sexual) confession as an opportunity for reflexivity, growth and catharsis has resulted in the expectation that it has curative, healing and therapeutic benefits. This phenomenon was most likely emphasised by the statement in the participant information sheet (see Appendix E) that the study will contribute to the participants' own understanding of their circumstances. Such a statement inadvertently placed me in a position of power through the implied suggestion that the participant will undergo a process of heightened self-awareness during his/her interaction with me.

One of the key elements of most of the participants' discourse was their reliance on psychological theories and explanations. Whilst this was partially an outcome of my own position within the field of psychology and the implied confessional function of the interview

context, it also appeared to be related to participants' access to psychology as a profession. Both of the international participants had been exposed to numerous psychology forums (therapists, diagnoses by psychiatrists, online and live support groups). The South African participants were also highly exposed to the discipline of psychology - one was a psychology student, another was a psychological researcher who conducts projects in the field of sexuality and gender-based violence and another a support group leader for male victims of sexual violence. In addition, most of the participants had been exposed to some form of therapy or counselling, were relatively young (mostly in their twenties) and were highly educated (most had at least some form of tertiary education). As the findings will later demonstrate, it thus appears that access to a particular set of discourses (psychological and/or academic) as well as the experience of being part of what is widely constructed as an increasingly sexually liberated generation were central to enabling many of the participants to construct themselves as victims. While access to psychological discourse and/or experiences supported the emergence of an FSA victim subject position, reference to South African forms of healing such as ancestral healing, sangomas and witch doctors was notably absent despite the context. This has implications for the ways that particular types of confessional spaces appear to ensure the continued (im)possibility of FSA victimhood.

Despite my own recognitions as a researcher of the way gendered and sexualised knowledge is constructed and thereafter reified through performance and practice, every interview was impacted by my own normative assumptions. Firstly, I found the interviews with male victims of FSA particularly difficult. Despite being entirely cognisant of the gendered and psychologised ideas that I was drawing on, I feared that these men housed anger towards the women that abused them and thus women in general. This fear was particularly evident in the interview with Participant 1 (P1), a burly, muscular and very confident man that seemed to typify the very meaning of masculinity. He was also one of the older participants and I consistently felt that he utilised his gender and age to maintain a position of power throughout our discussion. He reminded me that I am very young to be conducting "such debauched" research and made on-going remarks about his own expertise in the area of FSA. Given his physical size and his self-assurance, I found myself wondering if I was in danger being alone with him, a thought that never crossed my mind during the interviews with female victims. These thoughts were amplified by his own references to the 'cycle of abuse', a psychological theory I suddenly found myself accepting, despite my own critiques of this theory's constraining influence of the way we understand sexual violence. In addition, P1

cried a number of times during our conversation, yet I never experienced this as emasculating or disempowering for him. Quite similarly, prior to my interview with Participant 2 (P2), I felt extremely anxious given that I would be alone with him in a building at night time. This anxiety was based on my own gendered and raced expectations of what could happen between a white female researcher and a black male participant. Participant 6's (P6) comments concerning the tension between his attraction to older women and his simultaneous tendency to feel threatened by them, made me question his positioning of me as an older woman. Likewise, given my shared background features with Participant 3 (P3), a young, white, middle-income, female psychology student, I found myself identifying with her and thus consistently contesting the hierarchical power structure implied by me being the interviewing expert in the dyad. This resulted in a number of 'collusions' with the participant and she implicitly used these points of identification to feel understood. For example, she continuously suggested that I understood her context, values and covert racism by virtue of our shared identity features. Based on these abovementioned examples, it seems that I am governed by the very gendered discursive structures and frameworks that I critique and claim to resist.

As the relationships in the interviews were clearly imbued with very complex and always shifting power dynamics, I made a concerted effort to apply an open-minded approach to analysing the data and to continue being reflexive when selecting data for inclusion in the thesis. The aim of this Foucauldian-informed discourse analysis is to surface the invisible mechanisms that ensure the inclusion or exclusion of particular political subject positions. However discourse analysis also acknowledges the contextul nuances that impact the way that the knowledge is presented to and by the researcher. Accordingly, I attempted to identify any preconceived ideas I had about the participants' discursive and behavioural enactments during both the interview process and the analysis. To this end, I noted all of my initial assumptions and tried to be cognisant of instances where I led participants or selected specific data. My word choice during the interviews was selected carefully especially because discourse analysis begins during the data collection phase. With regards to interaction with the participants, I made note of any obvious power positions and instances of dominance and subordination between myself and each participant. At all times, it was necessary to be aware of the social, political and contextual factors that influenced the interview space especially because sexuality research is subject to so many gender performances. Additional factors that were both noted and respected were language and ethnic differences that brought diverse

meanings of sex and sexuality to the interview context (Cupples, 2002). Finally, I tried to be cognisant of my own feelings and behaviours such as inappropriate touching or overwhelming emotion as a result of the victims' stories. While neutrality and objectivity are not achievable in qualitative data collection, distanced empathy was maintained at all times (Patton, 1999). This was combined with the awareness of my role as part of the machinery by which the participants were able to occupy a victim subject position.

The subsequent data analysis, result selection for inclusion in the thesis, and write-up has formed the foundation for the construction of theories relating to FSA victimhood. While the aim of this thesis is not to provide a theoretical framework for understanding the psychological, biological, cognitive or behavioural characteristics of FSA, the very act of surfacing these victims produces the adjunct possibility for these theories to arise. And no doubt, at least within the psychological field, they will. Thus, I was cognisant of how the production of a particular category of human experience will imply the need for further research in the area and how this future research will likely mould, categorise and objectify the FSA victim. As a study closely aligned to Foucault's understanding of discourse, science and the subject, this amounts to a committed acknowledgement that as an author of a particular discourse I am also a function of it (Phelan, 1990). Paradoxically then, this study participates in the very mechanisms it critiques by reproducing and reifying a particular human subject position and constructing the contextual, material and temporal conditions for its possibility.

The primary intention of this study is to explore the way that FSA victims self-identify with an emerging subject position enabled by particular conditions of possibility. By doing so, this research provides and explores an alternative discursive framework for understanding FSA, and thus, for gender and sexuality more broadly. In subverting the current framework for gender and, in some ways rewriting widely held conceptualisations of gender, this research attempts to 'free up' subjugated forms of gender knowledge. Given my position as a South African female, the value of these objectives are of particular significance. Shaw (2010) suggests that the act of knowledge production by a female researcher is an individual level persuasion to reframe current institutionalised hegemonic discourses that impede on the female empowerment project. Additionally, by applying a Foucauldian framework to this study I simultaneously endorse the Foucauldian assumption that there is power in the act of knowledge production. My engagement in the knowledge production process is therefore a

means of reframing hegemonic gendered discourse so that conditions emerge for alternative frameworks of gender and sexuality that better align to the female empowerment agenda. Thus, the reification of FSA victimhood by a female researcher serves to promote an alternative framework for gender (although it also closes down possibilities for escaping sexual surveillance) as well as legitimise and empower women in the knowledge making process.

5.6. Ethical Considerations

Every potential research participant that expressed interest in partaking in the interview process received an information sheet with details concerning the aim and rationale of the study, the researcher's contact details, the data gathering procedure as well as the statement that participants are free to withdraw themselves or their information from the study at any point in time or to refuse to answer any questions they choose not to. To make this possible the researcher provided the participants with both telephonic and mailing contact details. The information sheet also included details about privacy regarding the fact that participant confidentiality was to be upheld throughout the research documentation and that all documented data was to remain anonymous. In light of this, the final thesis and any subsequent publications pay special attention to the anonymisation of identity. However, given the detail accessed in an interview format, participants were also cautioned that there may be possible breaches of privacy if their story had previously been made public in the media (see Appendix E).

After participants had read the information about the study, they were given the opportunity to either accept or decline the invitation to participate. That is, participants were made aware that participation was completely voluntary. In light of this, each potential participant received a consent form, which they could choose to sign if they agreed to participate in the research (see Appendix F). This is in accordance with the National Health Act (2004, p. 54), which states that research may only be conducted "with the written consent of the person after he or she has been informed of the objects of the research…and any possible positive or negative consequences". It was also clear that there were no advantages or disadvantages in participating in the study as well as no direct benefits. On giving informed consent to participate, the participants were also required to consent to the recording of the interviews which were quoted from directly (see Appendix G) and were made aware that no identifying information would be drawn from them. Further, it was explained that the digital recordings

would be deleted immediately after the completion of transcription. Additionally, because the participants are considered a vulnerable population under the university ethics protocols in terms of their statuses as persons subjected to FSA, provision of a free counselling service was made for them if required post data collection.

CHAPTER 6: AN EMERGENT FSA VICTIMHOOD

Victimhood was constructed through various discursive strategies and coordinates employed by the self-identified FSA victims. In line with Butler's (1989; 1999; 2004) theories on performance, the participants mobilised discourses on gender, sexuality, criminality and victimhood in producing the conditions of possibility for taking up victim subject positions. In particular, victimhood was built on specific discourses that provided the participants with the means to construct a subjectively fathomable aetiology for their abuse. These discourses arose from participants' access to particular institutions and disciplinary frameworks such as psychology, tertiary education, the internet and online media forums. This process was further supported by the very framing of the interview context as a confessional site geared to extract victimhood, trauma and the 'secrets' about FSA. Throughout this process, FSA victimhood was negotiated as a condition arising from an 'impossible' or 'inconceivable' crime and the interviews were thus a site for the construction of, resistance to and ultimately reification of heteronormative constructions of gender and sexuality as they intersected with criminality and psychopathology. The resultant themes demonstrate the ways in which gender, sexuality and power must be configured in order to provide the possibilities for identifying as a victim of FSA. Table 2 provides a summary of these themes.

Overarching Discursive Themes	Subthemes
The inconceivable crime	The impossibility of FSA: Women do not commit sex crimes
	FSA denial: Invisibility and avoidance
	The Innocent naïve child: A fathomable FSA victim
Gender constructions that sustain the impossible crime	The Madonna-whore complex versus the masculine aggressor
	Vulnerable vaginas; vulnerable females
	Male sexual violence as normative
'Making' an aetiology	Absent paternal figures
	FSA as a function of mental illness, damage or previous abuse
	The she-devil: Un-gendering the female sexual abuser
	The turn against maternity
	Pleasure or power?
Negotiating the male victim	Repercussions for masculine heterosexuality
	Body betrayal
	The ultimate education in sex
	Sexualising the female perpetrator
Creating conditions of possibility: The	Access to psychologised discourse

incitement to discourse – victims in waiting	The internet and media as incitements to FSA victimisation discourse
	Class resources: Access to forms of knowledge
	Alternative sexualities: Access to non-normative discourse
The confession as apparatus: Producing FSA victimhood	The secret: Silence and nondisclosure
	Victimhood and trauma
	Multiple abuse victims: Victimhood as destiny
	The inversion of the moral code: Guilt and self-blaming
	Psychic damage
	Becoming the abuser to become the victim
	Self-depictions of perversity: 'Effects' on sexual and gendered behaviour
	FSA as more emotionally damaging than male sexual violence
Surfacing female sex crimes	Tracing the history: Patterns of public knowledge
	Alternative discourses: The fluidity of sexuality and gender

Table 2. Overarching discursive themes.

While the findings are presented here in as themes or categories for the sake of clarity, they should not be read as fixed and separable. Rather, the themes interlink across one another and various subthemes are connected to other overarching themes and subthemes. These themes therefore present the way that "words and phrases are linked at the level of discourse" (Parker, 2005b, p. 99). This interlinking is reflective of the broader network of interweaving institutionalised discourses that are reproduced in the participants' discourses. Taken as a unit, these thematic elements thus represent the grid of discursive coordinates that imply the (im)possibility of FSA victimhood. It is important to note that these themes do not reflect the participants' own understandings of the discourse that they participate in. Rather the themes demonstrate particular links to discourse that the participants were not necessarily explicitly aware of. The themes thus show how participants' words, phrases, terms and expressions "are articulated into chains of meaning that are independent of the speakers" (Parker, 2005b, p. 100). By presenting the organisation of discourse in this way, the findings are able to demonstrate how speakers both police and are policed by language and how they are active participants in either the reproduction of or resistance to dominant and/or oppressive discourses.

The findings account for both those institutionalised discourses that exclude the FSA victim subject position as well as those discourses that make FSA victimhood possible. These findings therefore stand as an exemplar of Foucault's (1978; 1981) conceptualisation of the way the power/knowledge coupling targets the body politic. The findings are further discussed in this chapter and interpreted in light of the arguments developed from the literature in the earlier chapters. This discussion follows an initial overview of the participants' self-reported conceptualisations of victimhood.

6.1. Who are the victims? Some thoughts on the possibilities of participation

Prior to relating the findings of this study it is necessary to comment on the use of the term 'victim'. Victimhood is itself an historical project that cannot be understood outside of the socio-cultural context in which it has been both produced and reproduced. Additionally, widely circulated social constructions of victimhood are largely reflective of the male-perpetrator female-victim dichotomy (Gidycz, 2011; Koss, Gidycz, & Wisniewski, 1987) and are thus not easily aligned with FSA victimhood. Nonetheless, the participants in this study have specifically self-identified as FSA victims and are thus treated as such in the discussion sections that follow. This does not mean to imply an essentialist understanding of the participants as 'victims' nor does it mean to suggest that the participants should be understood in dichotomous and narrowly defined terms.

Sexual violence is historically and socially constructed in relation to whom the victim is, rather than according to the situation in which the violence occurred. The consequent exclusion of particular types of victimhood has profound effects for sexual violence and victimisation as it determines who can and cannot be considered a victim, and what does and does not constitute sexual violence (Richardson & May, 1999). Whilst FSA victimhood is conventionally excluded from discourse, the participants in this study were able to occupy FSA victim subject positions. It is therefore essential to begin an analysis of FSA victimhood with an understanding of the types of people that self-identify as victims. This will provide an initial illustration of some of the conditions that make FSA victimhood possible. Given that the participant characteristics are discursively telling, it is more useful to report these with the findings as opposed to the conventional practice of reporting them in the methodology chapter.

The participants in this study consisted of ten self-identified FSA victims. Seven of the participants were South African and the other three were from Zimbabwe, Australia and Oklahoma in the United States of America. The inclusion of these three international participants was a result of their responding to the multi-media recruitment strategy. Rather than exclude them from the study, their inclusion provides a strategic starting-point for understanding just how differences in socio-cultural contexts may specifically shape conditions of possibility for FSA victimhood. The ability for ten subjects to self-identify as FSA victims despite their exclusion from circulated discourse indicates that there are currently particular conditions that make the identification with an emergent FSA victimhood possible.

Six of the participants were aged 18 to 29 and four were aged 40 to 53. Most of the participants have tertiary educations and almost all of them had been exposed to some form of mainstream psychological discourse, whether in the practice of their own careers or as a result of attending therapy and/or support groups. This is discussed in more detail later, however it is worth acknowledging here that these victims do not align with the female sexual offender backgrounds identified by Kramer (2010; 2011). This is particularly with reference to Kramer's (2010; 2011) South African study participants comprising mostly uneducated low-income offenders. This is significant given that, in both studies, victims usually knew their offenders and were often from the same backgrounds as their offenders. This is a powerful indication that, at least in South Africa, victims are only capable of identifying as such if they have access to particular forms of knowledge. This could also be a function of 'class' or income level given that this directly impedes on or supports access to knowledge. Further supporting this is the fact that despite multiple attempts at engaging with a range of community-based organisations, social workers and mental health practitioners (see Appendix A), the researcher was unable to recruit FSA victims. It was only through the modes of social media, the internet and other text-based communication forums that self-identified victims emerged.

Another interesting difference between the two studies is that the offenders in Kramer's (2010; 2011) study were primarily black, whilst the current study identified mainly white victims (80 percent). Furthermore, the offenders did not perceive themselves as perpetrators, whereas the participants in this study self-identified as victims. It seems that the privilege of 'whiteness' allows for white-identifying subjects to occupy more socially marginalised

positions without serious consequence given their advantage and unequal access to power simply by virtue of their position within hegemonic class structures. The same pattern has been demonstrated in the case of South African black homosexuality. Racialised discourses imply that homosexuality is 'un-African' and thus limit homosexual possibilities for black subjects while 'mainstream' homosexuality continues to be typified by whiteness. This results in circulated constructions implying the conceivability of white homosexuality and the impossibility of its black counterpart. Kulick (2013) argues that homosexual possibilities are contingent on the ways that race, sexuality and gender intersect. Given that 'whiteness' has historically been constructed as a key component of the traditional hegemony of masculinity, white homosexuals have the opportunity of entering into the hegemony of 'sexual lifestyle choice' by virtue of their race. White homosexuals are therefore privileged by their whiteness and thus have the advantage of not only occupying a homosexual subject position, but also occupying it in a normative 'mainstream' sense such that it does not necessarily force them into an oppressed social position. The same does not apply to more marginalised racial categories. Rudwick (2011) further argues that this is a result of the Apartheid system regulating race through heterosexual assumptions and codes such that South African black subjects were historically treated exclusively as heterosexual subjects. Male sexuality under Apartheid law was governed in particular ways that maintained both the racial purity of the white hegemony and the patriarchal and racialised structure of Apartheid society. As a consequence, behaviours that threatened these structures were challenged. These behaviours included interracial sexual relations, which threatened racial purity, and homosexual relations between *white* men, which threatened the patriarchal and racial social structure (Elder, 1998). The residue of these Apartheid constructions in post-Apartheid South Africa continue to constrain possibilities for black homosexuality and this no doubt filters into (im)possibilities for any non-heteronormative black sexual subject position. Thus whilst these comments relate to homosexuality, they do shed some light on how whiteness presents a condition for subjects to move into more fluid sexual subject positions. In addition, they very clearly point to the intersectionality of gender, race and sexuality (Collins, 1998) and how these complex intersections circumscribe possibilities for identity and, more importantly, for victim identities.

Of the white South African participants, five reported being abused as children. This also seemed to be one very important pre-condition for identification. The ability to self-identify as an FSA victim is conditional on possibilities that emerge through cultural discourses

diffused across diverse and unequal contexts (Winnubst, 1999). These participants would have been children under the Apartheid system – a context typified by the construction of white children as vulnerable. During this period, white children were subject to consistent surveillance, monitoring and intervention (Bowman, 2010) such that these practices repeatedly implied the capacity of these children to be vulnerable and victimised. In contrast, black children, by virtue of their construction as dangerous and defiled, were often treated as threats and as such invulnerable Apartheid subjects (Swartz & Levett, 1989). The participants' characteristics may thus be reflective of the powerful remnants of earlier Apartheid conditions grounded at the intersection of race, gender and sexuality.

Despite research demonstrating that the gendering of sexual violence results in socio-cultural barriers to the possibility of male sexual victimisation (especially where the perpetrator is a woman) (Barth et al., 2013; Weiss, 2010a), half of the current study's participants consisted of male victims. Even more interesting is that two of these men provided accounts of this abuse during adolescence and adulthood. Female sexual child abuse is often more conceivable given the construction of children as naïve, innocent and vulnerable (Ariès, 1973) as well as the existing power differentials between a child and an adult (Kramer, 2010). The conditions of possibility for the identification as a post-adolescent FSA victim are explored later. A summary of key participant characteristics that provide conditions for FSA victimhood is presented in Table 3. These include racial categories, gender categories and being part of a generation that is widely constructed as 'sexually liberated'.

Participant	Age	Sex	Race	Nationality (Current City/State)
Participant 1 (P1)	48	Male	White	South African (Johannesburg)
Participant 2 (P2)	29	Male	Black	South African (Pretoria)
Participant 3 (P3)	24	Female	White	South African (Cape Town)
Participant 4 (P4)	25	Male	Black	Zimbabwean (Cape Town)
Participant 5 (P5)	25	Female	White	South African (Cape Town)
Participant 6 (P6)	22	Male	White	South African (Johannesburg)
Participant 7 (P7)	40	Male	White	South African (Witbank)
Participant 8 (P8)	18	Female	White	South African (Cape Town)
Participant 9 (P9)	53	Female	White	Australian (Blue Mountains)
Participant 10 (P10)	47	Female	White	American (Oklahoma)

Table 3. Participant description.

6.1.1. FSA victimisation: An emerging organisation of discourses

Participants constructed their own understandings of male sexual violence, psychology, existing criminal taxonomies and victimology to develop frameworks for understanding FSA criminality and victimhood. Table 4 presents an outline of participants' victimisation accounts including the identity of the female sex abuser, age at victimisation, number of sexual abuse occurrences and a brief description of the sexual abuse. These objects and subjects of the participants' narratives begin to signal some of the key elements of FSA that make victimhood possible.

Participant	Female Sex Abuser (Age of Abuser)	Age at Victimisation	Sex Abuse (Number of Occurrences and Brief Description)
P1	Mother	4 – 12	– Multiple occurrences – Fondled and attempted to have sex with her child
	Teenage family friend (17)	12	– Single occurrence – Rape
P2	Older sister	6 - 11	– Multiple occurrences – Child forced to fondle and perform oral sex on abuser – Abuser performed oral sex on child – Rape
P3	Domestic worker's daughter (child caregiver)	8 - 9	– Multiple occurrences – Fondled child
P4	Stranger	5	– Single occurrence – Fondling – Rape – Prostituted child for sex
	Three female neighbours	7	– Multiple occurrences – Rape – Exposure to pornography
	Older sister (16 - 19)	7 - 10	– Multiple occurrences – Fondling – Rape
P5	Teenage neighbour's daughter	3 - 8	– Multiple occurrences – Molested – Fondling
	Neighbour's daughter (same as above) and son (teenage accomplices)	Between 3 and 8	– Single occurrence – Molested
P6	Girlfriend (30 – 32)	16 -18	– Multiple occurrences

			– Fondling – Forced oral sex – Rape
P7	Aunt (18)	10	– Single occurrence – Fondling – Rape
P8	Mother	12 - 13	– Multiple occurrences – Forced underage daughter to have sex with various adult men
P9	Mother	6	– Multiple occurrences – Fingers and kitchen utensils inserted into vagina – Re-enactment on the child's body of birth process
P10	Mother	6 - 10	– Multiple occurrences – BDSM (bondage-domination-sado-masochism) – Anal rape using objects

Table 4. Participants' descriptions of victimisation.

Four of the participants were abused by their mothers and one was abused by her domestic worker's[10] daughter (employed as a child caregiver). This is in keeping with Vandiver's (2006) suggestion that constructions of motherhood allow women unrestricted access to children during child-rearing activities such as bathing and clothes changing which provides the important conditions of access to children in cases of FSA. Of interest, despite the participants' abilities to classify their mothers as perpetrators, such abuse was never classified as incest. Female familial sexual abusers thus seem to escape the accusations of incest that most male familial sexual abusers are subjected to. The greater part of the literature on male paedophilia highlights incest as one of the primary categories of male child sexual abuse (Araji & Finkelhor, 1986; Berlin & Krout, 1986; Fagan, Wise, Schmidt, & Berlin, 2002; Hall & Hall, 2007; Howitt, 1995; Kempe & Kempe, 1984). However, incest is rarely mentioned in the literature on female sexual offenders. The invisibility of female perpetrated incest in the

[10] South African women employed by households to perform domestic housework and chores. These women are also typically engaged in child caregiving and regularly live on the property with their employers. The South African domestic workforce comprises mainly of black women from rural areas with a low level of education.

scientific literature appears echoed by the finding that the victims exposed to maternal sexual abuse in this study do not use the term 'incest' to describe female CSA.

Other than P4, every participant knew his/her perpetrator and most were related to her (family friend, older sister, neighbour, girlfriend, aunt). The majority of the participants (60 percent) were exposed to multiple sexual abuse incidents, either by the same perpetrator or by a different perpetrator altogether. In fact, three of the participants identified multiple female sexual perpetrators across their lifespans. This echoes the frequently cited 'scientific finding' of sexual revictimisation in sexual abuse victims (see Gidycz, 2011). Given the power and the intractability of the victim subject position once it has been occupied, a common 'finding' is that sexual victimisation predisposes an individual to subsequent sexual revictimisation. This is explored in detail later, especially with reference to how the identification with an FSA victim subject position provides the conditions for further sexual victimisation by female perpetrators.

Participants reported a range of acts, which they classified as sexually abusive. These included vaginal rape, anal rape, attempted rape, bondage-domination-sado-masochism, fondling, forced performance and reception of oral sex, child prostitution, child exposure to pornography and molestation. Most of the participants' perpetrators reportedly acted alone. Only P4 reported experiencing sexual perpetration by multiple women simultaneously. P5 reported that she was sexually abused by her neighbours (a brother and sister) however this only happened once and only after years of the female neighbour abusing her first. A female sexual perpetrator acting alone is considered rare and typical FSA categories and constructions infer the presence of an abusive male coercer (Freeman, 1996; Higgs et al., 1992; Lawson, 2008). This is so engrained in legal understandings of FSA that all of the incarcerated offenders identified by Kramer (2010) were described as accomplices to a male partner. It thus seems that while the justice system's defining conditions of possibility for FSA cannot easily expand beyond those incidents characterised by male coercive instruction, the participants in this study were able to occupy victim subject positions defined by sexual abuse perpetrated by women acting alone.

6.1.2. South African context-specific conditions for FSA victimhood

One of the particularly noteworthy South African specific accounts belonged to P3 who conveyed how her domestic worker's daughter (her caregiver) had sexually abused her as a

child. In the South African context it was common for white families (and now middle-income households) to employ domestic workers who often serve as child caregivers. These women thus have unrestricted access to their employers' children and are expected to partake in particular child-rearing practices such as bathing and clothes changing. As P3 indicated, these women are often considered to be "*part of the family*" and assist in raising the children. The identification of a child caregiver as a female sex abuser is in line with Vandiver's (2006) formulation that women in caregiver roles are allowed unrestricted access to children, thus providing opportunities for sexual abuse. However, the presence of a live-in domestic worker is a specific South African characteristic that provides a particular condition of possibility for FSA to arise. In addition, these domestic workers are typically African women. Given racial constructions that imply that violence is perpetrated by non-whites (Gilliam, Iyengar, Simon, & Wright, 1996), it appears that a sexually violent event characterised by a 'black' perpetrator and 'white' victim further supports the conditions for this sort of emergent FSA victimhood.

Another typically South African point made by P3 related to the general lack of trust in the country's law enforcement, justice and legal systems. The dismissal of FSA by police officers and legal representatives is a common function of both the global and South African exclusion of FSA from legal documents and practice (Brockman & Bluglass, 1996; Giguere & Bumby, 2007; Kramer & Bowman, 2011). However, the mistrust reported by P3 seems to speak to a general scepticism regarding the law in South Africa, regardless of the crime. Her discourse powerfully indicates the complex intersection of race, ethnicity and power in South Africa. In her comment, P3, a young white woman, mockingly implies that most South African police officers are Africans that cannot speak English. In keeping with Butler's (1989; 1999; 2004) performativity, this statement suggests the superiority of English (or 'white') culture over 'African' (or 'black') culture and implies that access to the English language provides the speaker (or performer) with the sophistication to understand problems that non-English speakers cannot. However, P3 simultaneously acknowledges the power inherent in these law enforcers to invisibilise her FSA perpetration experience:

> *But then I mean going and sitting and explaining it to…a freaking cop who probably doesn't, doesn't even speak English* (laughs)*, in our country, with our justice system. What's the point? He's gonna turn around and say, oh no it didn't happen, they're gonna do an investigation, it's gonna go like what…tests that's got to be done and this,*

that and the other and at the end of the day the case is gonna get thrown out.

Regardless of their various backgrounds and distinct FSA experiences, all of the South African participants expressed both shock and horror when detailing accounts of their perpetrators. These expressions were particularly attached to the potentially sexually transgressive nature of women. However, P4, a Zimbabwean, presented his narrative with very few expressions of surprise. Whilst he indicated that his FSA experiences left him feeling traumatised, this trauma appeared to be located within the context of the rape experience rather than as a result of the rapist being female. In fact, P4 treated FSA as a fairly normative and regular type of sexual violence in Zimbabwe and indicated that he has often seen it reported and that *"it happens a lot"*. This noteworthy difference concerning the plausibility of female sexual violence is a powerful instantiation of how particular cultural conditions operate at power/knowledge to produce expectations, norms and 'truths' about sex and sexuality.

Another notable 'cross-cultural' difference in the group of participants was that for South African participants, access to class resources through academic or at least higher education discourses appeared to be a necessary condition for the occupation of an FSA victim subject position, as did a position within a middle-income system of symbols. This did not appear to be the case for the American participant. Participant 10 related how she *"only had an eighth grade education"* and consistently indicated that her family struggled financially. Perhaps in South Africa, the access to class resources (such as education, knowledge and information) or the limit thereof is a function of whether subjects are able to self-identify as FSA victims. It may well be that sexual abuse definitions vary according to socioeconomic status and that the FSA victimisation identified by the participants in this study may not be defined as abusive in a low-income context typified by high levels of on-going crime and violence.

Aside from the abovementioned context-specific conditions for the emergence of FSA victimisation, most of the discourses identified in the analysis appeared to resonate across the participants' accounts. The following sections describe the discourses drawn upon by participants in the identification with and simultaneous production of FSA victimhood. These discourses crisscross over a complex grid of coordinates that signal those discursive elements that provide the possibility of FSA victimisation as well as those that continue to exclude it from that which is deemed as 'real', possible or 'thinkable'.

6.2. The inconceivable crime

FSA is slowly emerging as an object of knowledge in the social sciences and this is gradually permeating into legal, medical and public discourses. However, it is still generally regarded with scepticism, disbelief and incredulity (Denov, 2001; Giguere & Bumby, 2007; Kramer & Bowman, 2011; Lawson, 2008). This has the effect of ensuring that FSA as a crime category remains peripheral to mainstream criminal discourse and FSA victimhood is almost unthinkable. Despite all of the participants self-identifying as FSA victims, there was a tendency to rely on understandings of FSA as inconceivable. Participants continuously shifted between unequivocally identifying as victims of FSA and negotiating their own disbelief about the 'real' existence of such a position. The moments characterised by unwavering FSA victimhood were always coupled with statements that deny the possibility of FSA. It was thus evident that FSA victim subject positions are complicated by continuous discursive conflict- on the one hand these participants are exposed to conditions that make possible FSA victimisation, however on the other hand they are simultaneously exposed to widely circulated discourses that continue to deny these possibilities. P3 clearly grappled with this conflict with the following remarks:

> *I probably would have said something [if my abuser was male] because that would be…almost more socially acceptable. That's kind of what I feel. But I think because it's a woman it's so…bizarre. Almost. You know? It's not something you hear about all the time. You hear about men doing stuff like this all the time. But you don't hear women.*

Participants' reported conflict was expressed through their recognition of overarching discursive strategies (such as gendering) that make FSA unlikely and lead to avoidance and denial in the public, legal and medical spheres. Some of the participants negotiated this conflict by intimating that childhood was the only category of victim that gained any traction in constructions of victimhood in FSA.

6.2.1. The impossibility of FSA: Women do not commit sex crimes

Are people gonna believe me? (P3)

In line with Denov's (2001) arguments about the intractability of maleness as a grounding for sex crime, the participants reflected on social norms and discourses that foreclose the possibility of FSA. Participants used these examples to demonstrate that despite their identification as FSA victims, social discourses act as a constant reminder that this type of victimhood is primarily unimaginable. The social discourses reflected upon by participants

were better aligned to earlier definitions of sexual abuse that rely on vaginal penetration by a penis (see Koss, 1992) rather than the more recent and progressive definitions that provide for the possibility of other types of sexual violence.

P1 maintained that "*society wouldn't classify it as abuse*" and P3 felt that "*it's so…like embarrassing and weird and unusual*" and went on to explain,

> *[There is] a perception that society builds…that women aren't criminals. That women can't do anything wrong…[and you] grow up in a society where it's like it could* ***never*** *happen here.*

P4 made a similar comment that, **"***we live in a world where people think that only men can abuse women*". This was supported by the discussion with P2 on social reactions to his accounts of his FSA experience:

R[11]:	*How do people react to you when you say it was a woman? Compared to an incident with a man, do you find that there's a different reaction?*
P2:	*There's a* ***huge*** *difference. There's quite a...huge difference.*
R:	*What have people's reactions been when you have told them?*
P2*:*	*It's always like, "****Really?****" and "****How?****"*

Likewise, when P3 told her family about her experiences of abuse she said that "*it was a shock and they didn't know what to do with it"*. P4 contracted a sexually transmitted disease from the abuse of his female perpetrator and he explained that "*the doctor was even shocked*" and **"***some people…just laughed at me"*. P4's reference to 'the doctor' is an interesting recourse to science - a science that continues to rely on heteronormatively gendered understandings of sexual violence. P5 noted that as soon as she disclosed she was sexually abused to anyone, "*they just assumed it was a guy*" and P6 received questions such as "*but physically how do you allow that to happen?"* It thus appears that the recent revisions to definitions of sexual violence in the South African Criminal Law (Sexual Offences and Related Matters) Amendment Act (Minister for Justice and Constitutional Development, 2007) do not yet provide the discursive possibilities of an alternative to sex crimes perpetrated exclusively by males.

[11] Researcher

Of interest is that until participants had been exposed to some kind of condition that made way for the possibility of FSA victimisation, they perceived FSA in much the same way as the social discourses that they referred to above. P1 noted that "*I didn't even classify that thing with that woman as, as abuse*", P3 said that it was "*wrong in many ways...because it was a woman*" and P6 felt that "*with a female, as being a male, is that you'd see it as a normal sexual interaction, even though it's abuse*". P2 stated that he was unable to even name the experience with his comment that "*I guess in my mind, it felt kind of like uh..."What is this?" It felt kind of like a very, quite a foreign thing*". Similarly P4 felt that "*If I'd not been abused, I would just…someone told me something like that, I'd just say, no don't be silly, you know, that's stupid*". For P10,

> *It was like this couldn't be called sexual abuse but I'm not sure if it is because this is so far out of my realm…And because this was a woman and I didn't realise that it was sexual. I just thought it was horrible punishment…So, I think that's the biggest thing about it being a woman versus a man is it's harder to identify it for what it is. You want to say it's everything else. You wanna make all kinds of excuses and say that's not what it is. But that's what it is.*

Once participants had been exposed to some form of incitement to discourse (internet, therapy, class resources), they were more easily able to occupy a victim subject position. For P2 that incitement was the call for participants for the current study. He claimed that,

> *I think for me…when I was, the ad I saw, I, I just was like, "**Wow!"** I was like...I had to send you an email.*

Similarly P5 noted that "*when people have studies on it, or you read something, an article or movies or whatever and then you kind of read how, how to deal with it*". However, many of the participants insisted that because social codes uphold the impossibility of FSA, there are no available legal, medical or public structures to support this subject position. For example,

> *I've come to a point in my life where I actually want to deal with it [the sexual abuse] but nobody wants to talk about it…There's just no information out there, you know? There's nothing there* (P1).

> *I've **never** ever heard of, of girls being sexually abused by other girls. Never, ever. Although, I mean up until…me.* (Laughs)*. Um…I've never ever heard of anyone talking about it…But, um, it's, it's weird that it's, it's a woman because you don't hear about it. Um, often you don't read about it…I think it's just a, it's not a more common thing. Well to me, being abused by a woman and there's not like much implements and stuff*

> *in place of how you react and how one thinks and does things and you know. Because you don't, it's not, it's not a norm in society* (P5).

Moreover, these social codes have the effect of implying that these experiences are both abnormal and unique. As participants indicated,

> *I remember thinking, "does this also happen to other boys?" My friends, whatever. But I never talked about it* (P2).

> *I was **very** shocked to hear that there are actually other people out there, that it happens to them as well. Not as a kid. As an adult* (P7).

P7's juxtaposition of a 'kid' and an 'adult' is another example of the implied hierarchy of possibility between childhood and adulthood that reinforces the child as the only 'possible' and 'real' category of FSA victimhood.

For many of the participants this study acted as an incitement to discourse. The participants thus used the interview to identify and negotiate various discursive strategies used at the broader level of the public, academic, legal and health institutions that reinforce the (im)possibility of FSA victimhood. These key strategies were primarily institutionalised practices of invisibilisation and avoidance through the production and reproduction of particular gender and sexual discourses.

6.2.2. FSA denial: Invisibility and avoidance

Whilst FSA is certainly an emerging object of human science knowledge that is receiving greater attention across the globe, denial and avoidance are not uncommon within both the medical and legal system. Across various institutions, female sexual violence is treated as rare, trivial and innocuous (Denov, 2001) to the extent that FSA perpetrators are often dismissed by officers of the law and, if they are formally acknowledged by the legal system, receive lighter sentences (if any at all) than their male counterparts. In addition, the social science and medical literature largely accounts for FSA through aetiologies inseparable from mental disturbances, substance abuse and/or histories of previous abuse (Higgs et al, 1992; Travers, 1999). The same aetiologies are not applied to male perpetrators who are regularly treated as 'monsters' that cannot control their innate sexual urges. This institutionalised level of avoidance, denial and invisibilisation filters into the public imagination such that they are reproduced and performed by individual subjects. The broader discursive exclusion of FSA manifested in comments such as "*I've never ever heard of anyone talking about it*" (P5) and

"*you don't hear about it in the news*" (P7). Participants also spoke to the way that this invisibilisation and denial filtered into the daily practices and performances of those around them. For example, P2 described how his younger sister actively avoided his sexual relationship with his older sister:

P2: *I got that image of me, like you know pleasuring her. On, on the bathroom floor. And I remember, my sister. My third sister coming back. I think she'd asked her to go and get bread or something. And I remember her wal- no, no, not walking in but you know when, she was walking through the kitchen door and we were in the bathroom. And I remember my third sister, the one I was always closest to saying that, announcing that, announcing that she's there. Like, "yeah, I'm back, I'm here", um, whatever, whatever. And my sister answering, "yeah, it's okay", whatever. And I, I remember wanting her to just come and you know, do whatever and she stood outside and said, "okay, I'm gonna go play", or something like that. And then I felt betrayed by her. And...ya...*

R: *The other sister?*

P2: *The other sister that-*

R: *Like she may have known something was happening?*

P2: *I don't know. I don't know. I think like I'm actually even terrified to go there…to even think that she knows about something like that. She was aware that I'm in the bathroom. I don't know if she knows or whatever...*

P7's comment that "*I think she'd asked her to go and get bread"* is an interesting insertion of the 'normal' into this 'abnormal' episode. This episode went on to define a whole category of personhood for P7:

> *My second sister had a kid. Um...so I've got a nephew. What would always be worrying me about is that did she do that to anyone else? And sometimes I try…to look for things and whatever but I think what if I find what I'm looking for and I don't want to?*

P2 thus ironically reproduces the very same practice of avoidance that he criticised his younger sister of. P7 also reproduced this avoidance and indicated that it was "*best to forget it*" and move on with his life. Reliance on this avoidance discourse echoes typical victimhood discourses that Weiss (2011) argues are so entrenched in the cultural narrative that victims inadvertently invoke them. This then, is not unique to FSA, but is also practiced by victims of male sexual abuse and is thus rather typical of sexual victimisation in general.

Participants also relayed how their perpetrators took advantage of the broader institutionalised practices of denial and avoidance. For example, P10 explained how her mother would anally rape her in shared family spaces (unlike in 'dirty' or hidden spaces reserved for constructions of male sexual abuse) and how most people knew that her mother was abusing her:

> *She didn't give a damn who saw…she would do these things in the living room…You know. Where anybody could walk in and see what she was doing…and you know, people knew that I was being abused. And people knew there was something wrong with my mother. And nobody ever did anything about it so I was led to believe that this was normal behaviour. Or acceptable behaviour.*

Similarly, P3 explained how her domestic worker warned P3 not to disclose to anyone, as she would not be believed in any case:

> *I was standing against, lying against my door…and she was like choking me and she was saying like, um, who are you gonna tell? What are you gonna do about it? Like that kind of like…you know? Like what are you going to do about it actually? Like literally choking me.*

Again, these types of threats are also common in cases of male sexual abuse. However, male sexual violence victims are less likely than FSA victims to encounter avoidance responses. For example, P3 then went on to report that her perpetrator's warning was realised when she attempted to tell her parents:

> *And I remember like, afterwards going into my parents' bedroom, like knocking on the door, like can I come in? No, we sleeping… and then kind of just like okay well, they not gonna listen to me. Like many times I would bang that door down. But they would not come out.*

P3's reference to her parents' bedroom signifies the Malthusian unit and the ways that avoidance and denial conceal the potential for FSA to disrupt the institutionally 'acceptable' and 'healthy' family. When P3's behaviour began to change her parents *"looked for every single reason to blame each other and blame the environment or whatever else"*. Later when her psychologist informed her parents about the sexual abuse, P3's parents continued to completely avoid broaching the issue with her:

> *I went to see my psychologist and I said to him, did you tell my mom? And he's like, ya. And I'm like but she hasn't said anything. She hasn't even like said nothing. And then I got really angry. Because now you know, and you're not saying* ***anything*** *to me about it.*

In much the same way, P4 noted how his family explained away his gonorrhoea with "*kid's play*" despite their knowledge that he "*wouldn't have caught…from someone who is my age*". Similarly, P8 indicated that he never fought off his sexually abusive girlfriend because he felt that "*she would have turned the story around and said that I tried to do something to her instead*" and that this version would have been more plausible.

The denial and avoidance practiced by participants' various support structures resulted in the invisibilisation of participants' victimisation and the implication that FSA is an impossible event. Given that this 'impossibility' was incongruent with participants' narrated experiences, participants attempted to identify conditions that would make this FSA experience (globally) imaginable. One discursive strategy to this end was to rely on constructions of the category of childhood as a conceivable condition for FSA victimisation.

6.2.3. The innocent naïve child: A fathomable FSA victim

The socio-historical construction of the child as innocent, naïve and vulnerable (Ariès, 1973) as well as desexualised and passive (Bhana, 2006) makes possible a victim-child-subject. This is further supported by widely circulated constructions of the modern family as child-centred, and cultural values that imply the necessity of the child's on-going protection (Carrington, 1991). In addition, and as mentioned previously, female sexual victimisation of a child is both possible and plausible as a result of gender stereotypes that imply that women should and do have more access to children (Vandiver, 2006). As P4 indicated,

> *Because I mean, that boy was like five, six years old. And I mean, ya, because she's older, you can, you can take him, and you know, bath him and all that stuff.*

Participants drew on constructions of child vulnerability and 'purity' to make sense of their FSA experiences and to attempt to explain the possibility of FSA. For example, both P5 and P7 suggested that children are naïve and cannot understand the implications of sexual victimisation. P7 emphasised that "*at that age, you don't know what you're doing*" and that he was "*exposed to a certain situation that someone that age isn't supposed to know about*". He went on to claim,

> *I mean, at 10 years old or 11 years old you're not supposed to, to even think thoughts like that. You're supposed to be sitting outside playing with your metal cars or marbles or…and things like that. Not….like what does your thing look like under your panties. You know that type of thing. Especially not at that age.*

P5 also placed emphasis on childhood innocence with the following excerpt:

> *There was a little girl and she was, I think she was about three or four years old and I can just remember briefly thinking of, you know, that I was that age when it happened or when it started. And thinking of, she's so innocent and you know the, the way like she does stuff. I was just…And I kind of felt sad in a way.*

For P6, the construction of the child as vulnerable provided the logic for how a male could be sexually violated by a female. Despite being a teenager at the time of his FSA experience, P6 drew on discourses that stressed his youth and small physical size as compared to his perpetrator. He explained that, "*because I was younger…automatically she would think that she would take charge*". His emphasis here is placed on age, implying that age hierarchies are capable of replacing the usual gender force. He also explained his conception of how FSA is possible because:

> *The females were older as well. Um, but the males were…physically much smaller. Um, so obviously in terms of the physical side of it, the females were able to take advantage of the male.*

The construction of the innocent child does go some way to providing the conditions of possibility for FSA victimhood. This is particularly because in the hierarchy of vulnerability, children are constructed as first and women second. Thus while childhood victims of FSA are conceivable, the possibility of adult victims, particularly male adults, disrupts this hierarchy of vulnerability. This hierarchy, and particularly its placement of women, is traditionally supported by heterormatively gendered constructions of vulnerability.

6.3. Gender constructions that sustain the impossible crime

> *I think people's perception of women is just that they're not capable of something like that. Because women are seen as the victims, always* (P3).

Sexual violence is conventionally defined in dichotomised terms that imply the male aggressor and female victim (Richardson & May, 1999) and has historically been essentialised as a masculine behaviour deriving from a 'natural' masculine aggression (see Gidycz, 2011; Koss, Gidycz, & Wisniewski, 1987). In order to explain their 'impossible' statuses as FSA victims, participants identified particular gender constructions that emphasise male aggression and female passivity. Some of these constructions were purposefully identified by participants and proposed as key to FSA victimhood impossibility. However, many of the participants also unwittingly engaged with and actively drew on gendered

discourse as a natural means to explain sexual and gender 'truths'. In both instances there was a consistent discursive appeal to dichotomous gendering. Descriptors such as 'male', 'masculine' and 'men' were understood only in their antithetical relation to 'female', 'feminine' and 'women', without any consideration of alternative possibilities for gender. This was primarily set up as the female virgin/whore versus the male aggressor. Whilst these discourses demonstrate the particular coordinates that make FSA globally inconceivable, they were simultaneously the coordinates through which the female participants were able to occupy victim subject positions.

6.3.1. The Madonna-whore complex versus the masculine aggressor

Womanhood was consistently defined by participants in narrow terms such that femininity was either coupled with discourses on victimisation and vulnerability or with constructions of the woman as a 'whore'. This was further accentuated with juxtapositions to an aggressive and sexually violent manhood.

In line with widely circulated discourses that hold that a woman's inappropriate dress code may justify rape (Du Mont, Miller, & Myhr, 2003; Muehlenhard & Kimes, 1999), P9 placed particular emphasis on the "*shame of being female*" and explained this shame:

> *[My mother] had told me that...girls have sex, that's what we've been made for, that's what we're born for...um, and that basically I needed to know what it was about.*
>
> *The phrase that my husband actually used was 'jail bait' and it's like young women or teenagers who look older than what they are and it's like they're provocative and they're in some way responsible for making men feel temptation. That is what my mother had sort of communicated to me about the neighbourhood boys. That sense of...well, she called me a bitch on heat. And…it was my fault that these boys were doing this sort of thing.*

These comments align to Cahill's (2000) suggestion that the feminine body is constructed as sexually penetrable, which renders the female subject responsible for her sexual victimisation, at least at the pre-victim stage. These extracts thus allude to engrained understandings of sexual victimisation whereby the penetrable rather than the penetrating female is possible. Despite participants' self-identification as FSA victims, these particular coordinates in their discourses were still tied to the improbability of FSA. However, they also allowed female participants to position themselves as victims.

Whilst P9 drew on the 'whore' end of the spectrum in constructing femininity, other participants relied on women-as-victim gender discourses and explained that "*women are expected to be caring and loving*" (P2). In turn, the most appropriate explanation for FSA is that "*a lot of these women are actually victims anyway*" (P1). P5 explained that female-to-male sexual submission is normative with her comment that "*I think if, if I had to meet someone that I respected and trusted enough I think it would be okay to kind of submit in a way*". This conception of the victimised and passive female was supported by the following participants' heteronormatively gendered constructions:

> *And I think women sometimes…probably also because of their like nurturing instinct, that they are very protective and like…I think women maybe have an incredible instinct for justice and taking care of things and putting things right again* (P3).

> *But I mean, it's just a woman…you know, I tell myself, "aaah, it's just a woman", you know* (P4).

> *Obviously within…society they [women] are seen as the weaker, the weaker sex* (P6).

In order to support these claims as well as to explain why FSA is often considered harmless and innocuous (Denov, 2001), participants provided concrete examples of the difference between a sexually violent female and a sexually violent male. P3 explained that her boyfriend "*wasn't as upset about it because it wasn't a man…so it was almost…not that severe*". She went on to identify how society actively gendered her experience:

> *If it's a woman it's almost…but that's like a perception that society builds…That women aren't criminals. That women can't do anything wrong. And that's the perception that I think you grow up with…And it's kind of instilled in you.*

Male violence was also explicated as a physical act whereas female violence was constructed as a mental and emotional form of abuse. For example,

> *Because I mean men tend to be more forceful. You know. They tend to use more violence…But I mean with women, it's sort of a negotiation thing* (P4).

> *I remember that it's [the male abuse], it's something that, that was **very** like forceful. Like **much** more forceful and much more like violent. And abusive. Ya. Um…but with her, it was a more emotional, manipulative thing… Like if it's, if it's a male then it's the dominant figure and he's overpowering you and then, you know, you're kind of like this timid,*

> *you're the lady then you're vulnerable but if it's a lady then I think it makes you think as if you could have done something to avoid it because that power struggle is not part of it* (P5).
>
> *I never ever look at a female now and undermine her size; first of all, um because I think at the end of the day it's not necessarily always a physical overpowering. It's more of a mental overpowering, um, psychological where you're broken down to a point where even physically you don't want to do anything* (P6).
>
> *I mean think about if this was a guy instead of a woman. If a man is standing there butt ass naked…people would be on top of that* (P10).

These extracts are important examples of the gendering of violence. P5's construction of her female sexual abuser as emotional and manipulative is a key illustration of how, in the event of a sexually violent act by a woman, physical abuse is transformed into verbal or emotional abuse. Emotion is so deeply engrained in the construction of femininity that even where there is female perpetrated physical violence it is both normative and acceptable to explain this event by restructuring it as emotive. This is made easier by virtue of the physical domain being so readily aligned with masculinity and, in this way, so obviously opposed to womanhood.

Participants explained FSA invisibility by drawing on examples of gendered constructions of the vulnerable and victimised female as well as by offering illustrations of typical male gendering to demonstrate the normativity of male dominance and aggression. For example:

> *I mean obviously in society the male is the dominant figure. And I mean he has the power and everything* (P5).
>
> *I'm also scared of how he would react. You know. Like he would hunt the person down… As dads would do* (P5).

These gendered discourses are further explored in the following sections, with a particular emphasis on the vagina as a physical representation of female vulnerability and the 'normalcy' of male sexual violence.

6.3.2. Vulnerable vaginas; vulnerable females

> *[One can't] expect a male to understand what is to violate someone in a way they can't be* (P9).

Codes mapped onto the gendered body signify the phallus as a weapon capable of violation and the vagina as a vulnerable space capable of being violated (Woodhull, 1988). So engrained is this discourse, that it has come to play a central role in the production of the modern female body, a body that is defined by its vulnerability and penetratability (Cahill, 2000). Some of the female participants intimated that the potential to be penetrated leaves them vulnerable, ashamed and horrified at their own sexual anatomy. Given that pregnancy symbolises female penetratability, this vulnerability was often related to pregnancy and childbirth. For example:

> *That horror at being a female...I think it's mainly biological and anatomical, the physical reality of being female. So feeling horrified at the female anatomy. I've actually got to a point where it was...crippling to me. Even to be pregnant. I could barely walk out the door when I was pregnant because...I was pregnant. Um, and after the kids were born, it was just paralysing. So...yeah...I think it's more in that sort of biological female thing… I think that being female...and that the reason that...maybe it's shame...but because as a female you can be penetrated, you do give birth, there's a biological reality and the shame that, that is what our body does* (P9).

> *Well I have a big fear of having sex one day…Um, and…well one thing I must tell you is I can't wear tampons…Like I get tense or if I think about anything, I think related to someone or anything going up there or something being near there, or something that's not me or whatever, you know. It's, it's daunting. Ya, and I still, I've tried once or twice. But I can't, I get like nauseas and warm and I know the one time I even fainted* (P5).

> *I've always loved children. Um, but the, the idea of um, of having children around me never scared me, the idea of actually carrying this child, it scares me to death* (P5).

Pregnancy also signifies the heterosexual reproductive 'requirement' of women and alludes to child caregiving and maternal constructions that again impede on the possibility or at least harmfulness of FSA.

Discourses that centre on the female capacity to be penetrated and to be 'filled' are linked to the overriding construction of rape as something a woman, rather than a man, experiences (Cahill, 2000). It was thus these particularly gendered discourses that provided the female participants coordinates for self-identification as victims. However, in the face of these powerful discourses, female sexual violence is produced as an impropable and abnormal phenomenon and its counterpart, male sexual violence, is produced as both probable and

normative. For the female participants it was therefore the integration of key FSA victimhood coordinates such as access to psychologised discourses and class resources (that are discussed later in the chapter) with these gendering norms that provided the conditions for their identifications as FSA victims.

6.3.3. Male sexual violence as normative

> *We live in a world where people think that only men can abuse women* (P4).

Sexual abuse discourses are rooted in gendering norms that imply female victimisation and male aggression. These discourses are so immutable that any alternative conception of sexual violence is rarely considered. Consequently, both male perpetrated sexual abuse and female experiences of rape are considered to be normal (Rutherford, 2011). Participants drew on these discourses to explain reasons for non-disclosure of their FSA experiences as well as reasons for their own ambivalence about claiming FSA victimhood.

> *I guess I'd expect being abused by males is sort of normal and I had fitted that into a way of surviving in the world. But being violated by my mother, I actually...didn't* ***ever*** *qualify that as quite normal so it was my dirty little secret that I've never said to anybody whereas there was some knowledge about the male sexual assaults…I think...in my mind I had an acceptance of male sexual abuse. I mean, I just sort of knew that it's just what happened. But...I didn't see it as normal, what my mother was doing* (P9).

Similarly P3 and P10 explained how they would have treated the situation differently, had their perpetrators been men:

> *I think I probably would have spoken out about it. I probably would have said something because that would be…almost more socially acceptable. That's kind of what I feel…But I think because it's a woman it's so…bizarre…It's not something you hear about all the time. You hear about men doing stuff like this all the time. But you don't hear women. And I think…even then…if it was like…a random man or like a family member, maybe I would have said something. But because of, ya, definitely because it was a woman, it definitely felt like you couldn't say something. Because it's your caregiver, you know…I think it is different because the moment a woman is abused by a man, it's almost…it's so much more open. Like people speak about it all the time. It's almost like the everyday thing now* (P3).

> *I would think if it was a guy I would have recognised it right off for what it was…Um, but being a woman it took me, you know, years and years*

> *and years to make that connection…I think if my father was the primary caregiver and had been doing this, I would have recognised it as sexual abuse* (P10).

P10's comment alludes to "the repeated juxtaposition of child care and sexual abuse" which implies that these two objects are inevitably linked (Mazur & Pekor, 1985, p. 11), despite meanings of caregiving being antithetical to meanings of abuse. This widely held perception persists despite research demonstrating the low rates of CSA in caregiving situations (see Finkelhor, Vanderminden, Turner, Hamby, & Shattuck, 2014). Given that gender constructions inextricably link caregiving to womanhood, the widely held belief that caregiving and CSA are tied begins to make FSA conceivable. However, as indicated by P10, it is still easier to comprehend a male sexual abuser, even when that male is occupying a female role such as that of a caregiver.

P5 reported that when she disclosed that she had been raped to her loved ones, "*they just assumed it was a guy*." She went on to say that her mom had been raped as well but her perpetrator was "*a male, obviously*". For P10, "*you almost expect that a sexual abuser is going to be a guy*". Even more interesting is that male violence was regarded as so normative that its aetiology was considered irrelevant. Rather, men were treated as naturally sexually aggressive and unable to control their innate sexual urges. For example P3 referred to "*the dodgy man*" that sexually abuses children and P9 stated that "*I don't expect a male to understand what he's doing but I do expect a female to*". The same treatment was not applied to female sexual perpetrators. Rather, participants attempted to use the interview context as a space to develop an aetiological framework for why a woman might be sexually transgressive. This was particularly centred on the turn against maternity and the warping of a natural inclination to caregiving. This is significant as in the same way that men were treated as naturally aggressive, so too were women treated as naturally nurturing.

6.4. 'Making' an aetiology

Participants used the interview context as an to attempt to construct an aetiology for why and how FSA occurs. While current FSA academic and legal discourses are focused on potential categories of FSA and the possible 'causes' of this phenomenon (see Brockman & Bluglass, 1996; Gannon et al, 2008; Miller et al., 2009; Nathan & Ward, 2002; Sandler & Freeman, 2007; Turner et al., 2008; Vandiver & Kercher, 2004; Vandiver & Walker, 2002; Wijkman et al., 2010), FSA as an object of knowledge has not yet filtered down into public

consciousness. Consequently participants had very little knowledge to draw on to explain FSA and thus utilised their understanding of other psychological and scientific objects of knowledge to develop an aetiological framework. This framework emerged through four key discursive themes. These were that FSA is a result of absent fathers; that FSA is a function of some psychological disorder or previous abuse; that FSA arises out of particularly evil and masculinised women; and that FSA is a representation of a woman's abandonment of her maternal duties. While these 'causes' produced in the interviews were common across participants, there were clear differences concerning whether the sexual acts were understood to be based on the perpetrators' feelings of power or pleasure. The construction of a coherent list of potential causes appeared to allow for a more conceivable set of conditions whereby participants could firmly locate themselves in FSA subject positions. This pattern of participants looking to causes prior to being 'able' to identify as FSA victims is fundamentally a psychological practice and thus links to their access to psychologised discourse - a key condition for FSA victimhood (which is discussed later in the chapter).

6.4.1. Absent paternal figures

Of ten participants, nine indicated that in some way their father was absent during their childhood and that this was directly linked to their availability as victims. For those participants abused by their mothers, the absent paternal figure was treated as an absent source of surveillance. Both P9 and P10 claimed that their mothers were able to be abusive because their fathers worked away from home. In some cases participants indicated that this paternal absence was an intentional attempt to avoid being close to their mothers. For example, P1 felt that his father "*ran away all the time*" because he was trying to "*avoid living with the she-devil*". Similarly P8 stated that "*before my dad actually found out about this, um he didn't come home until like **really** late because he didn't want to fight with my mom*".

Those participants abused by someone other than their mothers also indicated that absent paternal figures were key to their availability as victims. P2 explained that he could barely recall his father living with him after he was ten years old and that he grew up in "*a house of women*". P3 explained that her father was always at work and thus incapable of identifying her domestic worker as a sexual abuser. Likewise P4 stated that "*because my father was working night shift, he never knew anything*" and P5 explained that her father "*moved to Namibia…he was there when it happened*". P6 described how his father had passed away when he was young and that he moved out of home because he and his stepfather had a

conflict-driven relationship. This consistent pattern of paternal invisibility in FSA victim narratives points to the possibility that the lack of an obviously sexually aggressive male provides the conditions for a fathomable FSA event. It is only when the very gender that represents aggression and sexual violence is no longer visible that other genders are able to occupy those roles.

The discourse centred on the absent paternal figure is also representative of broader discourses focused on the child-centred modern family unit that imply that the father is responsible for the protection of his children who are treated as vulnerable, innocent and requiring on-going protection (Carrington, 1991). The absence of the paternal figure is thus a particular condition that makes possible FSA victimhood, especially as it allows for the deconstruction of the institutionally 'acceptable' and 'healthy' modern family or as Foucault (1978) terms it, the Malthusian unit. This aligns with Kruttschnitt and colleagues' (2008) suggestion that the existence of female transgressions results in the sense that women are no longer limited to gender constraining roles (such as motherhood) and this generates the perception that there is a decline in the regulation and discipline of the nuclear family unit.

6.4.2. FSA as a function of mental illness, damage or previous abuse

Current FSA typologies rely on psychiatric or psychological discourse to provide explanatory logic for FSA as an object of knowledge. This is particularly focused on discourses on mental illness that draw on histories characterised by childhood or previous abuse (Higgs et al, 1992; Travers, 1999). Participants in this study treated their perpetrators in much the same way. P8, P9 and P10 insisted that their mothers were suffering from mental illnesses. P8 reported that her mother was "*mentally unstable*" and "*crazy*" whilst P9 stated that her mother "*had lost her mind*". P10 went so far as to diagnose her mother with paranoid-schizophrenia. These diagnoses were detailed across the corpus:

> *My mom was like…in the beginning I didn't really like notice all the little signs that showed that she wasn't normal, mentally normal. But now I think back I can see it a lot clear. Like um, she had a lot of mood swings and she and my dad fought* ***a lot****…I kind of like feel sorry for her because what she did was wrong, but she doesn't understand that what she did was wrong. And she kind of like, she doesn't grasp that. So in a way she did try to protect me and in her crazy, kind of psychotic kind of like way* (P8).

> *Looking back as an adult, I would say she was depressed and you know, quite unwell but she was just an unhappy mother…I saw her as angry and hostile…she was incredibly sad. She...she'd often cry about, you know, that everybody hated her, that nobody loved her* (P9).

> *My mother was crazy. I believe she was a paranoid-schizophrenic. She has all of the symptoms and the paranoia and the um, delusions. You know, like thinking vampires were hiding in the shadows and things like that. Uh, that would tend to confirm that she was a paranoid-schizophrenic…she was a horrible, violent human being that hated me. Um, for no reason of my own. Because she just had psycho problems…And also she would blame me for things that I didn't do which, in retrospect, I believe that she was having delusions and that these things she was accusing me of only existed in her own mind* (P10).

It is interesting to note that this mental illness discourse was only drawn upon by those participants victimised by their own mothers. It seems that the double-pathologising of the maternal figure provides the condition for victimisation because it offers explanatory logic for how a mother can subvert her maternal duties whilst simultaneously allowing participants to remain sympathetic towards their perpetrators. It also makes possible that mother and perpetrator can occupy one subject position. This is particularly evident in P8's comments that she feels sorry for her mother, that her mother was incapable of grasping the implications of her own behaviour and that her mother was trying to protect her albeit in an inappropriate manner. These comments powerfully demonstrate the way gender shapes FSA victimhood because engrained gender constructions would prevent this kind of sympathy towards a male sexual abuser. Mother blaming discourse is also characteristically present in psychological frameworks for mental illnesses (see Caplan, 2013) and these discursive strategies thus point to participants' access to and reliance on psychologised discourse.

Other participants rationalised their FSA experiences by drawing on classic sexual abuse theory that upholds that sexual abuse perpetrators are often victims themselves and are thus engaging in a cycle of abuse (see Gomez, 2011; Ogloff et al., 2012; Ryan, Leversee, & Lane, 2011; Yun, Ball, & Lim, 2011). It also frames the perpetrator in gendered terms (victimised) such that her femininity and thus vulnerability is prioritised over her capacity to be violent. For example:

> *I strongly believe that she was molested as well* (P2).

> *It was definitely like a power struggle. Which also kind of makes me think that that's what she went through and she's repeating the pattern, maybe.*

> *Um…Because I know, at one stage she was…from what I remember, staying with her uncle. So you don't know. Look, there's possibilities there. Like…she could just be repeating the pattern, and imitating…Like maybe this, a woman will sexually abuse another child because it happened to them and this is the way they justify it, you know?* (P3).

> *I always thought that I, well now as I'm older, like it might have happened to them as well. You know. You don't know what happened and what made them do it* (P5).

These extracts clearly point to the infiltration of the 'cycle of abuse' narrative in that FSA victimhood is conditional on the perception of the abuser as a victim herself. The tendency to apply psychological or psychiatric explanations to their FSA experiences, provided participants with a seemingly scientific sanction for their sympathies. However, when this type of discourse was impossible to apply to their narratives, participants turned away from scientifically loaded rationalisations and instead turned to moral loadings of FSA and characterised their perpetrators as depraved, bad and evil.

6.4.3. The she-devil: Un-gendering the female sexual abuser

> *[It's] just so wound up with…the word 'horror'. [It] keeps coming up when I think about my mother* (P9).

> *I mean she was violent and stuff…My mother was mean and evil and angry all the time* (P10).

One of the strongest discourses across all of the interviews was the reference to the horror invoked by the capacity for a woman to be sexually violent. This was constantly coupled with statements indicating the fear participants felt at the depravity of their perpetrators. Women are rarely regarded as 'monsters' and the innate tendency towards aggression is usually reserved for men. However, when participants were unable to draw on more female-aligned and psychologically-informed aetiologies for FSA, the ability to identify depravity in their abusers allowed for an un-gendering process whereby the perpetrators were masculinised such that monstrosity became a discourse in which to situate the horror.

P1 referred to his mother as the "*she-devil*", P3 felt that her domestic worker was "*deceiving*", P5 perceived her neighbour as "*dark*", P9 described her mother as "*brutal*" and P10 hers as "*mean and evil*". These descriptors were supported by accompanying accounts of fear:

> *I used to think to myself, "God, just keep her out of here. Just keep her out". With my mom it was, it was like...how do you put it? It was like fear.*

> *You know? She would come and you would feel like a cornered rabbit, you know? Like you can't get out of the situation. You're there, you know it's going to happen* (P1).

> *I remember being young and also being so terrified of her… I feared her. I feared her more than I feared my mother* (P2).

> *I was terrified of her… I tried to keep a very low profile…I felt like she was somebody I had to avoid at all costs and never ever wanted to be needing to have a bath or change my clothes when she was around and I was alone with her* (P9).

> *I was nervous. I was scared...Because she recognised that what she was doing was wrong and evil. And she didn't want to get caught but if she looked at me she like had the compulsion to do these things* (P10).

P1's expression, "*God, just keep her out of here"* is particularly reflective of the moral loadings of FSA in these depravity discourses.

Participants' reflections on constructions of women as victimised and weak seemed to paradoxically protect dangerous women and in turn provide the conditions for them to be dangerous. For example:

> *Women are like that wolf in sheep's clothes…That is definitely what they are like. They are perceived to be these pretty little faces but actually behind it all, they can be really mean* (P3).

> *Without carrying any weapons or anything, mentally and psychologically, I think females are very very strong. Um, cause obviously within…society they are seen as the weaker, the weaker sex. And being on the opposite end of the abuse, is that it's not the case* (P6).

Descriptors such as 'brutal', 'evil' and 'devil' are usually reserved for the construction of male abusers. The identification of depravity in their perpetrators thus allowed participants to deconstruct the FSA perpetrator's gender and, in a sense, un-gender her so that she became masculinised. In so doing, typical feminine traits are no longer applicable to her character. This had the effect of making FSA possible if the perpetrator is 'like a man'. It also resulted in the acknowledgement that, if she is like a man, she cannot be like a woman and thus she cannot occupy a nurturing maternal subject position.

6.4.4. The turn against maternity

> *Mothers aren't supposed to do that to their children* (P1).

> *But being violated by my mother, I actually...didn't **ever** qualify that as quite normal* (P9).

Constructions of femininity are imbued with images of the nurturing and caring maternal archetype. The possibility of a woman that sexually offends directly contradicts these, such that mother and female sexual perpetrator are incompatible. For P9, this represented a complete "*betrayal*" of her understandings of womanhood and, by extension, motherhood. Participants accounted for this incoherence by demonstrating that their perpetrators were not typically feminine and thus, not typically maternal. For example,

> *She was never a loving mother. You know what I mean? She was never a hug, you know, "Come sit on my lap and let me give you a hug and a kiss boy". I don't think it was a motherly relationship? It was more sort of a, you know, authoritarian sort of relationship* (P1).

> *Because women are expected to be caring and loving and...for me* (sighs)*...when I think about a woman...I get, I feel dis- I actually feel disgusted by it. Like when I would have an image and my sister lying down there and I would play with her and didn't know what that means* (P2).

> *I think the fact that it was my aunt. And the trust that that young person has towards an aunt. She abused that trust* (P7).

> *My mom really didn't take care of Louis. I had to take care of him. I had to change nappies. I had to feed him. I had to put him to bed. I, I had no free time to myself…I know the one night, my mom thought, said to me, I think I'm gonna give Louis alcohol to make him sleep but I don't, I can't really remember a lot of that night because I as well got really drunk cause my mom said I had to drink so ya, I couldn't remember or stop my mother from giving my youngest brother alcohol* (P8).

> *But I think with my mother there was...there was...this stuff that gets all mixed up in your head because of what happens when you're in a school uniform and you're dropped off at school and it looks okay, it looks normal, it looks ordinary but it isn't, but life isn't* (P9).
> *The house was chaotic. My mother couldn't keep things together. I mean she didn't clean. She didn't cook. She was really erratic. It was almost like we were left to run around on our own most of the time… I was being neglected. I was dirty, I was messy, my clothes were in a horrible condition* (P10).

For those participants exposed to a maternal sexual abuser, this turn against maternity resulted in a complete breakdown of typical maternal-child relationship discourses:

> *You try and understand why you hate her. You're supposed to love your mother. You're supposed to you know, meet on Sundays for lunch and talk crap and fight and...and I* ***don't,*** *you know. If she died tomorrow, I'd actually be happy* (P9).
>
> *My real mom didn't care what I liked to do…And she kind of like crushed my dreams back then* (P8).
>
> *I mean when she died I was really sad that she died because I always wanted a mother and I never had one. And when she died, I never would have one. Um, but I was also relieved because she was gone. I mean, the evil person was gone. Um, it was not a close relationship, it was not a loving relationship, it was not a supportive relationship. Mmm, it was almost like living with a complete stranger that don't give a damn about you* (P10).

P10's reference to a stranger echoes classic and widely endorsed rape myths, which suggest that sexual abusers are strangers rather than acquaintances (Du Mont et al., 2003; Muehlenhard & Kimes, 1999). P10's intimation that her mother was 'like a stranger' is thus a discursive strategy that makes the maternal sexual abuser both conceivable and possible.

The reported perceptions that their experiences were contradictory to circulated images of the normative family allowed participants to engage with counter discourses and thus occupy the non-normative subject position of FSA victimhood. In line with Butler's (1989; 1999; 2004) performativity, the capacity for participants to view their perpetrators as anti-maternal and thus 'abnormal' provided the conditions for participants to subvert normative discourse on motherhood and the nuclear family. For Kruger and colleagues (2014) interviews on violent mothers disrupt and dislocate idealising discourses on motherhood. Consequently participants were able to perform an alternative discourse on maternal-child relationships and thus occupy a victim subject position.

6.4.5. Pleasure or power?

Historically women have been constructed as sexually submissive and passive. However, more recently, women are being constructed as sexually empowered and liberated, so long as this is practiced within socially sanctioned contexts such as the heteronormative relationship (Gill, 2012). Given that FSA aligns with neither older nor more recent constructions of female sexuality, the act of female sexual perpetration is rarely engaged with as a *sexual* practice per se. Identifying the sexual nature of FSA would necessitate the acknowledgement that women can be sexually transgressive outside of other motivating forces such as male

coercion, substance use or mental illness. This is so antithetical to the 'natural' maternal and caregiving functions attached to the female gender, that this would require a complete reframing of femininity (Kramer & Bowman, 2011). Thus, whilst the act of both FSA and female perpetrated CSA may be acknowledged by academics, the sexualising of these acts is notably absent across all types of reporting. By virtue of their self-identifications as FSA victims, participants seemed to challenge these widely circulated FSA discourses and engage in alternative possibilities. These counter-discourses were primarily centred on a debate concerning whether FSA is a consequence of pleasure-seeking or power-seeking.

Pleasure was regarded from both the perspective of the perpetrator and the victim. Participants questioned the perpetrators' desires and sexual identifications as well as their own potential to have engaged with the pleasure-seeking aspects of the sexual contact. For example:

> *I think...her getting pleasure out of it, I started to wonder what is it, what is she feeling. You know, what is that feeling? And most, like I mean every time I was with her I never remotely even had an instance of pleasure in it* (P2).

> *I could have been enjoying it. I don't want to think about it* (P7).

P3 indicated that in some instances it felt like her domestic worker was making a specifically homosexual choice when she chose to sexually engage with her rather than with her brother. However, later she impugned this by stating that her domestic worker was "*very aggressive*" and that "*I don't think it was like a sexual thing at all…it was definitely like a power struggle*". Similarly P10 felt that, *"if she looked at me she like had the compulsion to do these things…so I think it was putting her temptation out of the way, is why she did that to me"*. However she simultaneously explained that her mother described her sexual engagement with P10 as "*punishments*". This inconsistency in participants' narratives regarding whether the motives were pleasure-based or power-based may be a function of the limited range of discourse, explanations and definitions available for FSA as an object of knowledge. However, it is also worth noting that the pleasure-power question is part of the broader rape debate and thus may also be another example of the ways that FSA is not dissimilar to male sexual violence.

6.5. Negotiating the male victim

Traditional social sexual codes entrench the image of an oversexed dominant male and an unassertive female succumbing to the male's needs, thus maintaining the legitimacy, 'normality' and social acceptance of male-to-female sexual coercion (Murnen et al., 2002) such that female victimisation is normalised and male victimisation is treated as 'abnormal'. FSA is discursively problematic given that it does not neatly align to these gendered constructions that imply the unlikelihood of female sexual transgression. Where females are victims of FSA, this misalignment and its potential threats to the biopolitics of the day is central to the possibility of the emergence of FSA victimhood. However, where the victims are male, conditions of possibility are dependent on both the discursive configuration of a violent female *and* a victimised male. For women to identify as FSA victims, they need only to challenge and resist discourses that limit the possibilities for female sexual transgressions. However, for men to occupy FSA victimhood they must resist both the aforementioned discourses as well as those that limit the possibilities for male victimisation. Thus while FSA female victimhood is complex by virtue of its improbable perpetrator, additional gendering barriers that infer the improbability of both perpetrator and victim further complicate FSA male victimhood. Despite this additional complexity, half of the current study's participants comprised of male participants that self-identified as FSA victims.

Gendered discourse implies the incompatibility of victimhood and masculinity and thus results in a limited range of discursive possibilities for male victims (Eagle, 2006) such that male sexual violence victims are limited to subject positions characterised by weakness, homosexuality or femininity (Barth et al., 2012) or a failure to meet socially acceptable standards of masculinity (Weiss, 2010a). Thus the identifications as victims by these male participants appeared to be based on very particular discourses that represented subversive possibilities for the construction of their victim identities. Ironically, all of these discourses drew upon incredibly conventionally gendered frameworks, despite the outcome of these discourses being the possibility of identifying as an FSA male victim, which is representative of a non-normative gender role. For example, regardless of the fact that not a single male participant indicated that he derived pleasure from his FSA experience, all of them framed their understandings of its possibility through the sexualisation of the female perpetrator. This echoes Bourke's (2007) argument that men are constructed as always desiring and enjoying sexual interaction with women, even under forced circumstances. In addition, on contemplating their potential to be victimised by a woman, all of these men questioned the

limits of their own masculinity, in both its physical and social form. This reliance on heteronormatively gendered frameworks resulted in the interrogation of their masculine identities and the acknowledgement of the betrayal by their own masculine bodies. These de-masculinising outcomes thus seem to be the condition that allowed for the occupation of a male victim subject position, indicating that, at least in the case of male victimisation, the possibility of a sexually violent female requires the presence of an emasculated male victim.

6.5.1. Repercussions for masculine heterosexuality

Most of the male participants made reference to the consequences of being sexually violated by a woman and these were predominantly framed in heteronormative terms. These discourses were absent from the female participants' interviews. For example, whilst not a single female participant made mention of the potential sexual gratification for either perpetrator or victim, many of the men felt that society expected them to derive pleasure from the FSA experience. Moreover, the absence of sexual gratification for these men meant that their heterosexuality came into question. As indicated by P1,

> *It's the worst...you know? The worst introduction to sex. It's absolutely like...gross. I remember going back to school and all the young boys in standard six, they were saying "hey, I got laid this weekend and hey, hey, hey these holidays...it was great!" And I'm going, "It was disgusting! Gross! Like the worst thing ever." And they all looked at me and were like, "Are you crazy?" And I go, "No, it was disgusting man! Geez. It was terrible." And then they started with all the nonsense, like because I didn't like it, am I gay.*

For P2, these consequences were slightly more complex because he identifies as a homosexual. He therefore drew on these sexualised constructions to question the possible links between his FSA experience and his sexual orientation:

> *Everyone around me was just like, "Yoh, you're gay." And all that. I didn't know what that meant of course…And I think for her as well, my sister, she also saw that and she, she, maybe on some level of her she was trying to fix me?*
>
> *Did the molestation inform my sexual orientation? Did I become homosexual because a woman abused me?*

The potential for FSA male victimisation to 'explain' homosexuality was grounded in particular patriarchal discourses that foreground 'typical' male traits. For example P1 explained how his abuse came to an end because "*I developed quite quickly and could be a*

man". He also noted that during sexual intercourse "*I need to be this stud that goes on for...like forever*" and that when using urinals "*I'd peek over and see, you know, see how I measure up*". Similarly P4 stated that, "*I always had a bigger pipi than most boys of my age group, I was also tall*" and P6 commented that post his abuse, "*I think I'd manned up to say the least*". These are typical discursive strategies drawn upon by male victims as a means to 'repair' their masculinities and counteract feminine markers associated with victimisation (Weiss, 2010a). Furthermore, these strategies were used as a means to establish the innocuousness of FSA. The ability for male participants to identify as FSA victims appeared to be contingent on the simultaneous ability to demonstrate their 'recovered' masculinities. Thus FSA victimhood ironically emerges in part through the performance and maintenance of typical masculine constructions and roles.

Consequences to female sexual violation were also framed in heteronormatively gendered terms. Particularly strong discourses were rooted in what it means to occupy 'real' manhood. Most of the male participants indicated that their physical and social embodiments of masculinity were damaged through their FSA experiences. For example,

> *It makes me feel like I'm not a real man…part of it makes me feel embarrassed…I mean for a man to just say these things: ya, you know, a woman abused me. I mean, because we live in a world where people think that only men can abuse women…I mean women will look at you and say you're a sissy…because even my girlfriend, I almost slipped and told her. I don't think it's something that I want to tell her* (P4).
>
> *I haven't sat down and told her [my mom]. Um…I find that it may be a disappointment to her. As having a son, but wasn't able to do anything* (P6).
>
> *Because obviously to sit down and tell a male friend that, um, males perceive it as being physically weak. Or mentally weak* (P6).
>
> *Sometimes I'd be anxious and whatever and she'd get disappointed that I did not have an erection* (P2).

Through the act of being sexually violated by a woman, these men contradict hegemonic constructs of masculinity as they cannot simultaneously be sexually potent and assertive and victims (Eagle, 2006; Weiss, 2010a). The destruction of manhood and threat to heterosexuality appeared to be completely viable and regularly quoted consequences for the male participants. This is perhaps because, as indicated by P6, "*with a female, as being a male, is that you'd see it as a normal sexual interaction, even though it's abuse*". He went on

to explain that he could not report the sexual violation or draw on his 'masculine' strength to "*resist in terms of physically overpowering her is that I didn't want that story being turned around where I was the abuser*," this being a far more plausible narrative. So engrained is the assumption of the impossible male victim that P5, one of the female participants, completely disregarded this possibility and commented that "*if like the study helps…other girls, or other ladies, that would be awesome*".

Thus the capacity for these men to frame themselves as victims of FSA requires them to actively violate gender norms that imply that women cannot sexually violate men. While the participants drew on gendered constructions of manhood as a strategy to reinforce their masculinities, discussions around the actual FSA event and the consequent repercussions were consistently characterised by an un-doing of gender such that the participants' maleness became 'undone'. Interviews were thus characterised by a fluid gender dynamic and the continuous shift between maleness and 'un-maleness' appeared to be the very node through which FSA victimhood was able to find traction.

6.5.2. Body betrayal

> *Mind shuts down. The body is still doing what it's supposed to be doing* (P7).

A key circulated discourse that upholds the invisibility of female-to-male sexual violence is the construction of men being incapable of exercising sexual restraint. Many male victims that experience arousal or ejaculation during FSA are considered to be consenting and desiring parties and this is used as key evidence that FSA is unfeasible in these cases (Giguere & Bumby, 2007; Weiss, 2010). Moreover, outside of its reproductive function, conventionally the erect penis has been constructed as serving one of two purposes during a sexual interaction - either as a means to gain male pleasure or as a rape 'weapon' (Bourke, 2007). The possibility that a penis may be erect during the sexual violation of a male body is not easily assimilated into our discursive conditions for manhood[12]. Nonetheless, due to widely circulated constructions of aggressive, virile and sexually driven masculinity, male erections continue to be 'evidence' of either desire and enjoyment or danger and power during a sexual encounter, thus further invisibilising male FSA victimisation. The

[12] This is so despite scientific studies that demonstrate the ease with which stimuli can produce an erection in men. These studies have shown that this is especially evident in male children and young adult men whose penises respond indiscriminately to a range of emotions and experiences (see Levin & van Berlo, 2004).

participants in this study therefore constructed their arousal and erections as a 'betrayal' by their bodies. For example,

> *I would lie if I say I didn't have an erection* (P4).
>
> *Your body betrays you. It definitely does…it's a natural reaction* (P6).

P6's comment that "*it's a natural reaction*" further solidifies the construction of the male body as incapable of controlling its sexual urges, regardless of the male subject's apparent 'psychological' desires.

All of the participants recognised that this experience of arousal threatened the possibility of the verification of their victimhood. However, there was simultaneously the suggestion that the victimisation required an erect penis. As P7 noted,

> *She told me to lie down and that's when she started fondling me. Obviously she had to do something to get it ready for the, the act.*
>
> *How does a woman rape a man? It's got to get...aroused*.

The possibility of their arousal and erect penises during their FSA experiences appeared to cause the male participants extreme conflict - whilst society, science and the law have insisted that male arousal during female-perpetrated abuse are incompatible, their victimhood was defined by this compatibility. This male victim subject position is thus so strikingly irreconcilable to broader sexual 'norms' that the participants could not make sense of this 'body betrayal'. This conflict was evident in P1's comment:

> *But she carries on tugging at the thing. And then your body betrays you and you kind of feel like, you know, now I'm getting an erection, you know. And then she belittles you by laughing at it. But it's....it's kind of a gamut of emotions that you go through, that you can't understand.*

P1's reported conflict was strengthened by his perpetrator's belittling response which implied that his erection was symbolic of desire rather than of victimhood. Body betrayal is thus an extremely complex component of FSA - whilst male arousal is often used by science as evidence for the impossibility of an FSA event, it seems to be, at least in the case of penetrative rape, a material necessity for male FSA victimhood. A Foucauldian position would argue that "the body is a site where regimes of discourse and power inscribe themselves" (Butler, 1989, p. 601). Body betrayal discourse thus demands that we engage

with the possibilities of the body 'in sex' in different ways. Both male and female bodies are thus rearticulated through FSA as equally penetrable and phallic. This rearticulation makes it difficult to continue to unequivocally equate the phallus with the penis and thus sex is no longer reduced to male arousal and erection (Dowsett, 2002). This is not to say that a man cannot attain an erection during the act of rape. However, it does allow for a variety of body parts to become conceivably phallic and, in turn, for sexual transgressions such as FSA to become possible. Body betrayal discourse implies these rearticulations and is thus integral to male FSA victimhood.

6.5.3. The ultimate education in sex

The entrenched masculine norms that imply that male arousal and/or erection are evidence for an innate masculine drive for sex are also key vehicles for the image of the sexually voracious male, regardless of his age. Male participants who were abused as children or young teenagers claimed that despite the prevailing belief that sexual interaction with an older woman provides "the ultimate educational experience" (Travers, 1999, p. 36), their individual experiences were not aligned to any form of sexual accomplishment. For example,

> *Society dictates to me, "Geez, you got lucky, you've got this older girl teach you".* (Whistles). *What a man! You know? And that's what everybody used to say to me but what I was feeling inside was like completely different. What I was feeling inside was like, disgusting* (P1).

> *You know, you think to yourself, shit, you were ten years old. You got laid…It's like a, like an achievement type of thing…But the more you think about it, you didn't get laid, you were raped* (P7).

Both of these extracts foreground the oppositions that drive the discursive conflict reported by the male victims. The male participants continuously recognised social norms that were completely contradictory to their individual experiences by identifying dichotomies such as the pleasure/disgust (P1) and 'laid'/raped (P7) polarities evident here. P1's accent on 'disgust' also points to the moral loading of FSA.

The view that young males are unlikely to resist being 'sexually educated' by an older woman was emphasised by P6 who noted that:

> *Well basically it had started off with, when we first got together she understood from my point of view is in terms of the sexual side of a*

> *relationship is obviously my age. Most males at that time would have done it anyway.*

These types of discourses were absent from the female participants who were sexually abused by a woman directly. However P8, whose mother forced her to have underage non-consensual sexual interaction with various men, did indicate that,

> *I still went and did it with my mom. And it was like, for me in some ways, I kind of thought it was normal and also because it's my mom that said to me, "ya but you should drink this and you should go and do this with boys". I thought it was normal. I thought this is what every girl do, does with her mom. And what she teaches you.*

It is interesting to note that P8 viewed the sexual engagement with these men as a pedagogical event. It appears that the assumption of heteronormativity is so strong that participants could recast the sexual abuse into an educational experience that prepares for future heterosexual relationships characterised by violence of some kind. The assumption here is that heteronormative gender violence is, in some way, 'taught'. Where females are victims of FSA, this discursive condition cannot apply, as the possibility that this may be an educational experience towards a future homosexual orientation seems unlikely in a powerfully heteronormative context.

Where prepubescent and adolescent males view FSA as educational, it is unlikely that these subjects would be able to see themselves as victims (Bourke, 2007). However, while participants in this study were cognisant of circulated constructions of the female sexual perpetrator as sexual educator, their victimhood emerged through discursive strategies reliant on the perpetrator as sexual abuser. It thus seems that the recognition of these 'pedagogical' constructions coupled with an inability to identify with these norms results in the reliance on contradictory dichotomies (pleasure/disgust) and, in turn, a subjective conflict that surfaces FSA victimhood.

6.5.4. Sexualising the female perpetrator

The idea of the female sexual abuser as sexual educator is partially a product of the way that the law has treated FSA as harmless by dismissing these cases or treating them extremely leniently (Travers, 1999). It is also a function of the way that the media have constructed sexual relationships between an older woman and an underage boy as desirable for all young men, even under forced circumstances. Even in the act of being abusive, female sexual

perpetrators are generally treated as sexy, erotic or seductive objects by films and other media images (Bourke, 2007). P4 recognised this because, while he was incapable of doing so, "*many men fantasise about being raped by women and even take it as an honour*". Whereas male sexual abusers are often regarded as powerful, aggressive and violent, they are rarely simultaneously treated as sexual or desirable. The very construction of a women's sexuality as erotic and its potential compatibility with force and violence threatens the meaning of masculine heterosexuality. This was conveyed as exacerbated by the male body's betrayal in response to the female sexual coercion coupled with gendered norms that insinuate that despite consent being absent, the experience should be enjoyable. These norms were key to P1's FSA experience when he was subjected to non-consensual sex with an older family friend:

> *I think I woke up kind of bewildered, you know, "Wow, what's happening?" And then there was this naked girl...then I kind of thought, my first feeling was like "Wow! It's gonna happen!" You know? "I'm actually gonna like do this!" You know? And then, the actual act itself...I didn't know what I was supposed to do, you know? So you kind of...my main feeling was that, "Wow, it happened." You know? And then I thought, well it wasn't that great…So...um...ya...it was...um...there were these, these mixed emotions in terms of the fact that I felt privileged because I had it now, you know?...Nobody told me that it was going to be this gross. Really, you know? So ya, that was, you know, the experience. Thank god it only happened once.*

Throughout his interview, P1 vacillated between social expectations that implied that sexual interaction should always be pleasurable for a man and his individual 'experiences of disgust'. However, it was this very inability to produce the female sexual perpetrator as erotic and desirable that provided the male participants with the opportunity to identify the experience as abusive and thus themselves as victims.

6.6. Creating conditions of possibility: The incitement to discourse – victims in waiting

Discourse has productive power and is thus the field in which the subject emerges (Winnubst, 1999). In order for subjection to take place, subjects must have access to the language of its production. For example, CSA is often only reported during late adolescence or adulthood. This late reporting is usually coupled with explanations that the seriousness of the CSA was only noted post exposure to particular media platforms, books or conversations (Schaeffer et al., 2011). This incitement to discourse provides subjects the opportunity to construct their experiences as 'victims in waiting'. In much the same way as this CSA pattern, almost all of

the participants in the current study indicated that at the time of their FSA experiences, they did not self-identify as victims. P10's comment that "*it took me, you know, years and years and years to make that connection…[to] sexual abuse*" points to this process of 'becoming' a victim. It was only after exposure to a particular condition or person, which or whom incited FSA victim discourse that participants were able to identify as such. For P8 this exposure was in the form of her father:

> *I was really close to her, um until my dad kind of like explained to me that it was wrong, what she did and then I kind of like started realising, slowly but surely that my dad is right…I started feeling really stupid that I didn't realise like my mom was actually abusing me and being really wrong compared to other mothers and what like the law said.*

Once P8 had self-identified as an FSA victim, she further consolidated this through other incitements to speak in detail about the abuse. For example, after disclosure to legal representatives, P8 was asked to provide a detailed description of her experience, this narrative thus serving to further reify her subject position:

> *I had to go into detail, what had happened. I didn't really want to do it. I was like, before the time I was like begging my dad, please don't let me do this, I don't want to do it and then my dad said "ya but you have to. Even I don't want you to do it but the court says, says you have to. You don't have that much of a choice in this".*

Of interest is the perceived lack of choice identified by P8 or, as Foucault (1978, p. 20) puts it, "the obligation to admit to violations of the laws of sex" and the injunction to do so by providing the most minute of details. This perceived obligation, as a consequence of the presence of legal structures and authorities results in a 'confession' that provides coordinates for FSA victimhood. This is in line with Pryce's (2000) suggestion that the confessional vehicle (in this case a court case) is the standard device to elicit content to be interpreted, decoded and comprehended. The incitement to discourse thus provided participants with an opportunity to 'confess' their FSA experiences and in doing so, the self-identification as FSA victim was constituted (rather than disclosed) through confession. The current chapter identifies the mechanisms that provide the incitement to discourse that make confession possible. The mechanisms employed by participants included psychology and/or therapy, the internet and media, cultural resources and access to non-normative discourses on sexuality.

6.6.1. Access to psychologised discourse

One of the central findings to this study is that access to particular types of disciplinary discourses provides an opportunity for subjects to occupy an FSA victim status. Unsurprisingly, the most salient of these was the 'psychological'. On the one hand, this was easily surfaced due to the participants' awareness of the researcher's position in the field of psychology as well as the confessional architecture of the interview context. However, on the other hand, most of this psychologised discourse appeared to be based on participants' previous exposure to therapy, psychological practices or work in the actual field. It thus seemed that the interview, coupled with the researcher's status, assisted in the reification of discursive contours of the 'suspected' victimhood that preceded it.

Most of the participants shared their own experiences of therapeutic contexts that provided the possibility for the emergence of FSA victimhood. For example, P1, P6 and P9 explained that they had disclosed their abuse to their psychologists and couple's counsellors. P2 insisted that his exposure to therapy was mainly centred on his sexuality and P5 explained that hers was centred on childhood development, however both linked these disclosures to a sense of FSA victimhood. Likewise, P3 stated that her therapist had been central to her coping with the death of her father, which was tied to her FSA experience. While P8 went to see a psychiatrist, her main experience with psychology has been in the image of her stepmother (a teacher studying to be a psychologist) who has been central to P8's 'ability' to self-identify as an FSA victim. P10 was particularly psychologised having immersed herself in various live and online support groups and a range of therapeutic contexts. In fact P10 requested a copy of the interview recording material in order to take it to her therapist for discussion. All of the participants discussed the value of therapy and how it has been particularly helpful in assisting them to 'deal' with their victimhood. For example,

> *I'm kind of healing. Especially over the last year, I've done a lot of work on myself* (P1).
>
> *I believe in counselling. I really believe in therapeutic work. I really do* (P2).
>
> *I'm speaking about it, like to my psychologist…And I'm hoping, like speaking more about it maybe would make it feel less…Like…ya, less severe almost…But I think, like speaking about it just in the last two, three, four months has definitely made it a lot easier as well. Um…I think like talking does make it less severe* (P3).

> *I messaged my psychologist and said, can I see you on Saturday please. Like I **need** to see you* (P3).
>
> *They say a problem shared is a problem half solved* (P4).
>
> *I think only, like once you see a psychologist and someone walks the path, **then** you'd understand, you know, **why** you did certain things* (P5).
>
> *I also had a very big mental block when it came to it and the psychologist helped me get through that…She says the more people I speak to, um within the future whether it be medically, in terms of more psychologists or just letting friends know is that it would definitely better me as a person* (P6).

The implication by P6's therapist that he should continue to speak about his FSA experience is a powerful example of the incitement to discourse proper. It also echoes Butler's (2004) argument that identity-making is dependent on a speaker repeatedly and consistently performing a particular discourse, in this case FSA victim discourse. Other examples of the way access to the 'psychological' incited FSA victimhood include:

> *I think because I've shared it before, um, with a psychologist is that at the end of the day, it's a lot easier to speak about. The first time obviously definitely was not easy. Especially when speaking to another female…which I personally in my mind find odd, that I'm able to speak to someone about a female problem. Yet she's a female…and I feel…threatened as such. But knowing that she was a psychologist and has dealt with these problems before is that I haven't seen her as a threat* (P6).
>
> *And I know she [my stepmom] won't ever do the things that my mom did. Because I know she also did like, she wanted to become a sielkundige*[13] (P8).
> *And when I started therapy and started to talk, actually started to use words rather than just enduring and surviving, I sort of began to piece together that there was a yesterday and there's likely to be a tomorrow whereas prior to therapy I'd never really been able to do that* (P9).
>
> *I don't know if you have this expression but um, what you feel is what you can heal. If I can't feel it, I can't heal it. So I'm trying to get to that point…I'm really trying hard to explore more. As part of my personal therapy and trying to move forward* (P10).

[13] Sielkundige: Afrikaans word for psychologist.

P6's statement that "*knowing that she was a psychologist and has dealt with these problems before"* points to the requirement of an 'expert' listener to validate his FSA experiences as part of the incitement to discourse.

Some of the participants reported that they have actually started to work in the psychological field and that this too has provided them with an opportunity for understanding their situations. P1 is a support group leader for survivors of male sexual violence, P2 is a psychological researcher in the field of sexuality and gender-based research and P3 is a psychology student. It was quite evident that this work allowed these three participants additional access to psychologised discourse that, in turn, further enabled identification with victimhood. As P1 noted,

> *I do a lot of therapy online so I give a lot of people- I have a particular uh, empathy for survivors' wives and family. I kind of relate to them quite well because I know how badly I damaged mine, you know?*

Participants also utilised their access to psychologised discourse to frame themselves in pathological terms. In doing so, participants were able to rationalise their FSA experiences as a function or cause of psychological pathology, implying that a condition for FSA victimhood is comorbid pathology. For example, P9 explained how she has all "*the unconscious stuff*" that results in "*dissociation*". Other examples included,

> *I introvert everything. Which I now recently found out is like a trait of female ADHD* (P3).
>
> *I have co-dependant personality disorder. Uh…so I meet with other people that have the same thing and there's different reasons why people have co-dependance. Um…mine stems from my mother being so abusive and me basically doing anything so that I wouldn't get abused* (P10).
>
> *But everything is so analytic in my mind. It's like I've dissociated from myself* (P10).

Whilst psychological discourse was one of the key mechanisms and outcomes of incitement, reference to traditional healing such as ancestral healing, sangomas and witch doctors was completely absent from the South African interviews despite the context. It thus appears that only particular types of 'healing' discourses are able to incite FSA victim discourse - those that are imbedded in the Malthusian unit, heteronormative monogamy and the discourses of damage against which FSA can only be understood as transgressive.

6.6.2. The internet and media as incitements to FSA victimisation discourse

An interesting incitement to FSA victim discourse is the availability of online media forms. Internet access is a relatively recent phenomenon (especially in low-income contexts in parts of South Africa) and its wide range of easily accessible material allows for very rapid and efficient distribution of knowledge. The current global use of internet and media is thus a key driver of knowledge production and provides an optimal context for the incitement to peripheral gender discourses. As many of the participants noted, they did not self-identify as FSA victims until they were exposed to material that availed this subject position to them. This is a noteworthy result as it demonstrates how conditions of possibility are temporally specific. For example, P10 explained how she did not really understand how to categorise her FSA experience until she "*got this compulsion to get up on the internet and um, look up BDSM-type videos*". P1 also noted,

> *I pushed the memories of my mother, I didn't remember them at all, I **really** didn't. Until I went onto the male survivor site, last, last year...I was reading, another guy, and he wrote this story and it was just...mad. It was like...my eyes closed and it was like this little movie playing and it just...**all** came back to me. It just...I could see myself sitting in the bath, I could see the bathroom, I could smell the soap and the shampoo. **Everything.** I could feel the warm water. And I sat there reading the story and everything he described in it was **exactly** how it happened to me. And I never remembered that. And all of a sudden it just came back. It was overwhelming.*

Due to the general exclusion of FSA victimhood from available discourses of abuse, seeing 'oneself' as a victim of FSA in language is difficult. However, P1's identification of the possibilities for his own victimhood is realised in the range of material available online and the ability for non-normative discourses to reify this subject position. For the participants this meant that the internet provided an emerging discourse on curative and supportive options for FSA victims. As indicated by P7,

> *I think what made things easier for, for victims is the fact that we've now got internet…We've got all these things that can help that person…I mean from my phone. I can go into any site…Like the…MatrixMen[14]…I can do it right here.*

This self-help discourse enabled by the internet is a key example of the intersection of spoken and material conditions of possibility.

[14] MatrixMen is a website for male survivors of sexual violence (http://www.matrixmen.org).

The call for participants for this study was presented on various media forums (radio, magazines, newspapers) and internet sites. Ironically, the call for FSA victims appeared to be one of the very mechanisms that incited the participants to victim discourse. As P7 noted,

> *I wouldn't say that, for me it wasn't that much of an issue. Um…until I heard the thing with DJ Fresh*[15]*. And…it just sparked a lot of memories regarding it…I was listening to what you were saying. And all of a sudden, boom, shit, that happened to me.*

This excerpt provides a powerful example of the study's incitement to FSA victim discourse as another cog in the discursive machinery through which FSA victim subject positions are further reproduced and reified.

6.6.3. Class resources: Access to forms of knowledge

Access to class resources (in the form of social assets such as private and tertiary education) was one of the key vehicles that provided participants with a language from which to produce their FSA victimhood. This is a noteworthy observation given that previous research has demonstrated that nearly all of the incarcerated South African female sexual offenders are from low-income contexts and consequently have very limited education (Kramer, 2010; 2011). Kramer's (2010; 2011) study and the current study have both demonstrated that perpetrators and their victims were acquainted and are of similar background however the current study participants were from completely different socio-economic contexts as compared to the abusers studied previously. Despite the call for participants reaching an exhaustive list of contacts across a variety of socio-economic contexts (see Appendix A), this study did not manage to elicit the type of victims identified by perpetrators in Kramer's (2010; 2011) study - those of low socio-economic status (SES). It can therefore be assumed that the difference between these participants would signify some of the conditions that makes FSA victimhood (im)possible. It appears that in order to self-identify as an FSA victim, subjects require some form of exposure to particular knowledge forms and discourses accessible through particular class vehicles such as education and it is therefore possible that the victims of incarcerated female sexual perpetrators with limited access to education cannot yet access the domains that make FSA victimhood possible. However, given that the number of spaces that enable women to remain outside of new kinds of surveillance are rapidly

[15] Radio interview for the study call for participants.

decreasing, it is likely that as females become increasingly surveilled, so these victims will become visible.

Throughout the interviews, participants spoke to their educational backgrounds and academic credentials. For example P3 explained how she went to "*posh schools*" and that her brother is at a "*very expensive private school*". She also explained that her desire to study psychology was based on her need to be academically stimulated and that "*with school work, I was always academic colours, in the top ten*". Other participants also spoke to the value that their nuclear families placed on education:

> *My mother…was very hard working and she valued education. So, I think she was able to take us all to private schools* (P2).

> *My mom was my absolute hero. She stood up for us kids. She took all that shit to make sure that we could go into good schools, get a good education, um, and make something of ourselves* (P7).

P2's career as a researcher in the field of sexuality with a focus on sexual minorities not only provided him with academic discourse but also with 'scientific' discourse on the particular subject area that is key to his self-identification as an FSA victim. P2 indicated, "*I train them to make them understand sexual minority issues*". He went on to report how this training has been fundamental to his own self-identification as an FSA victim:

> *The more I read about issues like that, I tapped into things of, you know, you know, finding out what paedophilia is. I read about that…I'm a writer. And I've been published about certain things and whatever. But for me, it was, the thing it involves about sexuality findings…The older I became and the more I read up on this thing, the more the world taught me things, the more I learnt from society. I got an awareness that that is actually not a nice thing to do to a kid.*

Participants also actively drew on their access to academic language to explain their FSA experiences. For example,

> *I remember kind of feeling a bit paralysed. Definitely like that out of body experience. Like, the more I'm reading about it as well, it's like that's normal for like a situation like that…an interesting theory I actually picked up a month or so ago* (P3).

> *I've done a lot of academic work. A lot of really hard academics - engineering and physics. And…that came about, I believe, because that*

> *stuff is so hard that it would fill up my brain and I couldn't dwell on all these things that had happened to me* (P10).

P5 utilised her access to academic discourse to indicate that she understood the necessity for the study of FSA victims and the value inherent in the research process:

> *I am actually busy with my Masters in Law, so I know how difficult it can be to obtain all the info needed…anything I can do to help your studies and help with prevention I will.*

Whilst prevention is not the objective of this study, P5's assertion of its necessity is additional evidence of how the study of a construct such as FSA victimhood finds traction in health discourses preoccupied with preventability, regulation and measurement. The above extract also demonstrates how the study of a particular subject has the productive power to reify sexual deviance. The production of FSA as an object that falls beyond the boundaries of our 'normal' social ontology creates the appearance of a potential pandemic (Bartky, 1998) and the object thus joins the 'prevention list'.

6.6.4. Alternative sexualities: Access to non-normative discourse

All of the participants were relatively young and thus it appears that being part of a generation that is widely constructed as increasingly sexually liberated and having additional access to online media, classed capital and psychological discourse are pre-conditions for victimhood. Participation in a contemporary society characterised by 'sexual liberation' is therefore the participants' found way to circumnavigate these conventional parameters and identify with alternative sexualities. In addition, some of the participants were actively engaged with the non-normative discourse that informs these alternative sexualities and these participants constructed sexual victimisation from a fluid gender perspective (rather than in the binary terms offered by other participants). More specifically, these participants used their access to non-normative discourse as a means to pull gender and biological sex apart. For example P6 reported how his group of friends identified with a range of sexual orientations and beliefs such that it was unsurprising that he might date a much older woman. P2 relayed that his homosexual identity has allowed him to more fully engage with his FSA victim status:

> *Very wide circle of friends. Um…majority females that were either lesbian or bisexual so very…open sexually but also majority of her friends were quite manly…as such. Um, there were some females that I had met in my life that I think they were more manly and more…they got more*

> *male testosterone in them than I do. Um, so ya, very open in terms of the sexual side…I wasn't the only younger male within in the group, um…in terms of the older females dating younger guys* (P6).
>
> *I think that, it's probably different with gay people. It's sort of like we start to question our sexuality from a really early age so by the time we are in probably our middle ages we are sort of like so much more comfortable. It becomes like a normalcy to talk about sexuality…people of marginal sexualities are more comfortable talking about sexuality than the sexual majority…because we centralise it for ourselves. We gather. That's how you survive. You, you normalise it* (P2).

P2's link between survival and the normalisation of marginal sexualities implies that sexual abuse is, in some ways, comparable to alternative sexualities. This is a powerful example of the ways that heteronormative standards produce and sustain 'non-normative' sexualities, sexual deviance and sexual minorities such that the normal-abnormal binary is sustained. P2's particular emphasis on survival echoes Butler's (2004) suggestion that regardless of whether an individual submits to or resists the norms, all bodies are subjected to 'unfreedom' given their constant circulation in systems of surveillance and regulation.

The tendency to split discourses of gender from the constructions of biology as sex along with access to a psychological vocabulary circulated via the internet and other forms of media seem critically key mechanisms in the incitement of the confession of FSA victimhood.

6.7. The confession as apparatus: Producing FSA victimhood

The confessional context is one of the primary means to the production of 'truth'. Foucault (1978) argues that sexuality is produced through the confessional. The apparatus of the confession infers that 'truth' is concealed within a subject as 'secrets' and that these secrets must be liberated (Phelan, 1990). In this way the self is constituted by confession and the desire for disclosure is constituted as natural (Tell, 2007). The interview context is undoubtedly an instantiation of this apparatus as it is used to draw out this 'secret' information to be interpreted and the presence of an 'expert' at the receiving end of this information is key to the incitement to discourse in gauging its 'truth value' (Pryce, 2000).

FSA victimhood discourse remains peripheral to the discourse on sexual violence in human science knowledge production. However, this apparent 'exclusion' from discourse mirrors Foucault's (1978) critique of the illusion of repression and thus FSA victimhood discourse emerges as a consequence of ostensible silences and prohibitions. Given that the interview

context in this study was framed as a 'confessional' site in order to discuss the 'secret' of FSA victimisation, participants actively engaged with this space and this resulted in a clear production of victimhood. This production was centred on typical victim discourses including references to nondisclosure, trauma, revictimisation, guilt, self-blaming, consequences and emotional damage. Particular emphasis was placed on naming the FSA event as 'the secret' as well as a demonstration of the psychological trauma of victimisation. The participants' discourses were also saturated with confession to shame and the implication that disclosure of 'the secret' requires an expert listener that can 'understand' victimisation. Interestingly, these are not unlike the victim discourses arising out of male sexual abuse narratives (see Ahrens, 2006; Davis, 2005; Sturken, 1999). However, given the non-normative nature of FSA victimisation, these 'typical' discourses were embedded in complex intersections of sexuality, gender and power that represented points of resistance and the promise of counter-knowledge at certain moments.

6.7.1. The secret: Silence and nondisclosure

> *"[I'm] a victim of the most undisclosed crime"* (P4).

The implication that sexual 'truth' is housed within subjects as secrets to be liberated is intrinsic to the logic of confession and the incitement to discourse. Throughout the interviews, participants constantly spoke of 'a/the secret' with reference to their FSA experiences:

> *It was my dirty little secret that I've never said to anybody* (P9).

> *She wasn't threatening or anything but I sort of got an idea that this I shouldn't tell anybody…she might have said it, she might not have said it but for me it* ***felt*** *like this is something to protect… And not tell* (P2).
> *I had to learn how to…go on with life and…not…and keep my secret and not let people find out* (P3).

> *Can you, can you imagine the* ***burden*** *of walking around with a secret that big, that could destroy another family, that could actually eventually come out?* (P7).

> *I was under command. To be silent* (P10).

P3's comment that she had to "*go on with life*" and P7's reference to his secret "*burden*" are key markers of the centrality of sex to selfhood. In addition, these assertions that bind FSA victimhood to secrecy reflect the illusion of the 'repression' of FSA victimhood. The

treatment of their FSA experiences as secrets resulted in all of the participants opting for nondisclosure to authorities or family about their victimhood. However, 'the secret' is also crucial to the incitement to discourse and thus the treatment of an FSA event as a secret is also the very mechanism through which participants were able to occupy a victim subject position in the confessional context of the interview with an 'expert'.

Nondisclosure is typical in sexual victimisation rooted in cultural narratives that victims should remain silent (Enns et al., 1995) and is related to shame and the fear of being blamed or not believed. These fears were clearly evident in the participants' reported nondisclosure decisions however, in addition to this, participants lacked access to a language that could frame their FSA experiences. For example, despite having disclosed her sexual victimisation by a male perpetrator to the legal authorities, P9 failed to report her FSA victimisation because "*it never occurred to me*". Likewise, P3 indicated that she would have reported the victimisation if her perpetrator was a male because it is "*more socially acceptable*". For those who could frame it, nondisclosure seemed to be based either on the shame or the implausibility that a woman could sexually violate them. Given this implausibility, participants could not identify themselves as victims, a pre-requisite for disclosure of abuse. In addition, an incitement to discourse could not occur without an 'expert' present that could validate participants' experiences. As some of the participants offered,

> *I guess, your mother, you don't want to talk about it anyway. I mean to this day, I haven't even told my dad or anybody. Only my brothers. Um, it's shameful, you don't want to talk about it* (P1).
>
> *My boyfriend and I touched on it…I also revealed like this happened to me. But I never told that it's my sister* (P2).
>
> *[If it was a male] then you would have, then you probably would have said something about it and then you would have been able to sort it out as a kid. By the time you've grown up, you've dealt with it. It's gone already… but now because it's a woman, now you kind of…keep it in forever. And the scars grow* (P3).
>
> *No I had not reported. The reason being is that…at the time of leaving her, um, it sounds ridiculous but I don't think that anything would have been done about it at the time…how do you prove it?* (P6).
>
> *I didn't really want to talk about it because I was like really embarrassed about it* (P8).
>
> *I wasn't gonna admit that to anybody* (P10).

Participants also drew on the confidential quality characteristic of the confessional space by indicating that their only concern about participation in the study was potential identification as an FSA victim. For example,

> *I think I was worried, like in terms of my nervousness around this whole thing is that I can be identified* (P3).

The emergence of these very specific confessional elements was central to the participants' framing of their experiences as secretive, abusive and traumatic. These confessional elements are not particular to FSA victimisation. It thus seems that there are at least some discursive coordinates that drive sexual victimisation in general rather than FSA specifically. This is significant because it implies that FSA victimhood emerges through some of the very same mechanisms that operate to produce male perpetrator sexual victimisation and as part of the discursive explosion on sex.

6.7.2. Victimhood and trauma

As a consequence of discourses that link femininity with passivity, not only is FSA itself considered rare, but the potential for it to be harmful and thus produce both trauma and a victim position is also regarded as improbable (Denov, 2001). Additionally, trauma discourse infers that there must be a victim identity (usually female) and an aggressor identity (usually male). As P3 noted, "*women are seen as the victims, always*". This pattern has generally resulted in the exclusion of FSA victimhood from widely circulated discourses on trauma and damage. However, through various incitements, the participants in the current study were able to self-identify as victims and, consequently, as damaged and traumatised. As P7 reported, "*the more you think about it, you didn't get laid, you were raped*". Levett (1992) argues that constructions of trauma resulting from transgressive sexualities and their practices result in the perception that the 'victim' is invariably and indelibly damaged. In line with this argument, participants drew on words describing their powerlessness and helplessness when asked to explain their understandings of victimisation. For example,

> *I think with 'victim'…it suggests powerlessness* (P2).

> *The fact is I was taken advantage of* (P4).

> *Overpowered in I think in any sense of the word. Where you feel helpless* (P5).

> *The word victim for me is someone that has been part of a…incident where they haven't had control over it. And where it's changed their life in a negative way* (P6).
>
> *Somebody that was wronged in one way or another. Whether it's physical or mental* (P7).
>
> *Well I would say someone who has been kind of like the product of someone else hurting that person and kind of like using that person* (P8).
>
> *Somebody has been hurt but it actually gets communicated as somebody who has been pathetic* (P9).
>
> *Victim is what I was when I was a little kid and I couldn't fight back and I had to put up with it* (P10).

Interestingly, P10 implied that the type of trauma response is particular to the type of abuse to which the victim has been exposed. Thus physical abuse may produce a different type of response to sexual abuse. As she noted,

> *And because this was a woman and I didn't realise that it was sexual, I just thought it was horrible punishment. Um…it probably saved me from some of the really screwed up psychological problems that people have from that. Not to say that I didn't have screwed up psychological problems, but it put my problems in a different realm.*

P10's disclosure links sex and trauma in very particular ways. Aligned to the logic of biopolitics, a transgression against sexuality seems more potentially damaging than a transgression against the mere physical integrity of the body. Another example is the way trauma resulting from sexual victimisation is commonly associated with subsequent instances of sexual revictimisation. Here, one instance of sexual abuse results in 'learned' subordination, a victim identity and thus the 'possibility for exposure' to further sexual assaults (Gidycz, 2011). This was a recurring theme in the current study.

6.7.3. Multiple abuse victims: Victimhood as destiny

The FSA aggressor is incompatible with gendered understandings of sexual and violence related trauma and thus most FSA victims tend to escape the incitement to discourse in the confessional context and thus the related experience of trauma, including the opportunity for revictimisation. The frequently cited 'finding' of revictimisation in sexual abuse cases (Gidycz, 2011) reflects both the power and the longevity of the victim subject position once it has been occupied. The participants in this study grounded part of their subjection to this

position through the reproduction of classic sex abuse narratives, especially with regards to revictimisation.

For some of the participants, being sexually violated by a woman was accounted for as an outcome of their learnt subordination resulting from previous abuse. As P9 noted, "*I did have some understanding of sexual activity because of previous abuse with neighbours*". P7 explained that, prior to the FSA event with his aunt; his father had always abused him:

> *I was terrified of my dad. Um…having had all those physical abuse moments from him. I mean can you imagine being tied to a bed. And then being 'donnered*[16]*' is the word I'm going to use. You don't get smacked. You get beaten. With a belt. Much bigger than this* (points to his belt)*. And you're six years old.*

However, while P7 explained that "*physical abuse in my house [was an] everyday thing*" his FSA experience was perceived as less normative and as something that has the capacity to "*destroy another family…[if it] could actually eventually come out*". This again points to the possible differentiation of the sexual and the physical and the construction of sexual abuse as potentially more damaging than physical abuse.

Other participants explained that their FSA experiences 'groomed' them to become victims and as a consequence to be revictimised. For example,

> *I think by the time the male perpetrators came along, I was kind of already...groomed. And that's the thing that I struggle with. Is that it's almost like my mother groomed me for this evil future that...she opened the door...she kind of...she started it...she...kind of lowered my standards and, and sort of made me think that it was okay to go with these men…I resent the fact that she started it. She opened the door. So she initiated my life as an abuse victim…So it starts with one guy touching you on your back and then you sort of let it happen and the next guy puts his hand down your pants and then you go, "Well kind of my mom does this, so, you know, what's the problem?"* (P1).

> *This continued over the years and a very distant nephew also had sex with me when I was around about seven years. From that time I started to hate people in general since it didn't make much sense to me. I either, I would get abused by neighbours or distant relatives* (P4).

[16] Donner is Afrikaans slang meaning to beat up.

> *And for me, I think, people find it easy to accuse or abuse me. I don't know why, but they find it easy. You know. You know, if I want to trace the history of, you know, my life, they just find it easy* (P4).

> *When she [my mother] died my father sexually abused me until he died so it sort of all rolled in together then so the whole sexual life is just, you know, a blur of abuse* (P9).

P9's comments imply that sexual damage is irredeemable and ever-lasting, unlike the damage experienced under other kinds of transgressions. Again this reveals the permanence and power of the discourse of the inevitable trauma that must accompany sexual abuse when compared to its physical, emotional and psychological manifestations.

In addition to their own multiple victimisation experiences, participants also identified other victims in their families, thus constructing FSA victimhood as part of the 'epidemic' of victims. It also points to the sense that the family cannot be 'normal' if FSA is possible. P1 stated, "*I found out last year that both my brothers were actually sexually abused by neighbours as children so pretty cocked up family*". Similarly P5 reported that "*I discovered that it happened to my mom as well but with, with a male obviously*". Other comments included,

> *Physical abuse in my house- everyday thing. Uh, dad beating mom, getting drunk, beating mom. Take it out on the kids. Shit like that* (P7).

> *I don't remember exactly how it rolled into this but she [my daughter] screamed at me: "the reason why I act the way I do is because every time you're not here, daddy tries to rub his dick all over me"* (P10).

While most of the participants simply used these discourses to relay their victimhood, P3 reflected on its instrumentality, again instantiating its power:

> *Like what does the pattern do? Like I'm always interested to find, like to figure it out because like do people sometimes, if they like get abused once, feel like they need to…go with it again? Like, I'm just intrigued by it.*

P3's reflections of this "*pattern*" is indicative of the way revictimisation is produced within sexual abuse discourses such that it is reified as unshakeable, recalcitrant and forever marking of the inversion of normality. Other engrained victim discourses are those centred on shame, guilt and self-blaming.

6.7.4. The inversion of the moral code: Guilt and self-blaming

Foucault (1985) argues that subjection is sustained through technologies or practices of the self within historicised forms of moral government. This moral code is an ensemble of regulatory discursive codes or 'moral orthopaedics' that are recommended to subjects via the mechanisms of various prescriptive and authoritative institutions. Through the participation in sexual transgressions that violate culturally acceptable and normative sexual moral codes, all of the participants reported feelings of shame, guilt and self-blame. The inversion of morality was thus expressed through moral discourses that demonstrate a violation of the moral orthapaedics of selfhood. These are classic discourses that emerge in sexual abuse narratives and are thus again indicative of the similarities between FSA and male sexual violence. However, the guilt and self-blame discourses are structured somewhat differently from those arising from male sexual violence. The shame typically associated with male-to-female sexual violation is usually attached to cultural beliefs that the act of rape tarnishes the female body (Weiss, 2010b). These cultural codes are relayed onto a female body, thus making it impossible for a male FSA victim to occupy this sense of responsibility and self-surveillance at the pre-victim stage. Most of the participants in this study (especially the male participants) emphasised that their shame and guilt was compounded by the fact that they were sexually violated by female perpetrators. Given the gendered construction of the weak and harmless female, participants' guilt was directly linked to their inability to exercise power during the FSA event. This pattern of pushing guilt and victimhood against one another is important because the admission to guilt is irreconcilable with victimhood. These moral discourses are thus central to the (im)possibility of FSA victimhood.

Victimhood is always mediated through culpability (Boonzaier, 2014; Richardson & May, 1999) and this influences the structure of victim discourses. For example, the implicit obligation to confess a sexual victimisation experience results in the victim's acceptance of some responsibility for the incident (Posel, 2005; Weiss, 2010b). P1 described feeling "*shamed*" and "*belittled*" while P4 indicated that he "*felt **really** bad*" and P5 said she was "*vulnerable*" and "*ashamed*". P6 reported that he felt "*dirty*" and "*worthless*" and P9 stated that "*there was just the most profound guilt*". Other comments included:

> *I do remember feeling, not feeling...not so good about it. I just remember feeling **bad** about it…I think as a kid I knew that it was...not good. And I knew that it was not...right. I knew it was wrong. I knew it was bad* (P2).

> *Like people use the word "dirty", but that's not what it is. It's just…guilt, almost. It's like that sense of guilt that you felt, like when I was little. Like the sense of guilt of like, that happened. Even like when I got the flashbacks, thinking about it now, there was definitely like a sense of guilt there. Which is not there anymore. Because I understand it a bit better now. But back then it was definitely an intense sense of like guilt for letting it happen. And I think that was the biggest thing, that feeling* (P3).

P3 directly links her experiences of guilt with "*letting it happen*". This is a powerful demonstration of the way female gender constructions imply that an FSA victim is a guilty victim because he/she should have the power to prevent a sexual violation by a woman. However, there are clear gendered differences in this particular guilt expression - male participants' guilt about the inability to prevent the FSA events was related to the shame of not 'being men' whereas female participants, in line with Cahill's (2000) suggestions about the guilty pre-victim, reported feeling guilty for somehow eliciting the abuse.

The incompatibility of victimhood and guilt results in the continued exclusion of FSA victims from the lexicon of moral orthopaedics. Interestingly, P3 notes that her feelings of guilt are "*not there anymore*" and it thus seems that moral discourses work to exclude FSA victimhood whilst the nonalignment with these discourses surfaces FSA victimhood. This tension between guilt and victimhood was frequently conflated with self-blaming. For example,

> *I eventually kind of got to a stage where you feel so powerless you actually start despising yourself. You know, you start thinking like, why couldn't I stop her from doing this?* (P1).

> *Am I to blame for this? Or should I have done something earlier? Or is it…ya, are they gonna blame me for making, for it happening because I haven't said anything about it…Are they gonna think that I…instigated it at all?* (P3).

> *I didn't want to tell my parents, you know, because they were proud of me and I didn't want them to be ashamed of, of me, in a way. Even though they love me but I still thought it was my fault. And I still thought that I had a role in it as well and they would be ashamed…I think that, that I could forgive them [my abusers] but I can never really forgive myself* (P5).

> *I thought he was going to be angry at me because I thought I was the one doing the wrong. Not my mom…I feel kind of like guilty that I, that I didn't stop it earlier. That I didn't go to my dad and tell him that I, that my mom did wrong* (P8).

> *The way I understood it was that I was the guilty party and that I was dirty and bad and anything to do with anything below the chin, was my fault and it was wrong* (P9).

> *I was embarrassed and ashamed because I believed that I must have done something wrong enough to deserve all that* (P10).

These extracts demonstrate how the moral order shifted the participants from victims into guilty parties who had not taken responsibility for their own complicity in their abuse. In keeping with the logic of sexuality and selfhood, the effects of these traumas were constructed as enduring and needing to be constantly managed:

> *What the molestation did to me was, even in me pursuing people in having sexual whatever I will always feel guilt afterwards* (P2).

> *Sometimes I don't want to have sex at all and I feel bad after. I feel like I have committed a crime* (P4).

P4's comparison of sexual interaction with criminal activity is a compelling example of the ways that the FSA victim is positioned in an adversarial relationship to the logic of a moral order in which victims of male sexual abuse are arguably more centrally accommodated.

6.7.5. Psychic damage

> *I can't remember lots of what happened that night* (P8).

> *I call it my rebirth, when I discovered then that I was a survivor of abuse* (P1).

One of the most cited and controversial findings in the sex abuse literature is that the trauma associated with sexual violence often results in repression which is later transformed into recovered memories (see Brewin, 2012; Davis & Loftus, 2014; DePrince et al., 2012). Despite the controversy surrounding the recovered memory hypothesis, its central position in court cases and media reports on sexual abuse has resulted in its production as a widely circulated psychological discourse. Most of the participants have access to psychological discourse and thus it is unsurprising that their narratives were infused with not only examples of their own memory losses but also an indication of their psychological insights into these 'repressed' memories. Interestingly, most of the identified memory losses were concentrated around details of the actual sexual abuse event. Following the incitement to discourse, participants' consequent self-identifications with victim positions were further validated by the fact that they indeed suffered memory loss:

The abuse, in my childhood, a very difficult thing cause I just...I can't remember...like I have flashbacks…I'm kind of trying to figure out if it actually happened, if the flashbacks are real or if they're just part of my imagination…there's a large part of my childhood that's just kind of blocked out (P1).

I remembered my - that incident of remembering. Me being on...uh, you know, um...performing oral sex on my sister and my [other] sister on the other room screaming out saying, "I'm here but I'm leaving." It just came to me. You know, something that I'd never really realised. I remember just like stopping and halting everything. And just going to the bathroom and crying (P2).

It is quite fragmented. Um…I remember as a kid remembering ***a lot*** *of it. But then kind of suppressing it, obviously. And then as I grew up through my teens, I think I just, it just disappeared, kind of? Although it was there. And then about…a year ago, it came back like quite vividly. In flashbacks…She starts touching me and then at one stage just puts her hand down my pants. And then I can't remember what happened there…I don't remember how* ***exactly*** *it starts. I just know…but I don't know what happened after or how it stopped or anything like that. No, I just remember like, like in the middle* (P3).

I just remember that I have a fear of the garage and like I know that something happened there that I don't know why I can't remember it (P5).

It was one incident as far as my memory serves. I might have blocked it out. I don't know (P7).

I'll put it as crude as possible. She was humping up and down. That's what I can remember…Like you see in the movies when people go blank. That's basically what I've got. I've got a huge gap between 10, 11 years old, up to about 13 years old. There's, there's a bit of a gap regarding her. So I don't know if it happened after that. I can't tell you (P7).

I don't actually know how it ended, I don't know...I think, in my mind what I remember is her rage and her...resent for [me] getting born. Um...once she bought out the kitchen equipment I don't have an ending of that memory. Like, I don't know what the end of it was. Like, did she just stop, did she carry on, did she...I have no idea (P9).

Taking recourse to the problem of memory seems an attempt to validate the abuse. Interestingly, most of these recovered memories or 'flashbacks' surfaced recently in parallel to the emergence of broader global discourses on FSA. For example, P7 indicated that he only recalled his experience when he heard the call for participants for the current study. For P1, P3 and P10, their memories arrived in the forms of flashbacks after exposure to similar material in a media format or on the internet. P1 explained that "*I call it my rebirth, when I*

discovered then that I was a survivor of abuse". Given that this occurred after exposure to information on FSA, this 'discovery' appears to be less the result of repression and more a function of the production of victimhood within which one could locate such repression. Additionally, in order to be a victim one must be 'victim worthy' and thus demonstrate the invariable psychic damage that results from abuse. The turn to repression appeared to be a precondition for describing the magnitude of the psychological burden resulting from an abuse that would always disrupt and damage personhood.

Participants applied their own psychological insight into why their memories may have been repressed and then later 'recovered'. P1 indicated, "*you might not remember but you never forget*" and P7 explained that "*a mental block may be in place*". P7 went on to clarify,

> *Think about it. If that, if that wall gets broken and all those memories come flooding out and all of a sudden it wasn't just once, it was 10, 20, 30 times, do I wanna know that? I don't think so.*

While P10 reported not being able to name her experience as FSA until she was exposed to particular internet material, she did construct it as being physically (rather than sexually) abusive within a particular (and less 'damaging') discursive framework that divides physical integrity from sexual destiny such that 'remembering' was possible:

> *And the thing is I never forgot what happened. I know there's people that say that they blocked it out and they forgot what happened and then something triggered it and they suddenly remembered. I never forgot what happened.*

P10's extract presents as a startling counter-example to other participants' evocation of repressed memory discourse such that her victim worthiness becomes questionable.

The repressed/recovered memory discourse in the FSA victimisation narratives along with participants' turn to the cycle of abuse theory demonstrates how sexual abuse constructions are so entrenched that the occupation of a victim position is immediately characterised by these classic victim 'traits'.

6.7.6. Becoming the abuser to become the victim

> *I don't deserve to have a baby...what if I hurt it? (P2).*

The cycle of abuse is another psychological theory that was evoked to construct victim worthiness in the participants' discourses. As with the turn to memory loss, the assumption that victims become abusers appeared to be rooted in participants' access to psychological frameworks that guaranteed that victimisation (especially sexual) may be linked to later perpetration (see Gomez, 2011; Ogloff et al., 2012; Ryan, Leversee & Lane, 2011; Yun et al., 2011). So entrenched was this assumption regarding sexual abuse that participants expressed concern regarding their own sexually violent capacities, this yet another representation of the irredeemable and ever-lasting quality of sexual damage. In line with Schaeffer and colleagues' (2011) argument that male victims are more likely to be treated as potential future perpetrators than female victims, the majority of the participants that occupied this victim-offender potential position were male. Some examples of cycle of violence discourse can be noted in the following extracts:

> *I can remember changing her nappies and like looking at her fanny and going, "Don't you dare ever touch that. Don't you dare." And I'd like clean it. You have to do that as a father, you have to clean it. And then I'd think, "Stop looking. Stop looking. You're going to hurt her. Don't you dare. You can't do this." You know? Then I used to bath her as well. Because my wife, she was quite heavy, the child, and my wife couldn't lift her in and out of the bath. So I would bath her and I'd think constantly in my head all the time, you know, "Don't you forget what you're doing. You know that you're a little perv. You know that you're a sicko. Don't touch her. Don't touch her." You know...So like eventually when she got to a point where she could actually bath herself, she was like five or six I think, then it was like thank god, you know, I don't have to do that anymore. But then I was totally divorced. I had one ritual that I did and I still, to this day, try and do it, she's twelve now. So I put her to bed. She's got her pyjamas on. The blanket's on. That's it. Just her little face that sticks out, you know? And I can love and kiss that face as much as I want to because there's nothing else happening. You know what I mean? It's all covered. It's protected by blankets, you know?* (P1).

> *And the one cousin, I know for a fact, we were in the bushes and I was playing with her. Cause the aunt was doing it to me…so now I think in the child's perception is that, it's okay for her to do it to me so it should be okay for me to do it to her* (P7).

> *For my own children, I was desperate to...well, I was actually desperate to* ***not*** *give them the legacy of my childhood* (P9).

> *There was like knowledge the whole time that...that I was becoming my mother* (P9).

These comments demonstrate the 'curse' of victimhood through their implication that sexual transgressions are intractable and mark selfhood in perpetuity. In much the same way as participants spoke to the inevitability of revictimisation, the likelihood of becoming the abuser was a trope that appeared to be a pre-condition for victimhood.

These turns to the cycle of abuse were not expressed in isolation from the psychological frameworks that produced them. The gravity of female sexual transgressions is pronounced in such a construct having to be underwritten by victim discourses itself:

> *I think a lot of these women are actually victims anyway. But you also get that horrible label that if you're abused you will go on to be an abuser* (P1).

> *I read about that. And cases of people saying they were paedophiles because they were abused. And it terrified me. Meaning, that does this mean I'm also gonna...I'm still terrified of it today* (P2).

> *Like maybe this, a woman will sexually abuse another child because it happened to them and this is the way they justify it, you know?* (P3).

Psychological explanations require a set of features for victimisation, and potential offending is one of them. Participants' access to psychological discourse allowed them to construct victimhood and to demonstrate their victim worthiness. While the cycle of violence forms part of the discourses on sex abuse in general (rather than FSA particularly), it is access to this type of discourse that first provides the conditions of possibility for FSA victimisation and thereafter provides participants with a set of features with which to construct their victimhood in perpetuity. The ability to occupy an FSA victim subject position thus depends on its intelligibility amongst typical victim discourses, albeit that in the case of FSA, the perpetrator must simultaneously share this position.

6.7.7. Self-depictions of perversity: 'Effects' on sexual and gendered behaviour

> *I spent half my life thinking that I'm such a pervert that I avoid all people* (P1).

For Foucault (1978), one of the key vehicles for biopower in the eighteenth and nineteenth century was the perverse implantation whereby an explosion of discourses on sexuality came to produce a host of deviations against the normalising sweeps of the Malthusian unit. These violations, against the heterosexual couple and thus 'normal' sexuality, produced forms of

perversity that were to be annexed and implanted as population wide possibilities by medicine and the law. Foucault (1978) argues that this perverse implantation underlies the obligation to confess to sexuality. Given the confessional context of the interview, participants' constructions of the perversity that must mark them emerged as a means to further demonstrate the intractability of the inversion of sexual 'normality' and, so victim worthiness.

Access to particular discourses (psychological, internet, media and/or non-normative sexual discourse) provided participants with a technology of incitement to self-identify as FSA victims. One of the strongest claims to this victim position was the reference to the 'perverse' sexual and gendered consequences of FSA victimisation. All of the participants constructed themselves in an unquestionable relation to perversity. For example, participants drew on psychological discourse by using their 'psychological insights' to make various connections such that these 'perversions' were linked directly to FSA. For example,

> *There was this naked girl [the perpetrator]. As I said, she was quite chubby. To this day...I still have this thing about obese or overweight women. It freaks me out completely. My ex-wife when she like puts on weight I couldn't, I couldn't have sex with her. I just couldn't. She must...go away. You know? It's quite difficult. There's not too many anorexic women out there these days* (P1).

> *And I think also, parallel to that [the exposure to FSA], my sexuality was also forming…I think I was at the stage where me and my friends at boys' school were looking to each other's penises and we were looking at all those that got hair growing on it and I remember having like sex with other boys but like not penetrative sex but just rubbing against each other and things like that. And also remember that me- I, I always...not always but I think I was, being exposed to* ***that****, I think I was sort of like the lead in terms of things like that. Like let's do it this way, let's do it that way and things like that…And I think at that point also my, my sexuality was forming because I was really aware that I was actually becoming attracted to boys. Not necessarily, um women…Which...made me struggle for a long time in my life thinking that maybe, did the sexual abuse form my sexual orientation cause I'm a homo, I'm a homosexual* (P2).

> *What I do know is I don't have desires or anything to do with kids or whatever. And even now, even with my friends, I'm always...I'm so, even people, my peers, it's a known, I'm attracted to the older. The older…The six-year gap or* ***more****. That's how terrified I am of being with somebody younger than me* (P2).

> *I think...her getting pleasure out of it [the FSA events]…I think I dived in pornography because it became - I started to even almost abuse it myself. Finding out that then I also became like quite...I'm not going to say addicted but I also became...the whole pornography of it also became my basis in terms of entertainment…I think in terms of sexuality because I got to realise, I got to...I think the, the molestation made me get onto sex way before I was ready* (P2).

P2's comment that his sexually precocious nature as a child was a consequence of his experience of molestation marks a lifelong deviation from 'normality'. Some other examples of the way that FSA was an instrument and outcome of perversity included:

> *It [the FSA event] definitely kept me away. From boys and stuff, for a long time. Um…like my first like boyfriend, I was sixteen but I also, like I didn't, it wasn't sexual at all* (P3).

> *Now many years after the painful ordeal, it is affecting my relationships. I feel abused and pushed when women try to love me. Sometimes I even have dreams having sex with relatives and it's a pain.* (P4).

> *It's made me sexually aggressive…It's a wonder I haven't got AIDS or…because the way I was going on, it was bad. I was literally sexually aggressive. If I saw you in a nightclub and I thought you were cute, within a day…ya* (P7).

> *I would sleep with anybody who even indicated that they wanted to have sex* (P9).

Participants also infused abuse into their reports on desire, sexuality and satisfaction in their lives. In keeping with the centrality of sexuality to subjectivity (Foucault, 1978), this compromised and will continue to mark their sexual selfhood and health more globally. For example,

> *I've had more dirty sex and only with a handful of women so...like even* ***now****, when I have sex, I mean the actual penetration doesn't interest me. So, I would rather stimulate her orally or manually or whatever, then bring her to climax and then be quite happy just to leave it at that. It sort of becomes quite crazy in terms of like sex is not wrong as long as it's not satisfying* (P1).

> *When it comes to sex, I'm not a sex person. You know? I'm more, I'm very more sensual like with a partner and all that but with sex and whatever I still carry that whole thing of it being too intimate and I don't wanna, it's really difficult for me to share my, what pleasures me ultimately with a*

> *person because...I don't know, does this make sense but I feel like they will see a connection to my sister* (P2).
>
> *There were sexual problems in terms of, like very dysfunctional you know? Unable to perform, drinking and low self-esteem* (P1).
>
> *Well, when I first started having sex, I had a problem with um…what is that called? Vaginismus?* (P10).

Again, this is not necessarily different from constructions of victims of male sexual violence - especially where the victim is a boy or man (see Myers, 1989). Discourses concerning nondisclosure, trauma, revictimisation, guilt, self-blame, memory loss, the cycle of abuse and perversity are thus all mobilised to frame victimhood across the gender divide. However, in addition to these typical sex abuse discourses, one clear discursive theme arose in the data that does not emulate classic sex abuse narratives. This was the participants' construction of FSA as more emotionally damaging than sexual victimisation at the hands of a male.

6.7.8. FSA as more emotionally damaging than male sexual violence

> *I know that that betrayal is there for my father as well, but it's not as bad. It's not as big* (P9).

While the participants took recourse to the construction of female sexuality as harmless in accounting for their reported reluctance to disclose abuse, their positions implied the inverse in their reflections on the present and the future where abuse takes place at the hands of a woman. Rather than aligning their narratives to the conventionally imagined innocuous female sexuality, these participants constructed FSA as a special case of betrayal, damage and disruption of selfhood. In short, FSA was constructed as hyper-damaging. P5 had only been exposed to FSA but felt that if her perpetrator were male, she would have experienced less shame. She stated that, "*I can't explain why it's more shameful that it's, that it's a lady than with a man*". Other participants actually had exposure to both male and female sexual abusers (on separate occasions). These participants maintained that the emotional damage was far worse under the sexual coercion of a woman. This was particularly confusing for P1 who felt that the actual sexual violence was more injurious under his male abuser yet his emotional response to the FSA event was more severe. Similarly P9 compared her response to her mother's sexual abuse to her reaction to being sexually abused by a group of boys with the following statement:

> *I felt **much** more violated by my mother. I felt much more betrayed that...that she could hurt somebody...in a way that...it actually felt surreal. It's like I just started to think...this, none of this feels right. Whereas I don't think I had that thought for the boys* (P9).

The tendency to view FSA as more emotionally damaging than male sexual violence can be understood as a function of the gendered constructions explored earlier in the chapter. All of the participants (at various times) mobilised constructions of masculine aggression and virility and feminine passivity and maternity; male sexual violence was thinkable and FSA near impossible. FSA directly contradicts the essential 'truth' about women and thus abuse by a woman was constructed as the embodiment of emotional betrayal and trust. In keeping with the discursive loading of women as caregivers, participants who reported the most severe emotional reactions were abused by their mothers. Given the absolute 'unnaturalness' of a maternal sexual abuser, these events are constructed as even more perverse and more damaging. Reconciling the emotional custodianship of modern motherhood with the immorality and pathology attached to the sexual perpetrator seems impossible for these participants such that an everlasting, hyper-trauma must mark this construction of FSA.

It therefore seems that the ability for subjects to occupy an FSA victim position requires casting female sexuality as potentially aggressive. This in turn is dependent on the integration of this knowledge into broader constructions of victimhood. Given that FSA remains peripheral to modern conceptions of sexual transgression, woman as abuser implies a very particular form of discursive arrangement in which the abuse represents not merely a transgression on the individual body but perhaps, more specifically, a transgression on motherhood as the embodiment of custodianship and care and perhaps ultimately, the last bastion of human safety.

6.8. Surfacing female sex abuse

The participants in this study drew on normative constructions of gender and sexuality as a means to demonstrate how FSA victimhood is 'abnormal' even in the context of sexual abuse. However, in the contestations between FSA as innocuous but hyper-damaging, the outcome of severe pathology but also a compromised morality and the tension between the hypersexual man and an emasculated victimhood are counter-coordinates for the knowledge that is the outcome of hegemonic constructions of gender and sexuality. Together, these counter-discourses may disrupt human science knowledge on sexuality in the further and

refined production of the emergent female sexual perpetrator and her victims. As participants progressed through their interviews, female sexual violence began to become increasingly thinkable, palpable and dangerous. This thinkability and danger implies at least some disruption to our modern technologies of sex and subjectivity.

6.8.1. Tracing the history: Patterns of public knowledge

Sex abuse knowledge has been subject to various definitions and frameworks across time according to prevailing cultural conditions that make aspects of sexual violence possible (Rutherford, 2011). The historical pattern of small and gradual developments of sex abuse human science knowledge governs that which is considered legitimate and relevant research subject matter in the discipline at a given point in time and, in turn, that which should be subject to surveillance and regulation. Whilst FSA was previously inconceivable, there is a current trend in academia, the law and the health professions that is actively engaged with the 'discovery' of female sexual violence. This trend is a function of particular modern global and South African conditions that make FSA possible. Examples of these conditions include the current wave of panic and public concern in South Africa about sexual violence (see Abramjee, 2013; Bauer, 2013, Evans, 2013; Knoetze, 2013; Swart, 2013) as well as political and public calls, campaigns and advocacy projects to counteract it. In addition, due to enhancements to birth control technologies and the increasing share of women in the economy (Collins et al., 1993), most Global North contexts and some South African contexts are currently typified by a gradual erosion of the male-female binary that has neatly demarcated who can and cannot sexually transgress and be transgressed upon. This has resulted in female bodies now representing a greater threat to the order of things than they did before.

The participants noted how the emergence of FSA into circulated discourse parallels earlier trends in other types of sex abuse. Of particular interest was P7's comments regarding why FSA is only emerging as an object of knowledge at this specific time in history:

> *You know for those days…people just got away with that type of thing…Those days…I think it was more of a…you don't talk about those types of things because it doesn't happen to people…Today we are more, um, open about these type of things…Um, as you said, there's, there's actually groups. Where people can go to. And they talk about it. Those days they wouldn't have…If it happened to you, you keep it to*

yourself…Those days, you tell your mom, she'll probably beat the living shit out of you for lying.

P7's comments on the increasing 'acknowledgement' of the possibilities for FSA show how the exclusion of a particular object of knowledge in discourse results in its invisibilisation and thus its 'un-truth'. Only by virtue of its ability to be 'written' into discourse, is an object of knowledge made real, possible and conceivable. However, this easing of the parameters of who counts as a victim requires the alignment of new and alternative discourses (based on a body of scientific evidence) in order to be realised into the corpus of 'real' knowledge.

6.8.2. Alternative discourses: The fluidity of sexuality and gender

Given that the dominant cultural narrative on sex abuse depends on heteronormative discourses, FSA, and more particularly FSA victimhood, lies at or beyond the boundaries of contemporary understandings of sex and sexuality. FSA victimhood discourse is, in this sense, a vehicle for counter-knowledge. Since the dominant narrative on sex abuse is constructed upon rigid and narrow definitions of gender and sexuality, the counter-narrative on FSA victimhood is likely to be dependent on discourses that support the fluidity of gender and sexuality. Breaking apart the binaries of modern heteronormativity thus seems to be a precondition for identifying as a victim of FSA. For example, FSA is conceivable for P2 because he is able to split sex from gender and desire from sexuality:

As a homosexual man, there are certain women that I find attractive but I don't necessarily, I won't necessarily build a life with but I find them attractive…I know I can be attracted to heterosexuals and some homosexuals actually enjoy it but hear what I'm saying, from that point of me being homosexual and having sex with a woman, I don't find it disgusting.

Likewise, for P8 to construct FSA required restructuring our understandings of men and women:

I think personally that people should, that more people should know that women are capable of doing these kind of things…And that they can, that they are capable of the same things that men are capable of…I want people to understand that it isn't just men that are doing wrong. It's women as well. And so that people have the voice to speak up and tell, tell someone if their mom or their, or a girl or someone is abusing them so that they don't go through the amount of pain that I went through when my mom abused me.

The participants' use of alternative discourse on sexuality and gender coupled with their recognitions of historical patterns in sex abuse knowledge are vehicles for the identification of FSA victimhood and further reification of this object in human science knowledge. The movement from FSA impossibility to possibility and then, in some cases probability, across their interviews parallels the current emergent FSA victimhood discourse in the institutions of research and the law. In keeping with the logic of the confessional and its relationship to these institutions, participants were able to utilise the study interview as a context in which to perform gender and sexuality in ways that intersected and often produced new configurations of victimhood. Taken together, these discursive aspects of the interview material provide an overarching demonstration of those historical and material conditions that make FSA victimhood real and unreal; and possible and impossible. These discourses are however themselves now implicated in a reconstitution of these realities and possibilities.

CHAPTER 7: REIFYING THE FSA VICTIM

7.1. Power, gender and sexuality in the production of FSA victimhood

The objective of this thesis was to read the historical and material conditions for FSA victimhood through the language of the subject in order to identify possibilities for an FSA victimology. Using Foucault's (1978) understandings of the historical production of sexuality and the constitution of the self and his examples of the way power emerges as a cluster of relations at a particular cultural and historical moment as well as Butler's (1989; 1999; 2004) proposal for gender formation as backdrops, this study investigates the ways that discourses on gender and sexuality as instrument-effects for power/knowledge provide the conditions of possibility for identifying as a victim of FSA. The constitution of sex and gender is channelled through an apparatus, consisting of institutions, discourses and 'truths', which produce and are produced by the subject. Sexuality and gender can thus be more critically appreciated through the understanding of the historical, political and material conditions that constitute them as well as their configuration within modern power to produce subject positions under constant (self)regulation, monitoring and surveillance. This study used self-identified FSA victims to demonstrate how scientific discourse and the identification of possibilities for gender and sexuality are mutually constitutive.

The recent global and local transformations and shifts in constructions of female sexuality have provided an avenue that prepares the public imagination for the emergence of FSA victimology. Whilst South Africa is still characterised by relatively orthodox views on gender and sexuality (Jewkes et al., 2003), the various pockets of society that do embrace alternative modes of gender and/or sexuality make possible an emerging FSA victimhood discourse. This is particularly evidenced by the rapidly emerging female sexual offender figure in the public consciousness alongside the amendments made to the Criminal Law (Sexual Offences and Related Matters) Amendment Act (Minister for Justice and Constitutional Development, 2007) and the media and public focus on sexual violence. While South Africa is defined by a very particular political landscape characterised by inequitable social and economic relations, the conditions that generate an FSA victimhood subject position are still produced in much the same way as they are in more equitable contexts. However, and as demonstrated by the South African participants in this study, FSA victimhood is not solely dependent on sexuality and gender (de)constructions but rather emerges at the intersection of additional complex and competing identity components such as race and class.

Whilst victimhood and trauma are cast as rare in the aftermath of what is now constructed as FSA (Denov, 2001), the data emerging in this study largely suggests that FSA victimhood is thinkable under certain material and psycho-political conditions and that 'trauma' is volunteered. Key to surfacing these conditions was gender performativity (Butler, 1999) because in the context of a confessional interview, gender, sexuality and power could be performed in unusual ways. Performativity thus allowed participants to renegotiate their subjections, perform an alternative discourse and consolidate an FSA victim subject position within the interview as an incitement to speak about sex. This context provided the participants with the vehicle to produce FSA victimhood in a way that clearly exposed those conditions that make such an object possible. These conditions appear to be rooted in access to particular knowledge such as psychological theory, class resources, non-normative sexual and gender discourses and access to technologies such as online self-help groups.

Participants also mobilised and disrupted deeply engrained heteronormative gender constructions to make the emergence of a particular type of victimhood impossible, possible and potentially pervasive. In so doing, the participants constructed aetiologies of FSA, profiles of its victims and perpetrators and consequences of victimisation. These are now part of human science knowledge (as objects articulated in the current study) and will thus provide further and refined possibilities for FSA victimhood in sexuality research, ushering in increasing modes of both regulation and resistance.

One of the most interesting findings in this study was the tension inherent in constructing male FSA victims given the irreconcilability of being both male and an FSA victim. In much the same way as the female sexual offender, the male victim presents an alternative framework for understanding gender. Thus FSA victimisation, and particularly male FSA victimhood, presents a challenge to the masculine-feminine dichotomy because it so clearly indicates that not only the female body, but also the male body is permeable, penetrable and thus vulnerable (Bourke, 2007). The possibility of female-to-male sexual victimisation is thus another means to disrupt gender constructions that constrain femininity to purity, fragility and maternity and masculinity to strength and dominance. The ability to use this study to contribute to these counter-hegemonic gender discourses also disrupts circulated understandings of 'real' and thus reportable sexual violence.

The absence of international and South African research interrogating FSA victimhood (McMahon, 2011) has provided the opportunity for the current study to form part of the production of an FSA victimology whilst simultaneously demonstrating how victimhood is produced at the intersection of power, gender and sexuality against the backdrop of certain material conditions. The study thus provides a platform for further examining broader global and local conditions of possibility for FSA victims which promise the production of possibly new counter-knowledges on gender, sexuality and sex abuse. These counter-knowledges contribute to critical accounts of the way that history, culture and discourse produce and reify human subjects and subjectivities.

7.2. Becoming a victim: Theoretical and practical implications

The task of this research has been to identify and critique dominant narratives that exclude particular versions of victimhood from widely circulated discourses. This research is thus ultimately both the product of classical discourses on sex as well as potentially a springboard for the production of counter-knowledge on who may and may not be a victim or perpetrator of what can or cannot be considered sexual abuse. This analysis is not external to the discourses and knowledge that shapes it and therefore emerges as a consequence of a contested network of forces, of which the study forms a part (Bowman & Hook, 2010). As such the study draws on the very gendered language that it hopes to erode by extending modes of sexual surveillance across the genders. For Butler (2004), this is evidenced by the very fact that a theoretical desire to do away with sexual difference exists and this, in turn, reinforces the enduring and efficacious character of sexual difference. That is, "anything that might be said against it is oblique proof that it structures what we say" (Butler, 2004, p. 177).

Despite mainstreamed visibility of trauma and victim discourse globally, and in South Africa specifically, FSA victims have escaped academic, medical, legal and public surveillance such that they remain invisible or at least peripheral. This research therefore both materialises and produces part of the emerging apparatus of discourses, scientific accounts and theoretical propositions that surface the productive possibilities of FSA victimhood. The possibility for these conditions to produce FSA subject positions in this study thus highlights the politics of human science knowledge in its constitution of who qualifies for victimhood under current constructions of sexual abuse. Accordingly, the exploration of conditions of possibilities for FSA victimhood represents a strategic point of entry into investigating how sexuality, gender and identity intersect to produce a 'new' mode of social and sexual transgression that is itself

both an instrument and effect of modern power. Because the social world is characterised by "implicit accounts of ontology" that determine which genders, sexualities, identities and bodies can be considered 'real' (Butler, 2004, p. 214), this critical investigation reveals how discourse operates through selection, exclusion and inclusion in the discursive fields of abuse, violence, sexuality and gender. By specifically questioning the exclusion of FSA victimhood from modern discourse, this research actively engages in Halperin's (1989, p. 273) process of de-centring sexuality so that the "histrocity, conditions of emergence, modes of construction, and ideological contingencies" of FSA victimhood particularly and gender and sexuality more broadly can be identified. In so doing, this study examines counter-discourses for sexuality and gender and thus further refines, solidifies and reifies new possibilities for thinking gender, sexuality and violence (Weedon, 1987).

Making FSA victimhood thinkable will no doubt serve to further reify this object of human science knowledge. This potential reification will certainly impact on a number of other institutional practices. For example, the possibility of an FSA victim will, in turn, shift policing and the criminal justice system, which currently reduce femininity to passivity and victimisation. This will influence FSA visibility such that there may be a rise in reporting and incarceration rates and thus the appearance of a rise in rates of female sexual offending. Science may declare that such abuse has always existed and was merely waiting to be discovered and the ever-expanding net of discipline will be cast wider. Whilst this expansion may still be constrained by a cultural fabric that cannot yet fully conceive of an agentic and sexually transgressive woman, the emergence of FSA victimhood will surely disrupt the gendering of sexual violence and trauma. Revisions to terms such as 'rape', 'sexual abuse' and 'sexual victimisation' "filter into the culture at large", with the effect of subjects 'realising' the applicability of these new definitions to their experiences (Koss et al., 1994, p. 510). It is thus likely that counter-knowledge on FSA victimhood will inform further revisions to understandings of sexual abuse and this in turn will provide conditions for a wider range subjects to identify as FSA victims. This has both ethical and political implications. The manifestation of increased female sexual offender incarceration rates may result in the construction of an FSA pandemic and consequently widespread moral panic. At least in South Africa this will serve to amplify the recent surge in moral panic about rape and other forms of sexual violence and in turn drive the increasing scrutiny and regulation of female (and other) sex offenders and the social regulation of sexual behaviour. On a more political level, the project of making possible a sexually violent female may serve to

rationalise and fuel the continued pathologisation and repression of women's sexual agency. In the context of contemporary narratives on women's sexualities, feminist responses to this research may be concerned with the potentially anti-feminist consequences of FSA reification. Specifically, the implication is that the production of a sexually violent woman aligns with dominant gender discourses that insinuate the corruptive potential of sexually agentic women. In turn, women become like men (aggressive, sexually potent for example) and, female sexual agency is pathologised and punished. Thus, whilst the focus on female perpetration does well to provide possibilities for destabilising heteronormative gender binaries and binaristic positions on power and subjection, it also runs the risk of driving an antifeminist position.

7.3. Further research

The study of a particular construct is, in effect, the procedure through which that construct is partly being produced (Butchart, 1997). An inevitable consequence of this study's analysis was the reification of FSA victimhood as an object of knowledge through the definition, solidification and visibilisation of this object as a scientific 'reality' (Bowman & Hook, 2010). It is therefore necessary to continue to treat our scientific discoveries in many instances as inseparable from the analyses that 'discovered them' (Armstrong, 1986). Victimhood is thus a product of the creative force of power and exists as an object of human science knowledge (Butchart, 1997). This thesis is but one node in a multifaceted matrix of both competing and corresponding discursive relationships that attempt to take hold of, release, create and resist constructions of sexual abuse. Future investigations of FSA victimhood are therefore likely to point to different discourses to those identified by this analysis.

FSA victimhood disrupts normative gendered discourses such as the idealisation of the nuclear family, the sentimentality of motherhood and the illusion of the impenetrable male body. The possibility of FSA victimhood thus fundamentally disturbs entrenched ontologies of gender and sexuality and, in consequence, provides ideal conditions for the surfacing of subject positions made invisible by technologies of modern power that sustain these. Apparent sexual transgressions should thus continue to be highlighted as a research priority so that they can be utilised to explore the conditions of possibility for a burgeoning counter-knowledge on sexuality.

Sexual and gendered discourses in Sub-Saharan Africa do not necessarily have the same contours and effects as their versions in the Global North. This study demonstrated how the intersecting discourses that bind gender and sexuality through power depend on very particular material conditions. Primarily, the ability to self-identify as a victim required a victim worthiness rooted in the construction of damage to an inherently valuable life. This damage found traction in psychological discourses, which hold the construct of sexuality as a primary anchor of human selfhood. The fact that damage can only be conceptualised in relation to the potential value lost suggests that (although FSA is organised around gender) class is a particularly important marker of who qualifies as a victim of sexual violence. Class also played a pivotal role in providing the possibilities for identification as a victim of FSA in Kramer's (2010; 2011) earlier South African studies. These findings demonstrate that South African specific discourses and material conditions continue to limit 'classed' possibilities for FSA victimhood and, in turn, continue to circumscribe possibilities of sexuality, gender and identity. Further research should therefore use this foundation as a platform to investigate the way that additional social, contextual and political categories define, limit and demarcate possibilities for identity.

The FSA victim is produced in this study as possible, traumatised and penetrable regardless of gender. In turn, the female sexual offender herself is again recast. This is particularly with regards to her capacity to be a single offender, to victimise adult men and to engage in FSA behaviours towards pleasure and/or power seeking. This invites a rearticulation of the female sexual offender as an object and subject of human sciences research. Likewise, the study will participate in the production and refinement of the political project of determining 'victim worthiness'.

The production of a particular category of human experience through data analysis, and 'evidence' is conventionally associated with the need for further research such that the FSA victim eventually becomes moulded, categorised and objectified in a matrix of theories that attempt to isolate, refine and define it. Whilst it is not the aim of this research to participate in the production of these theories, their development is a likely ancillary outcome.

7.4. Final comment

Following Foucault's (1978) analysis of sexuality, by calling into question the universality of 'truths' about gender and sexuality, this study offers new possibilities for a reconstitution of

these objects of human science knowledge. In tracing the conditions of possibility for subjects to identify as victims of FSA, the thesis has charted the coordinates of the discourses that constrain men to perpetrators and women to victims in a mutually constitutive production of sexual abuse. In so doing, this study provides a compelling argument for rethinking the roles of gender and sexuality in outlining the parameters of 'truths' for sexual transgression, victimhood and perhaps even sexual violence itself.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: LIST OF ORGANISATIONS APPROACHED

Websites provided where available.

- 66 Practicing South African psychologists (names not provided for confidentiality purposes)
- Dr Eve (Marlene Wasserman) (sexologist) http://www.dreve.co.za/
- Professor Elna McIntosh (sexologist)
- South African Police Services http://www.saps.gov.za/
- Department of Justice and Constitutional Development http://www.justice.gov.za/
- ChildLineSA http://www.childlinesa.org.za/
- ChildLine Eastern Cape
- ChildLine Free State http://www.childwelfarebfn.org.za/
- ChildLine Gauteng http://www.childlinegauteng.org.za/
- ChildLine KwaZulu Natal http://www.childlinekzn.org.za/
- ChildLine Limpopo http://www.childlinemp.org.za/
- ChildLine Mpumulanga
- ChildLine North West
- ChildLine Northern Cape
- ChildLine Western Cape http://www.lifelinewc.org.za/
- Child Welfare South Africa http://www.childwelfaresa.org.za/
- Topsy Foundation http://www.topsy.org.za/
- Cotlands http://www.cotlands.org.za/
- Home of Hope http://www.homeofhope.co.za/
- Women and Men Against Child Abuse http://www.wmaca.org.za/
- The Child Guidance Clinic at the University of Cape Town http://web.uct.ac.za/depts/cgc/
- The Teddy bear Clinic http://ttbc.org.za/
- United Nations Children's Fund (Unicef) South Africa http://www.unicef.org/southafrica/
- Resources Aimed at the Prevention of Child Abuse and Neglect (RAPCAN) http://www.rapcan.org.za/home/
- Transform Education About Rape And Sexual Abuse (TEARS) http://www.tears.co.za/
- I Empower Myself Self-Empowerment and Development Centre http://www.iempowerself.com/
- People Opposing Women Abuse (POWA) http://www.powa.co.za/
- Rape Crisis Cape Town Trust http://rapecrisis.org.za/
- LifeLine http://www.lifeline.org.za/
- Families South Africa (FAMSA) http://www.famsaorg.mzansiitsolutions.co.za/
- FAMSA Eastern Cape
- FAMSA Free State
- FAMSA Gauteng
- FAMSA KwaZulu Natal
- FAMSA Limpopo
- FAMSA Mpumulanga
- FAMSA North West
- FAMSA Northern Cape
- FAMSA Western Cape
- South African Depression and Anxiety Group (SADAG) http://www.sadag.org/
- Out Wellbeing http://www.out.org.za/
- Gay and Lesbian Memory in Action (GALA) http://www.gala.co.za/
- Queerlife South Africa http://www.queerlife.co.za/
- Parents, Families and Friends of Lesbians and Gays (PFLAG) http://pflagsouthafrica.org/website/
- Gender Dynamix http://www.genderdynamix.org.za/

- Sonke Gender Justice http://www.genderjustice.org.za/
- Forum for the Empowerment of Women (FEW) http://www.few.org.za/
- Durban Lesbian and Gay Community and Health Centre http://www.gaycentre.org.za/
- Intersex South Africa (ISSA) http://www.intersex.org.za/
- Eastern Cape Gay and Lesbian Association http://ecgla.org.za/website/
- Jewish Outlook http://www.jewishoutlook.org.za/
- The Inner Circle http://theinnercircle.org.za/
- DISA Sexual and Reproductive Health Clinic
- Sex Workers and Advocacy Taskforce (SWEAT) http://www.sweat.org.za/
- Women's Net http://www.womensnet.org.za/
- BlackSash http://www.blacksash.org.za/
- Nicro http://www.nicro.org.za/
- World Health Organisation South Africa http://www.who.int/countries/zaf/en/
- Acts Clinic http://actsclinic.org

APPENDIX B: LETTER TO ORGANISATIONS

Psychology
School of Human & Community Development
Private Bag 3, Wits 2050, South Africa. Telephone: +27 11-717-4500/2/3/4. Fax: +27-11-717-4559

Dear Madam/Sir,

My name is Sherianne Kramer and I am currently conducting a research report as part of my Doctorate in Psychology at the University of the Witwatersrand under the supervision of Associate Professor Brett Bowman. My research involves the investigation of victims of female sexual abuse and, as such, requires me to conduct interviews with South African victims of female sexual abuse. Accordingly, I made an application to the University of the Witwatersrand. I have recently received permission to conduct my research from the University. This letter intends to inform you about the general purpose of my research and what it will involve in terms of methodology. Consequently, I hope to receive your assistance to proceed forward with my research.

My research is titled *'On Becoming a Victim': Power, Gender and Sexuality in the Production of Victims of South African Female Sex Abuse.* Female sex abuse has recently become the subject of increased medical, legal and public attention. However, female sex crimes are still considered rare regardless of the fact that when sexual victimisation experiences are surveyed, the incidence of female sex crimes is often higher than expected. Given the often shameful and sensitive nature of sexual abuse, many victims resist reporting the incident and thus numerous sexual offences go undetected. This is even more significant with regard to female offenders where reporting is likely to be less accurate due to gender stereotypes, research limitations and professional biases. There are currently some international representations of female sex abuse victim demographics, however they are based solely on studies investigating the female sexual abusers rather than their victims. In

fact, female sex abuse victims are relatively disregarded in the academic literature and thus remain invisible in both academia and the public domain. This research therefore aims to investigate reasons for this invisibility and how the invisibility of female sex abuse victims relates to our understandings of gender, sexuality and power in modern society. Additionally, this research seeks to identify ways in which persons subjected to female sex abuse are able to perceive themselves as victims. In doing so this research will create a knowledge base for female sexual abuse victims which, in turn, will inform future research and initiatives in the areas of gender, sexuality and sexual abuse.

Every potential research participant will receive an information sheet with details concerning the aim and rationale of the study, my contact details, the data gathering procedure as well as the statement that participants are free to withdraw themselves or their information from the study at any point in time or to refuse to answer any questions they choose not to. To make this possible I will provide the participants with both telephonic and mailing contact details. The information sheet also includes details about privacy regarding the fact that participant confidentiality will be upheld throughout the research documentation and all documented data will remain anonymous. Additionally, the final report and any subsequent reporting will pay special attention to anonymisation of identity. However, the participants will be made aware of possible breaches of privacy if their stories are already public knowledge or have been previously documented in the media. After participants have acquired information concerning the study they will be given the opportunity to either accept or decline the invitation to participate. Each potential participant will receive a consent form which they can choose to sign if they agree to participate in the research. Further, it will be explained that the interview transcripts will be kept in a safe place and be seen by only myself and my supervisor. It will also be clear that there are no advantages or disadvantages in participating in the study as well as no direct benefits. The interview will last approximately one to two hours.

This research serves an important starting point in the knowledge production of victims of female sexual abuse. As such, I hope you will support me in proceeding with this research by attending a presentation I have prepared and thereafter assisting me with the identification of potential study participants.

Kind Regards

Sherianne Kramer
E-mail: kramer1@mweb.coza
Cel: 0837048554

APPENDIX C: CALL FOR PARTICIPANTS

Have you ever been sexually assaulted, molested or raped by a woman?

Given the often difficult and sensitive nature of sexual abuse, many victims resist reporting the incident and thus numerous sexual offences go undetected. This happens even more frequently with victims of female sexual abuse. Consequently, victims of female sexual abuse often do not have a space to tell their story. A study is therefore being conducted on the experiences, perceptions and lives of victims of female sexual perpetration. If you have been sexually assaulted, molested or raped by a woman and would like the opportunity to share your story as part of this research, please contact Sherianne Kramer on kramer1@mweb.co.za or 0837048554.

This research is being conducted for the purposes of a PhD degree at the University of the Witwatersrand. The findings of the study will allow for a greater understanding of female sexual abuse in South Africa and will also provide a foundation for future research in the area.

APPENDIX D: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

INTRODUCTION

Thank you for agreeing to participate in my study. The main aim of this interview process is to allow you the space to tell your story in your own words. We will talk about your experience and how you have dealt with it. We will also discuss your relationship with the person that abused you. Additionally, there will be questions concerning any effects the abuse has had on your life. Finally, we will cover your current life, relationships and your own understandings and ideas about sexual abuse.

I would also like to assure you that all of the information that you give me during the interview will be kept anonymous and your identity will remain confidential. When I transcribe this interview, no identifying details concerning you, your family or others involved in your story will appear in the document. As soon as I have completed the transcription, the digital recordings will be deleted. Do you understand this?

If you are happy to proceed, please read the consent forms for your participation as well as for the digital recording and then sign them as an indication that you both understand these forms and accept what is written on them. Please feel free to ask me anything concerning these forms, the information sheet and your interview.

I know that some of the questions I am going to ask you may be difficult for you to answer. Please take your time and feel free to indicate any discomfort you may have. You are also free to refuse to answer any of my questions. I assure you that I will conduct the interviews with respect for both you and your circumstances and I will attempt to make you feel as relaxed as possible. Should you feel that you would like to speak to a counsellor after the interview, I will make provision for that. At the end of the interview I will ask you if you need a counsellor and we can set up a meeting for you if need be.

I will now switch on the recorder.

QUESTIONS*

- What do you understand about the word ‘victim’? Would you describe yourself as a victim of sexual abuse? Explain your answer.

- Let's start with some background history. Tell me about the events leading up to the abuse, what your life was like and what you were doing. If you were a child before the abuse happened, tell me about your childhood and your family. If you were an adolescent, describe who you lived with and the people you had relationships with. If you were an adult describe your family, social and career life. If you are comfortable enough, please also describe your sexuality, your sex life and what you understood about sex before the abuse occured.
- Did you know your abuser? If no, how did she find you? If yes, please describe your relationship to her.
- Detail your perceptions of the woman that abused you- how would you describe her as a person?
- Please explain the abuse to me in as much detail as you can remember. Tell me how it started, how many times it occurred and what your abuser did to you. I realise how difficult it must be to talk about this so please take as long as you need in answering this question.
- How did you feel during the incident?
- How did you feel after the incident?
- How has your life changed since the incident? Think back to the things that you told me about your life before the abuse when you answer this question.
- How did your attitude towards sex change after the incident?
- Do you think this incident was worse because your abuser was female or would it have been worse if the abuser was male? Please explain your answer.
- What were your feelings around the person that abused you? Tell me specifically about your feelings around being abused by a woman.
- Have you ever reported the abuse? If not, why? If so, to whom?
- Have you ever spoken to a friend, family member, religious figure, social worker, counsellor, psychologist or any other person about the abuse? If so, what was their reaction to the fact that you were abused by a woman? Did this discussion help you? If so, how?
- How have you personally dealt with the abuse?
- Have you ever been sexually abused by a man? If so, how was the experience different? Did you react differently afterwards? Did you report this incident? Did you

tell anyone about it? Do you think the effects were different to those effects related to your female abuser?

- Throughout this interview I have used the term, 'abuse'. Do you feel that this accurately describes your experience? Explain your answer.

TERMINATION

Thank you for sharing your story with me. I really appreciate your honesty and the fact that you trusted me enough to talk to me. I know how difficult it must have been to talk about this. Is there anything else you would like to share with me? How did you feel during the interview? How do you feel now that we have come to the end of the interview? Do you feel that you require counselling as a result of the interview process?

*** The questions in this schedule are to be treated as guidelines and the order and content do not necessarily need to be followed rigidly. Some of the questions can simply be used as prompt questions where the respondent has left out detail. The questions outlined in the schedule serve as ideal points to be covered in the interview.**

APPENDIX E: PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

Psychology
School of Human & Community Development
Private Bag 3, Wits 2050, South Africa. Telephone: +27 11-717-4500/2/3/4. Fax: +27-11-717-4559

Dear Madam/Sir,

My name is Sherianne Kramer, and I am conducting research for the purposes of obtaining a Doctorate Degree in the Discipline of Psychology at the University of the Witwatersrand. The aim of my research is to identify ways that victims construct their female sex abuse experiences. Given the often difficult and sensitive nature of sexual abuse, many victims resist reporting the incident and thus numerous sexual offences go undetected. This happens even more frequently with female sexual abuse. Consequently, victims of female sexual abuse often do not have a space to tell their story. This research will therefore give female sexual abuse victims an opportunity to tell their story in their own words. The findings of the study will allow for a greater understanding of female sexual abuse in South Africa and will also provide a foundation for future research in the area. The research is being conducted under the supervision of Associate Professor Brett Bowman. We would like to invite you to participate in this study.

Participation in this research will involve being interviewed by myself, at a time and place that is convenient for you. The interview will last for approximately one to two hours. With your permission, this interview will be recorded in order to ensure that whatever you tell me can be analysed accurately. Participation is voluntary, and you will not be advantaged or disadvantaged in any way for choosing to participate or not to participate in the study. All of your responses will be kept confidential, and no information that could identify you will be included in the research report. However, if at any point your story was public knowledge or appeared in the media, you may be identifiable. This possible breach of privacy may or may

not bring about negative consequences. This said, I will do whatever I can to make sure that it remains unlikely that the findings in the final report imply your identification. Additionally, the interview questions and study procedure attempt to present no more than minimal risk to you as a participant. The interview material (digital recordings and transcripts) will not be seen or heard by any person in this organisation at any time, and will only be seen and studied by myself and possibly the supervisor. All digital recordings will be deleted immediately after they have been transcribed and these anonymous transcriptions will be kept in a secure place by the University of the Witwatersrand throughout the study. You may refuse to answer any questions you would prefer not to, and you may choose to withdraw from the study at any point.

If you choose to participate in the study please fill in your details on the form below. For any further information I can be contacted telephonically on (011) 884-0493 or via e-mail at kramer1@mweb.co.za and my supervisor can be contacted at (011) 717-8335.

This research will contribute both to a larger body of knowledge on female sex abuse, as well as to your own understanding of your circumstances. A one page summary of the research findings will be made available on request.

Sincerely,
Sherianne Kramer

I have read and understood the Information Sheet
Signed _____
Date_____

APPENDIX F: INFORMED CONSENT TO BE INTERVIEWED

I_____ hereby consent to being interviewed by Sherianne Kramer for her study on female sexual abuse.

I understand that:

-Participation in this interview is voluntary.

-I may refuse to answer any questions I would prefer not to.

-I may withdraw from the study at any time.

-No information that may identify me will be included in the research report, and my responses will remain confidential.

-Direct quotes from this interview may be used in the research report.

-There are no direct risks or benefits involved in my participation.

Signed_____

Date_____

APPENDIX G: INFORMED CONSENT TO BE AUDIO-RECORDED

I_____ hereby consent to my interview with Sherianne Kramer for her study on female sexual abuse being digitally recorded.

I understand that:

-The digital recordings and transcripts will not be seen or heard by any person in this organisation at any time, and will only be processed by the researcher.

-All digital recordings will be destroyed after the research is complete.

-No identifying information will be used in the transcripts or the research report.

-The transcriptions will be kept in a safe place throughout the research process.

-Direct quotes from the interview may be used in the research report.

Signed_____

Date_____

APPENDIX H: ETHICAL CLEARANCE

Human Research Ethics Committee (Non-Medical)

Clearance Certificate Protocol Number: H120207