ADOLESCENT BOYS LIVING WITH HIV

2011

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Submitted as the thesis in fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Psychology) in the School of Psychology at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg.

12 September 2011

ABSTRACT

This qualitative research identified constructions of masculinity among seven adolescent boys who were HIV positive, purposively sampled from the age range of 13 to 16 years and were members of a clinic-based HIV support groups. Central to this research was the critical use of the concept of 'hegemonic masculinity', defined as the legitmation of gendered power through masculinity ideals, embodied practices and imperatives. The framework of dialogical self theory was used for exploring the dynamics of individual and group positioning around hegemonic masculinity and this theory was compared with other approaches such as discursive theory.

Using multiple research methods within a qualitative design, this research identified individual and group ideals and practices held by the adolescent boys, with a key focus on how young men maintained 'positions' in relation to hegemonic masculinity, be these forms of masculinity that retained complete or partial identification with hegemonic masculinity or versions of masculinity that were alternative to the hegemonic form. The study was situated at the intersection of masculinity with the experience of living with a chronic medical condition, and the relatively homogenous and small sample provided an indepth basis for understanding the instantiation of masculine identity in a situation of fairly unique challenges and complexity.

A combination of semi-structured interviews, focus groups, autophotography, reflective writing, biographical drawings and biographical interviews were used to match an interpretive, inductive research process, with reflexivity and research ethics as key considerations. Interviews were carried out by the researcher and two of the support group facilitators, creating an opportunity for reflexivity around the complexities of qualitative interviewing. Multiple methods of data analysis were used to analyse and 'dialogue' multi-sourced verbal and visual data. Thse methods consisted of thematic analysis, an adaptation of critical narrative analysis for selected texts and content analysis of visual data.

The findings suggested that there were active processes of positioning masculine identity at individual and group levels and that positions in relation to hegemonic ideals were emotionally

invested. Two hegemonic versions of young masculinity were identified as sets of ideal standards and embodied practices. 'Township young masculinity' was a peer-approved version identified with physical invulnerability, risk-taking and an ideal of attaining 'influence and affluence' through exceptional performances. 'Aspirant young masculinity' was a future orientation towards attaining a commodity masculinity, identified with an independent provider roles and signified through visible displays of ownership both material and symbolic.

Interpreting findings from dialogical self theory, it appeared that some of the boys, at some times, established a distance from hegemonic imperatives by taking personally agentive, independent I-positions. This carried the risk of impulsively reacting to hegemonic imperatives without the support of collective identities and social relationships. Some boys developed I-positions that were contradictory to produce new and more tenable I-positions. This process appeared to be more sustainable when it was connected with a group or collective identity such as being a member of the support group or being a person living with HIV. Some of the boys maintained alternatives through 'metapositions' that were made available through contexts or resources which offered alternative perspectives and possibilities. Dilemmas faced included managing the hegemonic imperative of being sexually active as an HIV positive young man or prioritising health where the hegemonic standard promoted physical risk-taking. It was apparent that despite interviewer expectations, the participants did not foreground an HIV positive identity but instead defined themselves foremostly as young men. One of the solutions to these dilemmas was to modify but maintain some alignment or identification with masculinity ideals. Here, the constraints of being HIV positive meant that maintaining health was more important than conforming to masculinity ideals or a reframing of masculinity within the physical, social and symbolic barriers of having a potentially life-threatening illness. The challenge of this solution was that its sustainability relied to a large extent on the availability of safe 'dialogical' spaces such as the HIV support group. Some of the boys found 'principled' alternatives to hegemonic masculinity from community or cultural values. Some of the boys identified with hegemonic standards but had to constantly defend against the anxiety of not being able to embody these hegemonic standards.

DECLARATIONS

Unless specifically stated to the contrary in the text, this thesis is the original work of the undersigned.

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David Roy Blackbeard   Date

I hereby declare that this dissertation has been submitted with my approval.

_____   _____

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND TO THIS RESEARCH

1.1.   Relevance of this study

This research was a qualitative study that focused on the constructions of masculinity among adolescent boys who were members of a support group for adolescents living with HIV[1]. Most of the participants in this study were already receiving anti-retroviral (ARV) treatment and all had disclosed their HIV status in the social context of the support group. The core aim of this research was to identify forms of masculinity held or taken up by these boys both individually and as a group, and to identify how the boys were positioned in relation to 'hegemonic' forms of masculinity. The intersection between forms of masculinity and having an HIV positive identity was central to this aim, as this was a context in which positioning a masculine identity might be constrained, developed or made possible through the challenges of being HIV positive. The secondary aim was to identify how these boys developed or created alternatives to 'hegemonic' forms of masculinity through positioning processes. It was anticipated that this would be relevant for gender-based programmes, policy and gender activism. Some of the problems related to constructions of masculinity include sexual- and gender-based violence, gender inequality, health risk behaviours including HIV risk, substance and alcohol abuse, industrial accidents, motor vehicle accidents and physical risk-taking (Andersson, 2007a; Hearn, 2007; Shefer, Bowman, & Duncan, 2008; Shefer, Ratele, Strebel, Shabalala & Buikema, 2007). Understanding how boys/men accomplish alternative masculinities has potential value for programmes, policies and activism that seek to address inter-related issues, for example the association of high risk sexual behaviour and alcohol abuse (Shefer et al., 2007).

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[1] Definitional norms follow those of the World Health Organisation, with 'young men' or 'youth' denoting the age group between 15 and 24, 'adolescents', the age group between 10 and 19 and 'boys' as males below the age of 15 (Panos Institute/Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS, 2001. The term boys/men is used when greater specificity is not needed.

This research was a sub-study of a broader study, the SANPAD young masculinity project[2]. The broader study took place over four years and involved approximately 12 groups of young men from various contexts and settings. These included young men from urban townships (Mfecane, 2008), young men who were peer group counsellors at schools (Davies & Eagle, 2007) and young men who were part of an HIV prevention initiative, the Targeted Aids Intervention (TAI) soccer movement (Lindegger & Quayle, 2009). Further groups included visually impaired adolescent boys (Joseph & Lindegger, 2007), male opinion leaders in schools, university students and young men with religious belief and faith-based affiliations (Lindegger & Quayle, 2009), and this research with young men from an HIV support group.

1.2.   An introductory note on 'hegemonic masculinity'

The concept of 'hegemonic masculinity' is much debated in the studies of men and masculinity and there are a number of definitional variations regarding what is meant by this term (Frosh, Phoenix, & Pattman, 2002). Hegemonic masculinity was introduced by the influential gender theorist, Connell (2002) as an organising principle for valued forms of masculinity that are produced, perpetuated and legitimated in ideas, activities and social institutions (Lindegger & Quayle, 2009). There are both various interpretations of the 'hegemonic masculinity' and some modifications of the original concept (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). There have also been significant reservations about the usefulness of this concept in understanding gender identities and gender relations (Hearn, 2004). In this study, hegemonic masculinity is taken to be configurations of masculine ideals, imperatives and practices that prevail across cultural settings, that are legitimated with 'self-givens' about male practices and ideals (Connell, 2002; Korobov & Bamberg, 2004; Mfecane, 2008).

'Hegemonic masculinity' has become a shared reference point for much of the research in masculinity studies and is located in social constructionist theory, although there have been various interpretations of the concept. This is not to say that all or even most masculinity

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[2] South African-Netherlands Partnership for Alternative Development young masculinity project.

research has used the concept, and certainly studies that have used the concept have done so in various and sometimes differing ways.

The reading of 'hegemonic masculinity' as a structural explanation of gender relations has been critiqued as not accounting for lived experiences of boys/men (Gibson & Lindegaard, 2007) and the diverse 'cultures of masculinity' (Seidler, 2006). This reading has emphasised the legitimation of masculinity ideals and practices through social institutions and has been critiqued as constructing individuals as operating only in terms of what is known, thereby foreclosing on subjective aspects such as individual identifications, unconscious processes or conflicts within the self (Haywood & Mac an Ghaill, 2003; Redman, 2001). Interpretations from discursive psychology have emphasised the 'micro-level' interactions in which hegemonic ideals, imperatives and practices are constructed or naturalised (Archer, 2001; Coyle & Walton, 2004; Edley & Wetherell, 1997; Korobov & Bamberg, 2004; Wetherell & Edley, 1999). The discursive psychology interpretation may also be limited in not accounting well for the emotional investments and anxieties experienced by boys/men in relation to hegemonic ideals and 'standards' (Frosh, Phoenix & Pattman, 2002; Lindegger & Maxwell, 2007).

In this research, the term 'hegemonic masculinity' refers to 'configurations' (Connell, 2002) that legitimate and 'naturalise' unequal gender relations (Archer, 2001). As a configuration, hegemonic masculinity is a set of ideals or 'standards' (Lindegger & Maxwell, 2007), a set of 'imperatives' or expectations (Korobov & Bamberg, 2004) and a set of 'embodied practices' (Connell, 1995). As an integration, hegemonic masculinity is conceptualised as an organisation of ideals, imperatives and practices that legitimate gender relations through inter-connected social, interactional and subjective processes. 'Social processes' refers to the ways in which hegemonic masculinity is legitimated at the 'macro-level' of social institutions and cultural dynamics and the 'micro-level' of groups and organisations (Mac an Ghaill, 1994). 'Interactional' processes refers to the 'instantiation' and 'negotiation' of hegemonic masculinity through conversation in daily interaction (Edley & Wetherell, 1997; Wetherell & Edley, 1999; Pascoe, 2005). 'Subjective' processes refers to the emotional 'investments', ambivalences,

contradictions and unconscious ways through which hegemonic masculinity is legitimised and experienced (Frosh et al., 2002).

1.3.   Hegemonic norms and HIV risk

There has been a growing recognition in research practice that people in the age range of 14 to 25 are an at-risk group for new HIV infections and that targeted interventions that address gender constructions have a crucial role in HIV prevention, particularly for adolescents and young adults (Lindegger & Quayle, 2009). There is a convergence in local research around the view that certain ideals, practices and constructions of masculinity put young men and women at risk for HIV infection. In Southern Africa, these are ideals or standards that boys/men are naturally 'risk-taking' and have a biologically based sex drive that must be gratified (Lindegger & Durrheim, 2002; Lindegger & Maxwell, 2007). A standard of compulsory heterosexuality contributes to HIV risk through an imperative that boys/men must be heterosexually active and that this must be 'visibly' evident (Lindegger & Quayle, 2009). The ideal that boys/men should be autonomous and self-sufficient contributes to HIV risk by limiting help-seeking behaviours. Associated ideals of toughness and invulnerability similarly contribute to risk behaviours and limited help-seeking. Further standards that create HIV risk are that men should be independent providers for families and exercise control in relationships, especially in controlling sexual decision-making (Lindegger & Quayle, 2009). Additional risk may occur through the anxieties of having to 'live up' to masculinity ideals that result in 'hypermasculine' performances (Joseph & Lindegger, 2007). At an emotional level, falling short of hegemonic ideals may carry fears of vulnerability and humiliation (Mfecane, 2008), and boys/men may react to these fears by conforming even more so to hegemonic imperatives and practices.

In the HIV context, help-seeking is crucial but the pressure to live up to hegemonic masculinity prevents or delays help-seeking when ill or in distress (Mfecane, 2008). In South Africa, it would appear that men are less likely to present for HIV treatment, seek ARV treatment or maintain adherence to ARV treatment regimens (Hudspeth, Venter, van Rie, Wing, & Feldman, 2004). That young South Africans have an inordinately high rate of unprotected sex and high

risk sexual behaviour, which in turn creates HIV risk, is bourne out in empirical self-report studies, although it should be noted that this empirical research may be limited by self-report biases such as social desirability or maintaining an appearance of conforming to ideals (Eaton, Flisher & Aaro, 2003; Kaufmann, Clark, Manzini, & May, 2004; Lindegger & Maxwell, 2007; Taylor et al., 2002). The extent to which hegemonic constructions of masculinity play a significant role in the pathway to HIV risk has a credible basis in qualitative research around the social constructions of masculinity by young men and adolescent boys. For example, in a school-based study, Harrison (2002) identified constructions of gender and gender difference as a major 'social risk factor' for HIV transmission.

1.3.1. Hegemonic masculinity and positioning.

Local and international studies in masculinity concur that certain forms of masculinity are associated with problematic behaviours and practices. The ideal that boys/men are defined by what they own has been associated with excessive emphasis on visual appearance, which contributes to the marginalisation of boys/men who lack the material resources to meet the ideals of consumer masculinity (Alexander, 2003). Some hegemonic forms of 'consumer masculinity' may also be associated with excessive alcohol use and the objectification of sex as a commodity that can be purchased through style and status (Benwell, 2003; Beynon, 2002; Edwards, 2003). The imperative that boys/men should be 'visibly' heterosexual contributes to discrimination and stigmatisation of individuals and groups with alternative sexual preferences (Kehily, 2001; Lasser & Thoringer, 2003). In the context of young masculinity this has a strong association with bullying of sexual minority boys and other 'homophobic' behaviours (Kenway & Fitzclarence, 1997; Redman, 2000; Young & Sweeting, 2004). Masculinity research has identified the problematic imperatives that boys/men should exercise control in relations and that boys/men have an inherent sexual drive, imperatives which have contributed to gender-based violence including intimate pattern violence, rape and coercive sexual practices across many contexts (Anderrson, 2007a; Khoza, 2002; Lindegger & Durrheim, 2002; Wood & Jewkes, 1997). Violence against other boys/men are similarly informed by masculinity ideals of independence and with the outcome that boys/men are more likely to be perpetrators and victims

of violence than women/girls (Andersson, 2007b; Hearn, 2007). The ideal that 'a man is afraid of nothing' has implications for violent behaviours, risks of physical injury and limited use of health care (Shefer et al., 2007, p. 3).

Southern Africa is a partial epicentre of the HIV epidemic and in this region the association of masculinity ideals, imperatives and practices has important implications for policy, programmes and activism (Shefer et al., 2007; Taylor, Dlamini, Kagoro, Jinabhai, Sathiparsad & de Vries, 2002). The province of KwaZulu-Natal has the highest prevalence of HIV in South Africa which has particular relevance for the location of this study (Taylor et al., 2002).

The notion that sources of HIV risk include hegemonic norms or acceptability imperatives should not be taken up uncritically. The idea that masculine identity is 'fragile' may certainly need a place in the view that 'standards' of ideal masculinity are associated with anxieties, tensions and distress (Joseph & Lindegger, 2007). HIV is a 'gendered' condition that relates to how masculinity is socially constructed and how masculinity is experienced (Lindegger & Maxwell, 2007). In exploring the emotional vulnerability that adolescent boys experience in 'living up' to masculinity standards, Joseph and Lindegger (2007) note how the 'implicit rule' that men should be unemotional creates anxiety among adolescent boys to 'hide' any expression of emotion. They note that only in exceptional circumstances of 'severe' intensity is any expression of emotions sanctioned by male peer groups. Social constructionist accounts of masculinity that overlook the emotional subjectivities of men neglect the crucial area that it is not only 'living up' to hegemonic norms that generates problematic practices and associated behaviours but that the emotional experience of 'fitting in' with these imperatives is a significant source of distress (Seidler, 2006).

Although conforming to what are at times unattainable standards, the benefits of hegemonic masculinity as an organising principle lies in the 'patriarchal dividend' which is the way hegemonic masculinity functions to maintain gendered power in society (Blackbeard, 2005; Lindegger & Quayle, 2009). Interviewing South African students, Oxlund (2008) notes that the expectation that 'real men don't cry' legitimates sexism by constructing men as cool and

objective and women as irrational and 'too emotional'. The function of maintaining gendered power relations appears to come at a cost in that finding a position in relation to hegemonic imperatives is not emotionally neutral and may involve considerable anxiety, ambivalence, tension, distress and pressure (Blackbeard & Lindegger, 2007; Joseph & Lindegger, 2007, Langa, 2008).

Connell's 'macro-social' perspective does not discount that boys/men feel pressured to conform but one of his key arguments is that the privileges accorded by hegemonic masculinity outweigh the distress and vulnerability that boys/men may experience (Connell, 1995; Connell, 2002). Connell (2002) argues that hegemonic masculinity functions as an unattainable ideal and that its function is to maintain a 'patriarchal dividend' for men and 'gender harm' of women (p. 142). Although some men or groups of men do not benefit from the hegemonic ideal and by definition the hegemonic ideal is never attainable, most men at most times benefit from hegemonic masculinity through the legitimation of gendered power differentials.

It is established that HIV risk has a strong association with hegemonic norms of masculinity, particularly in Southern Africa where the mode of transmission is predominantly heterosexual contact followed by mother to child transmission (Panos/Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS, 2001). However, it should not be assumed that young men's gender-related HIV risk occurs outside of material, cultural, educational and other contexts. Economic differentials, employment opportunities, access to social and educational resources and political contexts are important factors that contribute to HIV risk, particularly in resource-constrained developing countries (Panos/Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS, 2001). In addition to gender-based prevention, HIV preventions for young men and women can involve multiple domains such as policy, participation, employment opportunities, community infrastructure including recreational facilities, skills training and education (Ratele, 2008).

Chadwick and Foster (2007) argue that hegemonic norms cannot be viewed as 'transhistorical' and culturally universal as it would seem Connell at times makes them appear to be, at odds with his argument for multiple masculinities that vary by context. How dominant norms are

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articulated, the nuances of these norms and what those dominant norms are may be highly 'occasioned' within local, cultural, material and other contexts. Seidler (2006) challenges the idea that dominant norms of masculinity are 'fixed' across cultures and locality, suggesting that meanings of masculinity find meaning through an interplay of material context, culture, religion, generational differences, political ideologies and other factors. But it would seem that Seidler's critique assumes that Connell conceptualises hegemonic masculinity as 'monolithic' when in fact he argues that masculinities are multiple and that what may be a hegemonic masculinity in one context may be non-hegemonic in another (Connell, 1995).

It is perhaps a fair judgment to say that Seidler (2006) over-emphasises the local and particular whereas Connell (1995) focuses mostly on the general and macro-level, and that neither are mutually exclusive. Points that both Connell (1995) and Seidler (2006) agree on is that masculinities vary across contexts and that masculinity has a materiality and embodiment which should not be ignored. In responding to 'problems of masculinity; therefore, it is crucial that the shared characteristics of hegemonic masculinity across contexts be considered but also that the local and particular forms of masculinity may vary between and within culture, context and material conditions.

> Concepts of gender change over time, from culture to culture, and even
> within cultures; nonetheless, there are common denominators that influence
> young men's lives. Across the world, masculinity is associated with bravery,
> physical and psychological strength, independence and sexual activity.
> (Panos Institute/Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS, 2001, p.10)

From this it is argued that gender-based prevention can be based in both more general understandings of masculinity and in understanding local ideals and practices of masculinity that give rise to HIV risk. It is suggested that gender-based programmes for HIV cannot be separated from economic and cultural contexts nor should HIV risk be considered separately from other problems that are associated with hegemonic masculinity such as other forms of risk-taking, substance and alcohol abuse or gendered violence (Kaufmann, Clark, Manzini, & May, 2004).

Survey research in KwaZulu-Natal situates gendered norms as one of the most important of the multilevel influences that mediate HIV risk among young men and women (Kaufmann et al., 2004). On the basis of this research, Kaufmann et al. (2004) argue that gender-based HIV prevention needs to be coupled with interventions to improve community conditions that mediate HIV risk and the underlying gender norms that produce HIV risk.

The idea of challenging 'gendered norms' for HIV prevention has value but it may also over-simplify the ways in which masculinity translates into risk behaviour. The theoretical concepts of hegemonic masculinity and multiple masculinities suggests that changing gender norms means engaging with the ways in which ideals, imperatives and practices are established and maintained. It is argued that hegemonic masculinity is about 'positioning' of boys/men in relation to an unattainable ideal. Hegemonic masculinity is about how men are positioned in relation to other men, and in relation to women, and how a set of ideals or practices that may be hegemonic in one context may not be positioned as hegemonic in another context. Understanding positioning may be crucial for gender-based HIV prevention or for any other form of intervention or activism that addresses problems related to masculinity. In identifying how individuals and groups create alternatives to hegemonic masculinity, shifts in the constructions of masculinity that underpin 'gendered norms' may lead to more sustainable changes.

1.3.2. Young men and risk-taking.

The hegemonic norm of risk-taking endorses or 'authorises' sexual risk-taking, physical risk-taking behaviours, alcohol misuse or using narcotic substances (Frank, Kehler, Lovell, & Davison, 2003; Hearn, 2007). Here, 'risk-taking' has negative connotations and refers to behaviours that can put both self and others at risk both in relation to sexual health but also accidental injuries, excessive alcohol use, substance abuse and gang activities (Ampofo & Boateng, 2007; Hearn, 2007; Seidler, 2006). Normative risk-taking may occur in socio-cultural contexts where forms of risk-taking behaviours are sanctioned or not sanctioned (Ratele, Fouten,

Shefer, Strebel, Shabalala, & Buikema, 2007). For example, in youth cultures where violence, narcotic substance use and multiple sexual partnering are endorsed as masculine norms of risk-taking, these behaviours are approved as markers of acceptable masculinity. Such behaviours may be a 'resistant' masculinity that constructs masculine risk-taking outside of the socially sanctioned versions, for example, in a school context where competitive team sport is approved as a means of acceptable risk-taking (Blackbeard, 2005; Ratele et al., 2007).

It should not be assumed that sexual risk-taking is the only version of this norm that is linked with HIV risk. Local research suggests various pathways between excessive use of alcohol and reduced adherence to ARV treatments and greater risk of HIV infection through disinhibited sexual behaviour (le Grange, 2004; Panos/Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS, 2001).

It is not only adult men where risk-taking has hegemonic status and contributes significantly to health risk. In recent research with adolescent township boys[3], 'successful masculinity' meant engaging in risk-taking with excessive use of alcohol, smoking and having unprotected sex (Langa, 2008). In similar research with adolescent boys involved in HIV prevention programmes, it not was not that the boys actually had multiple sexual partners but that they maintained an 'appearance' of this among male peers (Lindegger & Maxwell, 2007). Studies in the urban townships of Gauteng have identified that if young men do not drink, smoke and have a reputation of 'sexual success', they are considered to be 'failed men' (Walker, 2005). Young men may perform 'daring acts' as a means to conform or appear to conform to hegemonic masculinity (Shefer, Bowman & Duncan, 2008).

At the risk of generalising beyond local contexts, it appears that worldwide and across diverse cultures, normative risk-taking prevails and is associated with accidental injuries, poor sexual and reproductive health, and health risks in general (Seidler, 2006). Risk-taking may be portrayed in culture as essentialised, in the sense of risk-taking being constructed through culture

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[3] 'Township' refers to formal and informal urban areas associated with areas demarcated for Black South Africans under the apartheid laws.

as a part of biological 'maleness' or sexual difference (Thomson, 2002). Connell (2000) argues that in general, masculine risk-taking goes beyond local cultural contexts and has implications that go beyond sexually transmitted diseases to include problems such as industrial injury, cardiovascular disease and motor vehicle accidents.

In the local context, it should be noted that although HIV risk is a major area of concern, it is not the only sexual and reproductive health problem facing South African youth, as unplanned pregnancies and other sexually transmitted diseases are associated with forms of masculinity that endorse and encourage risk-taking (Lesch and Bremridge, 2006). Although self-report bias may play a role, survey research in Southern Africa suggests that young men are at least twice as likely as young women to have had more than one concurrent sexual partner, suggesting as that the risk-taking ideal is linked with sexual and reproductive health risk behaviour (Panos/Joint United Nations Programme, 2001). Multiple partnering is also associated with hegemonic ideals and practices of compulsory and 'visible' heterosexuality (Lindegger & Maxwell, 2007; Lindegger & Quayle, 2009).

1.3.3. The 'biological sex drive'.

In Southern Africa, the hegemonic imperative that men have a strong and biologically based 'sex drive' is translated into HIV risk behaviours and practices in various ways that include multiple partnering and unsafe sexual practices (Lindegger & Maxwell, 2007). In commentary on studies in South Africa and neighbouring states, the belief that 'real men' have an uncontrollable sex drive is associated with coercive sex on the basis that men (and young men) become 'sexually-starved' if their needs are not met (Bujra, 2002; le Grange, 2004). The discourse of 'uncontrollable sexual urges' can be used to justify unsafe sexual encounters as an inability to 'hold back', a process that becomes all the more so in a context of excessive alcohol use (le Grange, 2004; Lindegger & Durrheim, 2002).

Masculinity research suggests that the sex drive discourse applies not only to adult men but is experienced by adolescent boys and young men (Blackbeard & Lindegger, 2007; Moletsane,

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Morrell, Unterhalter, & Epstein, 2002). A recent interview study with white male students suggests that for these young men an essentialist view of biological gender difference reinforces the 'uncontrollable sex drive' as intrinsically masculine (Chadwick & Foster, 2007). In a case study analysis of young black males convicted of rape, Niehaus (2005) notes that sexual entitlement was based on notions of intrinsically masculine need for sex, and that this was justified by appeals to local traditions. A participatory action research study with black adolescent boys identified a related idea that sex as a 'need' to be gratified and that this occurred alongside a belief that 'no' from a girl really meant 'yes' (Thorpe, 2002). It was noted in this study however, that this perception was presented only in group contexts and not in individual interviews, suggesting that hegemonic norms such as these were validated and socially sanctioned by male peer groups (Thorpe, 2002). Further to this, Frosh et al. (2003a) and Pattman (2005) suggest that in different ways, female peer groups may also validate and legitimate hegemonic forms of masculinity, although this aspect has probably been under-researched.

Essentialising sexual desire as an uncontrollable drive has clear implications for attributions of responsibility. Adolescent boys interviewed from townships in KwaZulu-Natal described adolescent girls as 'tempting' them into sexual activity by wearing revealing clothes (Lindegger & Maxwell, 2007). In this way, attributing HIV infection to an uncontrollable sex drive and the behaviour of girls exempted the boys from responsibility, effectively positioning girls and women as the 'vectors of disease' (Lindegger & Maxwell, 2007). Essentialising sexual desire defines sex as physical pleasure which in turn positions the female body as an object of possession that exists for the sake of males' sexual pleasure (Mankayi, 2008). The emphasis on physical pleasure may also affect perceptions of safer sex practices as denying young men of 'real' sexual experience (MacPhail, 2003). Based on the idea that sexual urges will not be gratified, young men may perceive protected sex to be a 'wasted' experience (Macphail, 2003).

Shifting the sex drive discourse is clearly a goal for gender-based HIV prevention, and has been so for various intervention programmes. Research among adolescents from urban townships in

Gauteng explored hegemonic and counter-hegemonic positions[4] with groups of young men, giving support to the idea that the sex drive discourse is 'occasioned' within peer groups and that counter-hegemonic positions could be shifted or 're-negotiated' in peer group contexts (MacPhail, 2003). This re-negotiation of the sex drive discourse occurred through facilitating 'opportunity spaces' for adolescent boys to negotiate new forms of masculinity (MacPhail, 2003). Similarly, the DramAidE prevention programmes in urban township schools in KwaZulu-Natal have engaged peer groups in challenging problematic forms of masculinity, with the sex drive discourse being one of the focuses that have emerged from these participatory interventions (Thorpe, 2002; Moletsane et al., 2002). Targeted AIDS Intervention (TAI) focuses on strategically shifting forms of masculinity that objectify and essentialise sexuality, using peer education, soccer players as role models and other innovative means to 'target' young men for change (Lindegger & Maxwell, 2007).

Seidler (2006) suggests that boys are socialised into perceiving sexuality as performative or 'instrumental' rather than relational. Masculinity research has indicated that essentialised notions of uncontrollable sexual urges reinforce ideas of sexual conquest and objectified performance (Lindegger & Quayle, 2009). It is likely that this process becomes all the more dangerous when coupled with the impaired volition involved with risk-taking behaviours such as excessive alcohol use or substance abuse. Excessive alcohol use is in itself a risk behaviour and is likely to be a context for further risk behaviours, such as decreasing the likelihood of safe sex with alcohol intoxication (Panos/Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS, 2001). The imperatives that real men have an 'uncontrollable' sexual drive that is visible and may involve risk has harmful consequences, including multiple partnering and the sanctioning of sexual coercion (Eaton, Flisher, & Aaro, 2003; Lindegger & Maxwell, 2007). This combination raises levels of HIV risk even further for both young men and their sexual partners.

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[4] In the research cited here, the terms 'normative' and 'counter-normative' are used but are interpreted here as hegemonic and 'counter-hegemonic'. This is not entirely equivalent given that hegemonic masculinity is a configuration of ideal norms, imperatives and practices.

The objectification of women and girls is significant with regards to coercive sex and HIV risk. Behaviours of sexual coercion may be underpinned by the sex drive discourse and cultural practices that endorse these behaviours, be those within modernised or traditional cultural or sub-cultural contexts. The belief that sex is an uncontrollable natural drive may also reinforce a view that young men 'need' to be sexually active in order to be healthy (Eaton et al., 2003). Apart from objectifying girls and women, the sex drive discourse may also involve an objectification of sex as instrumental rather than relational (Seidler, 2006). The pressure to be sexually active as a means to 'prove' masculinity and the emphasis on performance may have the effect that adolescent boys and young men experience anxiety and begin to see themselves as objects themselves (Panos/Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS, 2001). Seidler (2006) suggests that by objectifying their bodies in this way, young men start to treat their bodies almost like 'machines', and the culmination of uncontrollable drive is literal or symbolic penetration. As noted by Ratele et al. (2007), young men in South Africa may perceive that real men do not 'just' desire sex but that sex is a need and a compulsion that must be gratified and this carries with it both social and health consequences.

In summary, a survey of masculinity research suggests strongly that the sex drive discourse may be used by young men to claim 'rights' to non-consensual sexual contact, 'ownership' over sexual partners and may justify having multiple concurrent sexual partners. The sex drive discourse may be bolstered by interpretations of cultural 'tradition' (Hunter, 2005; Sideris, 2005) or economic power over women that is through hegemonic forms of consumer masculinity (Stevens & Lockhat, 1997). The sex drive discourse has a strong association with HIV risk (Lindegger & Quayle, 2009). Positioned within a sex drive discourse, young men may also experience their own bodies in mechanistic, objectified ways, which creates a fragile rigidity in maintaining a sense of masculine acceptability that conforms in some way to hegemonic imperatives.

1.3.4. **Visible and compulsory heterosexuality.**

One of the ways in which norms of 'compulsory heterosexuality' contribute to HIV risk is that men often avoid speaking about non-heterosexual activity with partners or health care providers (Lindegger & Quayle, 2009). Appeals to traditional culture may further justify the hegemonic norm that being visibly 'successful' with multiple partners signifies manhood (Zakwe, 2005). For other men, urban consumer cultures bolster the norm that sexual 'success' is an acquisition of male prestige (Selikow, Zulu, & Cedras, 2002). However, it should not be assumed from these examples that compulsory heterosexuality or 'heteronormativity' presents the same challenges for adult men as they do for young men and adolescent boys.

Interview studies with young men and adolescent boys identify a 'heterosexual assumption' in the ways that boys talk about themselves and others, and that the assumption is more present in group interviews than individual interviews (Davies & Eagle, 2007; Blackbeard & Lindegger, 2007; Frosh et al., 2002; Frosh et al., 2003a). For adolescent boys of any sexual preference, managing a 'visible' heterosexuality as a marker of masculine acceptability can be something that requires effort, vigilance and self-monitoring (Blackbeard & Lindegger, 2007). For many adolescent boys of any sexual preference, the imperative to be consistently 'straight acting' can involve a 'policing' of self and the other (Pattman, 2007). In the researcher's previous school-based study, adolescent boys communicated an explicit or implicit rejection of homosexuality in focus group discussions but in individual interviews this kind of 'policing' was far less evident (Blackbeard, 2005). Talk and 'trophyism' were ways in which these boys demonstrated or 'displayed' visible heterosexuality in various ways, for example, boys 'showing off' their girlfriend for peer-approval (Blackbeard, 2005; Blackbeard & Lindegger, 2007).

In research conducted as part of a United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) project for sex education in schools, Pattman (2007) notes that heterosexual imperatives position adolescent boys to be both initiators and providers in boy-girl relationships. This creates anxieties and pressures for the boys, and negative experiences for the girls, who may be harassed and sexualised in any cross-gender situation which further promotes gender inequalities (Pattman,

2007). For adolescent township boys in Langa's study (2008), it appeared that to be sexually active with a girlfriend was a marker of masculinity and elicited approval from other male peers. Boys who were known not to possess a girlfriend were labelled as immature and given derogatory names such as 'lekgwala' (a boy who has never had a girlfriend) or 'ibhari' (a boy who is scared to talk to girls). The label 'cheese boy' was given to economically advantaged young men who were resented by other boys for having the money to 'purchase' relationships with girls. In Langa's study, there was an objectifying 'trophyism' in the form of measuring masculine success by the physical attractiveness of a girlfriend, with embarrassment and shame for boys whose girlfriends were considered 'ugly'. In interviewing young men from urban townships, Selikow et al. (2002) identified the terms 'ingagara' (or 'nkalakatha') for young men with luxury cars, fashionable clothing and multiple partners, and 'isithipa', for cautious young men who had limited money, possessions and 'sexual success'. In these township contexts, visible heterosexuality coincided with financial power as a marker of successful masculinity.

The use of language to 'police' heteronormativity is also apparent in an ethnographic study from rural KwaZulu-Natal (Hunter, 2005). Here, a young man with several girlfriends was termed 'isoka' and a young man who was 'too scared to talk with girls' was termed 'isishimane'. The term 'isoka' had a positive connotation, in that the young man was considered to be a 'player' whereas in a previous generation, to be an 'isoka' had a negative connotation as a young man who could fall ill from sexually transmitted diseases (Hunter, 2005). In a recent study conducted in urban townships in Cape Town, the term 'player' denoted a masculine ideal of a young man with overtly displayed material wealth such as luxury cars and multiple, often much younger girlfriends (Ragnarrson, Townsend, Ekstrom, Chopra, & Thorson, 2010).

In being compelled to 'demonstrate' masculinity through visible heterosexuality, adolescent boys entering cross-gender relationships face a 'double-bind' in having to live up to a standard of compulsory performance (Lindegger & Maxwell, 2007). In this anxiety-provoking dynamic, adolescent boys may defend against the vulnerability they experience by becoming involved in heterosexual relationships where being a real man is destabilised by the possibility of 'failure' (MacPhail, 2003). It may be argued that in containing these anxieties and defending against

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vulnerability, adolescent boys (and young men) may attempt to control relationships with persuasion, persistence and coercion (MacPhail, 2003).

1.3.5. The appearance of invulnerability and self-sufficiency.

The hegemonic imperative that a 'real man' should be tough, unemotional, independent and in control is associated with limitations in seeking medical help, and using social and emotional support in times of difficulty (Lindegger & Quayle, 2009). Limited engagement with medical help and support systems carries health consequences that include HIV risk which affects both men and women. In living up to an expectation that real men are 'detached' from their emotions or are emotionally 'resolute', young men are socialised into suppressing emotions and limiting emotional expression, suggest Davies and Eagle (2007). Young men such as the peer counsellors interviewed by Davies and Eagle (2007) may continually monitor their emotional expression according to 'implicit rules' that 'real men' are emotionally 'tough'. This in turn creates an ambivalence around emotional experience and a limitation on what emotions are permissible. In general, restrictions on emotional expression limit young men in forming intimate relationships, suggests Seidler (2006). 'Softer' emotions may be less acceptable than 'harder' emotions such as anger, and emotional experience may be threatening for many young men, limiting or even destabilising a healthy sense of self and hindering authenticity in relationships (Seidler, 2006).

The hegemonic ideal of self-sufficiency may be challenged in situations in where boys/men have to depend on others, such as being disabled, distressed or being HIV positive (Joseph & Lindegger, 2007; Mfecane, 2008). In many contexts, any form of dependency may run against the grain of hegemonic imperatives and ideals and may be a major struggle for many boys/men. Having to relying on others for physical, economic or emotional support, comes with an anxiety and ambivalence about receiving help, for in receiving help there may be threat to a sense of masculine adequacy (Joseph & Lindegger, 2007). Resolving this dilemma may involve ways of reframing a need for support in ways that invoke norms of toughness. For example, visually impaired adolescents may present having to rely on others as a test of their masculine resilience

(Joseph & Lindegger, 2007). For township men living with HIV, there may be a loss of key markers of masculine acceptability such as financial autonomy, employment, sexual interest and physical strength (Mfecane, 2008). For these men, receiving an HIV-positive diagnosis is a crisis of meaning that challenges the definitive markers of masculine self-sufficiency and invulnerability (Mfecane, 2008). In having to be dependent on others and vulnerable, both emotionally and physically, these men take positions of 'resistance' against dominant norms and construct responsibility, help-seeking and accountability as markers of an adequate masculinity (Mfecane, 2008). In this context, being 'resolute' is reframed as having the strength to disclose an HIV status in a support group and to remain steadfast in maintaining a responsible lifestyle. In these examples, it would appear that the dominant norm of self-sufficient toughness is reworked and rearticulated in ways that defend against conditions which render these norms even more unattainable. As argued by Lindegger and Maxwell (2007), hegemonic norms of masculinity are always impossible 'double binds' that are seldom more than partially attainable. This is in keeping with Connell's central argument that hegemonic masculinity functions as a means to organise and legitimate gendered power and is never fully attainable (Connell, 1995).

The hegemonic ideal of 'self-sufficient toughness' may certainly present as a social and subjective obstacle in the uptake of voluntary counselling and testing (VCT), given that men are far less likely than women to present for VCT, and young men even less so given the barriers of social stigma and anxiety that are especially present for young men (Freeman, 2004). This hegemonic ideal may also be one of several factors that limit young men in the uptake of recently introduced harm reduction interventions, most notably, male circumcision. As identified by Freeman (2004) an HIV positive status links with a number of mental health sequelae and antecedents, such as depression and anxiety, which increase vulnerability may constrain young men from appearing to be tough and self-sufficient. Aspiring and appearing to be independent and invulnerable may result in social isolation, subjective resistance to medication compliance and anxiety, all of which present as health risk factors for people living with HIV (Freeman, 2004).

The problems associated with maintaining an appearance of independent toughness has implications beyond the very important issue of HIV risk. Boys/men who are reliant on others for physical and emotional support may be marginalised or may experience themselves as marginalised (Joseph & Lindegger, 2007; Pascoe, 2005). Maintaining an appearance of independent toughness or what may be called 'face work' (Korobov & Bamberg, 2004) is a struggle for many boys/men and finding alternatives may be a difficult and distressful struggle. 'Positioning' a masculine self and identity involves more than the agentive 'negotiation' of alternatives, as suggested by discursive psychologists Korobov and Bamberg (2004). Finding a way out of ideals for masculine self-sufficiency is very difficult for many, involving fears of vulnerability, trust and the risks of harassment, marginalisation or bullying (Redman, 2000). Many boys/men experience distress but fear emotional vulnerability and this distress may be suppressed, hidden or expressed in destructive ways (McQueen & Henwood, 2002; Seidler, 2006).

1.3.6. The 'independent provider' ideal.

Research identifies that a hegemonic ideal is for men to be 'independent providers', both financially and in providing leadership and advice to family and community (Lindegger & Maxwell, 2007). Adolescent boys may perceive that adult men who are not independent providers to be 'failed' men (Davies & Eagle, 2007). With South Africa's levels of unemployment and more women entering the workplace, most young men are unlikely to 'live up' to the 'independent provider' norm (Davies & Eagle, 2007). While, the 'independent provider' standard may be unattainable for many young men, in itself it is highly problematic, given that it positions men as economically powerful in patriarchal gender relations (Thomson, 2002). Although the provider ideal is normative for most traditional societies, invoking tradition outside of their social formations can become a way for men to justify the gendered oppression of women (Kandirikirira, 2002). The difference here is that most men are now living outside of social formations with a coherent traditional culture, or at least may be locating traditional culture as one of several sites for identity construction. In the complexity of this, the invocation of traditional norms becomes a justification for gendered power outside of any traditional

context. 'Traditional' norms may be no less problematic than norms within other cultural contexts (contemporary society, globalised culture, urban township culture and so on) and this 'traditionalism' may be used in very selective and convenient ways to marginalise women (Oxlund, 2008; Sideris, 2005). A recent study of male student politicians suggested that these young men not only appealed to a 'traditionalist' version of African masculinity to marginalise women students from student politics but that they also invoked a version of struggle history to justify sexism (Oxlund, 2008).

For young men in urban and rural townships, meeting the provider imperative may begin while still attending school in seeking informal employment (Blackbeard, 2005). For a current generation of young men living in townships, the aspiration to be a family provider in the future may also be a 'double bind' in the sense that living in communities with limited educational resources and employment opportunities constrains the likelihood of ever attaining this 'standard' of acceptable masculinity (Kaufman et al., 2004). Young men in these contexts may turn to gang activities or crime for economic means and to develop an influential reputation with peers (Blackbeard, 2005). In many urban townships, a youth culture of 'fatalism' has been identified, in response to limited employment opportunities and a lack of basic services that contribute to HIV risk by diminishing a sense of social or personal agency (Kaufman et al., 2004; Selikow et al., 2002). Without a sense of agency, young men and women living in resource-deprived communities are at greater risk of HIV. Programmes can include levels of participation that enable social resources for young men and women (Campbell, Foulis, Maimane, & Sibiya, 2005).

For many adolescent boys, becoming an independent provider becomes exceptionally unattainable. Visually impaired adolescents may anxiously anticipate never finding employment and never attaining manhood through the provider role (Joseph & Lindegger, 2007). In South Africa, the economic consequences of the HIV epidemic at individual, family and community levels and limited employment contribute extensively to young men being unable to meet the standard of provider (Sideris, 2005). For township men living with HIV, being unable to work or having lost work through illness makes for shame and embarrassment in being a 'failed' man

(Mfecane, 2008). Not meeting or being able to meet the norm of independent provider can be an experience of humiliation and there may be alternative 'renditions' of dominant norms to compensate for perceived 'failure' (Davies & Eagle, 2007). Disabled young men may turn to educational attainment as an alternative way of becoming an economic provider (Joseph & Lindegger, 2007). Young men in economically disadvantaged communities may evoke and emphasise aspects of 'tradition' in fundamentalist ways to maintain male authority even though being an independent provider may be unattainable (Sideris, 2005). For township men living with HIV, not meeting acceptability 'criteria' meant finding alternatives for reconstructing masculinity that retained but reframed ideals, such as reframing 'providing' as 'responsibility' (Mfecane, 2008). Although the emphasis here has been on local contexts and with a focus on HIV risk, the ideal of being an independent provider is not restricted to Southern Africa. This is not to say that the ideal that men hold economic power or that influential men are also affluent men is not a feature of masculinities worldwide. Across cultures and contexts, hegemonic masculinity has certain shared characteristics and functions as an 'economic and cultural force' argues Donaldson (1993, p. 645).

1.3.7. Control in relationships.

The ideal that boys/men exercise control in relationships with girls/women has been given attention in local masculinity research, on the basis that control over sexual decision-making is linked with coercion, intimate partner violence and HIV risk (Lindegger & Durrheim, 2002; Wood & Jewkes, 1997; Wood & Jewkes, 2001). In contexts outside of Southern Africa, 'sexual conquest' can be a way that boys/men 'prove' masculinity (Haenfler, 2004) and the ideal that boys/men are entitled to control in intimate relationships is a feature of hegemonic forms of masculinity in various contexts (Chu, Porche, & Tolman, 2005).

1.4. Gender-based interventions

Estimates of the current prevalence of HIV are that between 5.3. million and 5.5 million people in South Africa are HIV-positive (Ragnarsson et al., 2010; Rehle, Hallet, Shisana, Pillay-van

Wyk, Zuma et al., 2010). Estimates based on the three national household surveys of 2002, 2005 and 2008 suggest that HIV is most prevalent among young women aged 14 to 25, although analysis of current data suggests a decreased incidence in this demographic group (Rehle et al., 2010). Decreased incidence may be attributed to a combination of factors such as (1) changing patterns of epidemic progression, (2) the effectiveness of HIV prevention programmes, (3) the effectiveness of medical interventions for, specifically ARV treatment and (4) psychosocial support for ARV treatment adherence (Rehle et al., 2010). Although there has been a decreased incidence among women in the 19 to 24 age group, young men and young women (15 to 24 years) are the most at-risk group for HIV infection and there is no doubt that young adults should be a crucial focus for any HIV prevention (Lindegger & Quayle, 2009; Pattman, 2007; Rehle et al., 2010). This should not be at the cost of other less visible at-risk populations or groups, for example, men in same-sex relationships (Reddy & Louw, 2002) or the small but significant group of intravenous drug users (Hearn, 2007).

In South Africa currently, an estimated 900 000 people living with HIV are receiving ARV treatment, and the emphasis in HIV prevention has shifted towards addressing the needs of this group beyond the areas such as preventing infection among HIV-negative people, uptake of voluntary counselling testing and harm reduction strategies, most recently adult male circumcision (Mfecane, 2008; Ragnarrson et al., 2010). Prevention for HIV-positive people includes addressing the contexts of risk, medication compliance and HIV infection (Baskin, Braithwaite, Eldred, & Glassman, 2005) and is as important as prevention for HIV-negative people, notes Mfecane (2008). The highest prevalence of HIV may be found in urban townships where high levels of poverty, unemployment, lack of services and educational resources contribute to risk and it is clear that urban townships are high-risk contexts for HIV and an important focus in prevention programmes and policy (Rehle et al., 2010).

HIV is a global epidemic that operates unevenly in various parts of the world (Hearn, 2007). South Africa is a partial epicentre in which the vast majority of HIV transmission occurs through heterosexual intercourse (Mwale, 2009). That HIV is a gendered condition is a central assumption for HIV prevention and this gendered aspect is especially so for young men and

young women entering sexual relationships, given that gender inequalities translate into HIV risk (Lindegger & Maxwell, 2007; Mwale, 2009). The HIV epidemic does not occur outside of economic, gender, community and cultural milieux, and within these contexts there may be interactive and mutual influences between HIV and other social or medical problems including unplanned pregnancy, alcohol and substance abuse, other sexually transmitted diseases (Lesch & Bremridge, 2006). Therefore, HIV prevention cannot be located outside socio-cultural and material contexts, broader issues of public health and community development (Campbell, Williams, & Gilgen, 2002). Including boys/men in health services and in developing appropriate policy levels are important areas for HIV prevention and understanding the construction of masculinity may better assist health services in including boys/men (Baskin et al., 2005; Varga, 2001). HIV education in schools where male educators undermine gender equality messages is unlikely to be effective and here intervention goes beyond providing HIV education to adolescent learners to an organisational and policy level (Thorpe, 2005).

In dealing with the multi-faceted nature of the epidemic, the public health crisis of the HIV epidemic has led to dialogue between biomedical, development and social research, bringing to light the importance of integrated approaches for HIV prevention (Reid & Walker, 2005). This dialogue has been particularly significant in identifying the role of gender in HIV, and although there are differences regarding what interventions work best, there is substantial agreement that addressing gender issues should be a focus of HIV prevention (Reid & Walker, 2005).

Interventions that implicitly portray men (or young men) as irresponsible, untrustworthy or deficient may perpetuate negative expectations and be counter-productive in reducing HIV risk (Montgomery, Hosegood, Busza, & Timaeus, 2006). It is unlikely that constructing masculinity as inherently problematic is helpful in gender-based programmes, policy and activism. Macleod (2007) argues that problems of masculinity cannot be solved with alternative masculinities because of the inherently binary nature of the concept of masculinity. Counter to this critique are numerous studies that show that alternative masculinities are possible especially where boys/men have opportunities to reflect on constructions of masculinity (Bujra, 2002; Coulter, 2003; Frank et al., 2003; Langa, 2008; Lindegger & Maxwell, 2007). Some of the local programmes that

appear to have been successful in facilitating alternative masculinities include TAI (le Grange, 2004), the Usiko-Boys to Men programme (Welbourn, 2002) and the Men as Partners campaign (Mehta, Peacock & Bernal, 2004). Seidler (2006) argues that masculinity is often seen as a problem but that masculinity can also become a solution when alternatives are validated and dialogued.

In the field of HIV prevention, it is helpful to differentiate sexual 'practices' from 'behaviours'. 'Practices' refer to the meanings of behaviours in particular contexts whereas sexual behaviours are quantifiable enactments and occur within sexual practices (Kippax, 2004). This distinction is important for the current study in which the intersection of hegemonic masculinity and the HIV context is a central focus. As defined in this research, hegemonic masculinity is a set of ideals, imperatives and practices. Haenfler (2004) interprets hegemonic masculinity as the most 'valued' set of ideals and practices, which equates hegemonic masculinity with a configuration of what ideal manhood means and what practices are performed by 'real' boys/men. As with Kippax's distinction between practices and behaviours, hegemonic masculinity operates as a set of ideals, imperatives and practices that are then 'actualised' as behaviours, performances or enactments. Masculinity is a 'performative identity', meaning that it occurs through enactments and embodiments (Blackbeard & Lindegger, 2007). Hegemonic masculinity can be conceptualised as an embodiment of ideals and practices that are identified with hegemonic masculinity. Hegemonic masculinity is a set of 'impossible' ideals and practices (which may also be called called 'standards' and 'imperatives') and is by definition unattainable although enactments and embodiments may present identifications or positions in relation to it (Lindegger & Maxwell, 2007).

Being an HIV positive person means having an identity that is defined by a life-threatening condition, argues Ezzy (2000) and other narrative researchers interested in HIV as an identity. HIV positivity is not separate from understandings of who a person is (identity) or personal subjectivities that include the self (Ezzy, 2000). As an identity, HIV positivity can be disruptive to established narratives that make up the self, creating threats and opportunities for new self-narratives (Ezzy, 2000). Hegemonic masculinity can be interpreted as a configuration of ideals,

imperatives and practices that are positioned in relation to a masculine self and identity. In the context of narrative theory, this largely equates with the idea that self and identity are constructed over time through narratives (Davies, 1997), in this case the narrative of an ideal masculine self and identity that is always unattainable.

1.4.1 Limitations of knowledge-based HIV interventions.

Education about HIV risks, health risk and health protective behaviours has been a central focus of HIV prevention over the course of the last twenty years. With the objective of changing health risk behaviour, knowledge-based prevention has focused on awareness of HIV risk, safer sex, the need to be tested for HIV and other health protective behaviours. One of the problems associated with knowledge-based HIV prevention, particularly earlier on, was the emphasis on the needs of HIV-negative people which may have inadvertently contributed to stigma against HIV-positive people (Gordon, Forsyth, Stall, & Cheever, 2005). However, the most critical problem is the evidence which indicates that knowledge alone seldom translates into health behaviour change (Baxen & Breidlid, 2004; Mwale, 2009).

Not all knowledge-based prevention is the same, and questions of how and what knowledge is produced, communicated or transmitted, and how knowledge is defined, and what knowledge is considered important, may affect the outcome of preventions that emphasise knowledge (Lindegger, Solomon, Essack, & Blackbeard, 2007). Given that health behaviour occurs within local, cultural and community contexts, a decontextualised 'imposition' of expert knowledge from the outside is unlikely to produce sustainable health behaviour change (Lindegger & Durrheim, 2002). Mwale (2009) suggests that the more 'expert' the knowledge is, the more unhelpful it may be for individuals and communities to own as a resource for change. Treating knowledge about HIV as 'quantifiable' is also based on assumptions regarding what knowledge about HIV is or should be and who owns this knowledge. Quantifying knowledge may disregard the uses of knowledge or meaning-making by individuals, communities or at other levels of social formation. A further issue is the stage at which awareness strategies are most effective,

for example at the early stages of individual or community mobilisation, knowledge-based awareness strategies may be most valuable (Lindegger et al., 2007).

In general terms, generic knowledge or awareness about HIV appears to have had little impact upon health behaviours in the South African context. Awareness-based prevention may be based in demographic and quantitative research strategies only and may not account well for local, cultural, community and individual subjective factors (Reid & Walker, 2005). There is much to indicate that HIV-related health behaviours are contextual, and that factors such as social resources, economic conditions, cultural dynamics and gender relations are key aspects that can be addressed in multi-level preventions that are not based solely on a generalised awareness of risk and behaviours (Kesby, Fenton, Boyle, & Power, 2003; Safren, Radomsky, Otto, & Salomon, 2002).

It is argued that as important as it is for HIV to be understood in medical terms as a medical condition, and that it is important for people to have the right information, it cannot be assumed that a biomedical understanding is the only way that HIV can be understood or is embodied and experienced in communities and culture. Historically in South Africa, medical discourses have been used in ways that have supported discrimination, the objectification of women and defined sexuality in narrow medical terms (Reid & Walker, 2005). A narrow biomedical focus in HIV prevention is ineffective not only because health information alone does not create behaviour change, but that an exclusively biomedical emphasis may objectify people living with HIV by defining a person as their diagnosis (Reid & Walker, 2005). A narrow biomedical focus may construct sexuality in objectified ways that may sanction masculinity norms, where sex is represented as an instrumental act rather than relational process (Seidler, 2006). Biomedical information on its own may be misinterpreted (Mwale, 2009) or used to justify male dominance, in much the same way as 'traditionalism' can be used to justify patriarchy (Oxlund, 2008).

The idea that educating adolescents about the medical risks of HIV has limitations in that communicating medical information about HIV risk to adolescents may actually increase HIV risk, especially if there are not programmes that support alternative behaviours and practices

(Panos/Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS, 2001). That women are more physiologically vulnerable to HIV infection than men may support male discourses which blame women for HIV infection (Lindegger & Maxwell, 2007). A risk of awareness-based prevention is that adolescents may be defined as having 'deficits' in knowledge and skills, and that they are inherently risk-taking and need information to protect them from this (Rivers & Aggleton, 2007). Implications that adolescents are sexualised and in need of restraint, in either the media or HIV prevention programmes may create rather than prevent HIV risk, and projecting negative images of adolescence may be one of the ways that knowledge-based interventions fail (Rivers & Aggleton, 2007). While it is clear why HIV prevention has been focused on safer sex practices and other functional aspects of sexual behaviour, these efforts may be counter-productive in reinforcing hegemonic objectifications of sex as instrumental rather than relational (Lindegger & Quayle, 2009).

Beyond HIV prevention, it would appear that knowledge-transmission is an insufficient way of addressing other problems associated with forms of masculinity and the underlying constructions of masculinity that contribute to these problems. Studies indicate that boys/men benefit from facilitated spaces in which masculinity ideals and practices can be reflected upon and where alternatives are supported (Montgomery et al., 2006). Knowledge that masculinity norms and practices are problematic is unlikely on its own to translate into changing forms of masculinity and the problematic outcomes of these forms (such as alcohol abuse, gendered violence, risk behaviours and so on). On the basis that hegemonic masculinity includes risk-taking, control over girls/women, the 'sex drive' and 'sexual conquest' discourses and other problematic ideals and practices, programmes, policies and activism that facilitate and support alternative masculinities are more likely to be effective than exclusively knowledge- or information-based interventions (Kippax, 2004; Parker, 2004).

1.4.2. Working with young men for change.

Organisations such as UNAIDS and Oxfam have endorsed the critical importance of putting young men and masculinities on the agenda for HIV prevention in ways that specifically address

practices of masculinity that underpin HIV risk (Lindegger & Maxwell, 2007; Lindegger et al., 2007). Gender-based HIV preventions may work within or in combinations of various prevention models such as diffusion of innovation, social marketing and community participation. A 'diffusion of innovation approach' that works through social networks and organisations to address masculinity practices carries the risk locating 'expertise' with researchers, programme facilitators and policy-makers (Lindegger et al., 2007). Gender-based social marketing attempts to influence gendered behaviours through media messaging, awareness campaigns and commercial marketing strategies, for example, many of the Love Life campaigns in South Africa (Lindegger et al., 2007). Gender-based community participation approaches engage partnership among collaborating organisations, communities and programmes through which responses are developed to gendered aspects of HIV (Baskin et al., 2005).

'Targeted' intervention goes beyond the problem focus of a programme (HIV prevention, alcohol abuse, gender violence and so on) to a strategic engagement at a level which optimises sustainable change by addressing underlying practices and ideals of masculinity. 'Targeted' programmes can be a strategic focus in combination with other approaches for gendered change. For example, a social marketing campaign can be 'tailored' to facilitating dialogue and innovation of alternative masculinities. Targeted interventions are an efficient use of resources as a focus on masculinity norms and practices can contribute to sustained changes in gender-based problems such as HIV risk, alcohol and substance use and gendered violence. The Targeted Aids Interventions (TAI) programmes are examples of this kind of strategic intervention. Starting as an organisation with a focus on the empowerment of women, TAI developed several programmes to facilitate alternatives to hegemonic masculinity as an approach for HIV prevention (Lindegger & Maxwell, 2007). These programmes included a network of soccer players from local soccer clubs who acted as role models for adolescent boys (Lindegger & Maxwell, 2007). Another programme area was a peer education project in schools that combined a gender-focus with HIV information in facilitated peer interactive spaces (Lindegger & Maxwell, 2007). Facilitating spaces for adolescent peer groups to explore alternative forms of masculinity can create opportunities for reducing HIV risk in a sustainable way and at a local level (le Grange, 2004; Pattman, 2005). Facilitated spaces can be sites of resistance, in which

solidarity can be developed and viable alternatives to hegemonic ideals, imperatives and practices can be explored and accomplished (Bujra, 2002). Facilitated spaces may be developed in existing social contexts such as schools (Pattman, 2005), sports clubs (le Grange, 2004), youth camps and religious organisations (Ampofo & Baoteng, 2007) and through non-governmental organisations or NGOs (Lindegger & Maxwell, 2007).

Evaluation of TAI programmes suggests that a primary benefit of targeted interventions is that groups of adolescent boys interacting about gender issues may in themselves be counter-hegemonic practices (Lindegger & Maxwell, 2007). In facilitatory spaces, young men can share their individual experiences (or meanings) of masculinity, and negotiate, explore and innovate alternatives to dominant ways of being 'acceptably' masculine (Lindegger & Maxwell, 2007). Involving sports achievers from local soccer clubs as peer educators has been a successful way to engage groups of young men in mobilising alternatives through identifications and alignments with soccer as an important context in which masculinity is embodied and enacted (Bujra, 2002).

Peer groups may hold the most potential for facilitating gendered change, as peer groups are crucial contexts in which hegemonic imperatives, ideals and practices are articulated and endorsed (Blackbeard & Lindegger, 2007; Frosh et al., 2003a). A crucial component of peer group interventions is that there are opportunities for boys/men to gain new perspectives in relation to masculinity (Hoosen & Collins, 2004). Peer group intervention can be valuable as alternative masculinities are innovated or negotiated in the context which is possibly the most influential in the negotiation and instantiation of hegemonic masculinity (Blackbeard & Lindegger, 2007). Instead of working from a basis of a generalised and possibly 'unsituated' knowledge about men and masculinities, participatory programmes such as those of TAI work with the local, 'textured' experience of young men without imposing alternative norms for masculinity (Bujra, 2002; Francis & Rimmensberger, 2008; Frank et al., 2003).

Focusing on masculinity in HIV prevention is central in that alignments and identifications with hegemonic masculinity contribute to risk and health promotive behaviours. Practices of multiple partnering is supported by the 'sex drive discourse', and in peer group spaces, young men can

develop alternative practices (Hunter, 2005; Lindegger & Durrheim, 2002). The case may also be made for facilitated spaces for both adolescent boys and girls to explore alternative norms (Pattman, 2007). The 'social regulation' of masculinity may be most apparent in male peer groups, as suggested in the study by Frosh et al. (2003a), however the study also suggested that in mixed gender groups, both adolescent boys and girls established acceptability criteria and idealised various 'versions' of masculinity. Based on some studies, the advantages of working with groups of boys/men only and not with groups of both genders may be that male peer groups are active in 'policing' masculinity and that boys/men align themselves with hegemonic masculinity more strongly (Blackbeard & Lindegger, 2007; Frosh et al., 2002; Lindegger & Maxwell, 2007).

1.5.   Motivations for this research and theory development

Although population-based surveys are informative of incidence and prevalence of HIV and associated factors, they may also be limited by self report biases and changing perceptions of HIV (Harrison, O'Sullivan, Hoffman, Dolezal, & Morrell, 2006). Empirical research has an important role in identifying factors that may be relevant to programmes, policies and activism, such as attitudes, knowledge and information, and the frequency and nature of problems associated with forms of masculinity. Qualitative research such as this project has relevance for a better understanding of meanings, ideals and practices that underpin problems such as HIV risk, gendered violence, substance abuse and so on.

In the last ten years HIV prevention as moved from an emphasis on the vulnerability of women and risk reduction skills to an additional focus on the behaviours and practices of boys/men that contribute to HIV risk (Shefer et al., 2007; Varga, 2001). Engaging with changing forms of masculinity has meant the need to understand masculinity in local contexts and as an identity. The outcomes of masculinity research should have relevance for gender equality programmes, policies and activism, and in the HIV context can produce a credible theoretical basis for interventions.

Various types of research are most useful within a theoretical frame that identified how masculine identities are positioned against hegemonic standards and how alternative positions can be developed. Theory development is important for understanding the interconnectedness of masculinity with dynamic processes of culture, group and individual subjectivities and material conditions (Gibson and Lindegaard, 2007; Lesch & Kruger, 2004; Varga, 2001). Masculinity research suggests that masculine identity is not fixed but may be changed through contestation, negotiation or other ways of innovative alternative positions (Brandth & Haugen, 2005). It may be concluded from several qualitative studies that have worked with focus groups that peer group contexts can be powerful spaces for aligning with hegemonic masculinity but also for developing or dialoguing alternative forms of masculine identity (Blackbeard & Lindegger, 2007; Frank et al., 2003; Frosh et al., 2002). Interactive spaces offer opportunities for meta-perspectives and revisions of masculinity ideals and practices, and this is evident not only in programmes such as TAI but also in research using focus group methods (Davies & Eagle, 2007; Langa, 2008; Lindegger & Maxwell, 2007).

Some research invites theoretical development that moves beyond social processes to understanding the subjective aspects of self and identity. Hegemonic masculinity may be understood as a means of organising and maintaining gendered power, and studies suggest that hegemonic masculinity functions not only through volitional and intentional acts but also in ways that involve individual and collective subjectivities (Frosh et al., 2003a; Haywood & Mac an Ghaill, 2003). In studies that draw on psychoanalytic concepts, 'non-volitional' aspects include identification, fantasy, projections, disavowals and abjection (Blackbeard & Lindegger, 2007; Frank et al., 2003; Frosh et al., 2003a). Conceptual frames are needed that account not only for the social processes that produce masculinity ideals and practices but also the subjective processes such as unconscious aspects (Redman, 2001), anxieties (Joseph & Lindegger, 2007), imaginary 'audiences' (Blackbeard & Lindegger, 2007) and embodiment (Mankayi, 2008).

Gender-based interventions can address a range of problems associated with constructions of masculinity and may be enhanced by theoretical developments in masculinity studies, especially with regard to how boys/men arrive at alternative positions that are not aligned with hegemonic

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'standards' (Lindegger & Maxwell, 2007). Research at the intersection of HIV positive and masculine identities may be especially relevant in Southern African contexts where alternative forms of masculinity may be developed in a situation that challenges constructions (or narratives) of self and identity (Davies, 1997; Ezzy, 2000). Qualitative research has relevance for gender-based interventions that 'target' young men for change as this type of research can reveal the ways in which boys/men position themselves or are positioned by hegemonic standards and practices. Theorising masculine self and identity is important for masculinity studies because hegemonic masculinity is based in the contradiction that it is aspirational but can never be achieved (Nayak & Kehily, 1996). Hegemonic masculinity is an embodied set of practices (Connell, 1995) and operates as a means to legitimate gender relations. Nayak and Kehily (1996) argue that hegemonic masculinity is a kind of ideal 'self' that can never be fully attained or unified, and it is premised upon 'lack'. This is an important argument as it invites a closer analysis of individual subjectivities in constructions of masculine identity. Hegemonic or 'exemplary' masculinity 'is always unachievable, inevitably ungraspable, ever incomplete' (Nayak & Kehily, 1996, p. 226).

Studies that focus on 'dominant' norms of masculinity rather than 'hegemonic' masculinities for example, MacPhail (2003) may circumvent some of the theoretical complexities of the 'hegemonic masculinity' theory but may oversimplify the association between what boys/men believe about themselves and what is actually enacted through behaviours. Sideris (2005) contends that gender is not only a social or cultural construction but is also an individual subjectivity. The role of subjectivity is crucial for gender-based programmes, policies and activism just as cultural dynamics, social formations and material conditions are important issues.

CHAPTER TWO

THEORETICAL FORMULATION

2.1.   Introduction to the theoretical formulation

The field of 'masculinity studies' refers to the collective work of theorists and researchers over the past twenty years around the critical study of men and masculinities. In gender studies this has had the explicit agenda of addressing issues of men and masculinities in relation to social change (Hearn, 2007; Morrell, 2007a). The agenda for masculinity studies has generally been towards a transformation of masculinity norms, practices and behaviours. A criticism of masculinity studies has been that the historical domination of men's voices in producing knowledge. This has meant that the academy has always been a study of men (Hearn, 2007; Shefer, Bowman, & Duncan, 2008). An area of debate has been whether masculinity studies sustains a binary between genders that is problematic (Macleod, 2007). This argument can be defended from the defining premise of what is meant by the terms 'masculinity' and 'masculinity studies' and the agenda of masculinity studies towards gender equity and equality (Morrell, 2007a). The case for theory in masculinity studies may in itself be problematic, in the light of feminist critique that theory-making is a gendered practice of meaning-making (Hearn, 2007). However, it may be equally put forward that theory is intrinsic to the production of any organised knowledge. Taking heed of these caveats, theory in masculinity studies has largely rejected arguments that masculinity is intrinsic and fixed by biological difference, social roles, socialisation and for some, social-material realities (Connell, 2007; Morrell, 2007a).

This chapter describes theoretical orientation for this research located within the field masculinity studies on the basis that 'theory' is an organisation of concepts that form an explanation or account of a phenomenon (Silverman, 2001). An overview of theories relevant to masculinity studies is presented with discussion of more recent developments. The case is made for dialogical self theory as a useful basis for masculinity research. Empirical research findings are reviewed and critiqued from a theoretical perspective but the implications of theory for the ontological and epistemological bases for this study are discussed further in the next chapter.

2.2. Theoretical orientations relevant for masculinity studies

2.2.1. Biological theories.

Biological approaches generally emphasise that gender is defined by intrinsic biological differences. Within this frame, it is often argued that these differences create universal characteristics of masculinity that are present in all cultures and at all times. Such approaches may equate biological sex with gender or may contend that behavioural 'sex differences' are contingent upon genetic determinants, a view that is particularly defended by Archer (2004) in an article that critiques the studies by Frosh, Phoenix and Pattman (2002). Claims of a biologically determined sexual dimorphism may draw on studies of 'sex differences' in types of aggression, visual-spatial skills, capacities and interests (Lott, 1997). In many cases, sex difference research claims causality from correlation and emphasises differences over similarities (Lott, 1997). Among others, Archer (2004) argues from ethological theory and sex difference research that there is convincing evidence for intrinsic 'behavioural biases' between boys and girls which therefore invalidates any claims that gendered behaviour has a social basis.

Some 'biological theories' may overdetermine links between phylogeny and ontogeny and dichotomise nature from nurture. A critical issue is whether 'sex' and 'gender' may be considered equivalent. A separation between biological differences (sex) and social constructions(gender) may be helpful to some extent, although the idea that gender is 'embodied' (Connel, 2002) presents a theoretical dilemma in to some extent at least, conflating 'sex' and 'gender'. Sociobiological arguments claim to resolve the nature-nurture dilemma but appear to explain social behaviour as a result of biological determinants (Lott, 1997). Although sociobiology is argued on the basis of ethological observation, twin studies and animal studies, these may have methodological flaws that are easily overlooked. It appears that many of these claims on the ontologically flawed idea of 'inherited behaviours', given that ontologically speaking, being may be intentional or learned. The extent to which sociobiology becomes an essentialist rhetoric rather than a empirically-based theory should be questioned, as put forward

by Frosh (1989) among others (Lott, 1997). In refuting biological arguments, Frosh (1989) suggests that portraying 'anatomy as destiny' is a deterministic rhetoric that 'naturalises' patriarchal power differentials.

The idea that masculinity is an essential 'inner core' which is acquired through innate and inherited factors is highly contestable because this assumes that sex and gender are equivalent (Connell, 2002). Sex difference research may be conceptually flawed in not accounting for factors such as economic and political power, social dynamics and the history of gendered power relations (Connell, 2002). Biological theories may be considered 'essentialist' arguments that assume universal patterns of 'masculinity'. These arguments foreclose on the influences of early relationships, socialisation, cultural, social and economic factors in masculinity (Chu, Porche, & Tolman, 2005). The more essentialist biological arguments cannot account for why there are multiple forms of masculinity (Haywood & Mac an Ghaill, 2003). Neither is an adequate explanation for why there are competing 'versions' of masculinity which occur across various social, economic and cultural conditions (Haywood & Mac an Ghaill, 2003).

Biological determinism is a common theme in popular 'masculinist' literature or men's movements (Haenfler, 2004). At the 'fundamentalist' end of 'masculinism', are 'mythopoetic' movements and extreme versions of the men's crisis discourse (Haenfler, 2004). Frequent 'masculinist' arguments are that young men have failed to internalise an essential and 'real' masculinity or that women have usurped men's places of natural authority   (Haywood & Mac an Ghaill, 2003). These masculinist discourses sometimes emphasise purported 'natural differences' between men and women by presenting 'intrinsic' sex differences and risk being another form of patriarchal claim to male superiority. As argued above, but here in relation to masculinist discourses, there appears to be a lack of any kind of critical perspective for how gender is formed through social, cultural, historical or economic factors (Alsop, Fitzsimons & Lennon, 2002).

Rather more subtle versions of sociobiology claim that gender becomes 'differentiated' through innate differences that are interactional across the social and biological domains (Frosh, 1989).

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Sociobiology appears to assume a primary and internal basis for gender in sexual difference. This opposes a view that gender is a social construction which is constituted in various ways such as social processes, cultural systems and language (Frosh, 1989). Biological determinism may be strongly refuted by the abundant research which demonstrates that men can and do change through and in history, culture, communities, groups and individually (Frank et al., 2003; Connell, 2007).

2.2.2. 'Sex-role' and 'gender role' theories.

Oversimplified and problematic ideas that reify 'masculinity' or 'male sex roles' as measurable constructs create an empirical discourse that some men are 'more' or 'less' masculine than others (Haywood & Mac an Ghaill, 2003). While sex role theory was a response to biological essentialism, it also risked a reductionism with the idea that masculinity is a measurable 'trait' which is formed through socialisation and can be quantified or given an empirical reality that is independent of culture, context, meaning and social-material contexts.

Subsequent developments in sex role theory have moved away from constructing masculinity and femininity as fixed roles and essential realities and have been revisoned as 'gender role theory' (Alsop et al., 2002). Developments in gender role theory have been that men/boys are able to actively change within socially prescribed roles or find alternative role scripts, although there is an inadequate account of cultural and social change (Alsop et al., 2002; Morrell, 1998a). Frosh (1989) has argued that sex role theory does not account for how men come to be positioned in their 'roles' nor how roles are experienced and influenced by unconscious processes and individual subjectivity (Frosh, 1989). Role theory does not account well for gender as an embodied practice (Connell, 2002) and socialisation is largely understood as unidirectionals. And gender and sex role theory lacks a sense of historicity, culture and social dynamics in the production of gender relations (Donaldson, 1993; Frosh, 1989).

2.2.3. Psychoanalytic theory.

Much psychoanalytic theory, perhaps especially object relations theory and cultural psychoanalysis, is valuable the emphasis on formative and unconscious influences of early relationships in masculine experience (Haywood & Mac an Ghaill, 2003). A commonality of most approaches is an attention to individual subjectivity and internal experience. This may be a neglected area in other theories, including mainstream social constructionism, which is discussed further on (Frosh, 1989). However, not all psychoanalytic theories account equally well for gendered power and may reduce masculinity to individual experience that does not go beyond the influence of family contexts or the cultural domain.

At one point, Freud maintained that gender identity is formed through innate drives which are held in tension, the influence of society, the visual recognition of bodily differences between male and female and also the identification process at the Oedipal stage (Frosh, 1994; Hird, 2003). Feminist theorist, Hird (2003), suggests that this argument is highly problematic in considering sexuality to be a biological drive. Hird also suggests that portraying heterosexuality as a 'healthy' identification is reductionistic and exclusive of sexual preference variation. From a feminist psychoanalytic perspective, Hird notes that in later writings, Freud supports a different view that the male infant experiences undifferentiated desire before finding predominant identifications. This view does not privilege the male body or heterosexuality (Hird, 2003). Seidler (2006) suggests that Freud's theories and their subsequent developments locate anxiety and distress in early experience. Sediler argues here that this is a generalisation which does not account for experiences of culture, class, religion, race and gendered power.

Not all psychoanalytic accounts of gender may share the problematic assumptions discussed above. Lacan's explanations of masculine identity appear to combine linguistics and an alternative reading of Freudian psychoanalysis. Lacan retains the idea that gender experience is rooted in the Oedipal 'drama', however, he reads the resolution of the conflict as a move from a fantasised absorption between infant and the mother. Instead, he posits that the father-as-language is a disruptive impact to the merged mother-child that introduces prohibition, denial,

splitting and loss (Frosh, 1989). On the assumption that patriarchy infiltrates language at every turn, Lacan argues that gender is premised upon language-based fictions and fantasies which represent sexual (or perhaps heterosexual) desire as a return to the wholeness (Frosh, 1989). Lacan's perspective is instructive in that he counters any notion that gender is essential or predetermined (Frosh, 1989). He presents gender as not only defined in rationalist terms, but also actualised through fantasy and fiction (Frosh, 1989). Lacan constructs language as a channel for cultural scripts of gender which connects early experience with other levels of meaning-making in social, cultural and historical forms (Frosh, 1989). Critique of Lacan's theory includes the argument that culture cannot be reduced to language because culture is a dynamic process which occurs through image, embodiment and other means of signification (Frosh, 1989). It can be argued that Lacan's theory is a linguistic reductionism – it does not account for experiences, disjunctures and disruptions which cannot be represented through language (Frosh, 2007).

From the position of post-structuralist feminist psychoanalysis, Kristeva argues that the father is not just a voice of caution but is a containing and structuring presence that prevents the child from being overhelmed by Oedipal loss (Frosh, 2002). Kristeva proposes that the father is present from birth and that the father's existence prevents the mother from complete 'immersion' with the child. This allows the child to form individual subjectivity by not completely merging with the mother (Frosh, 2002). As with others in the psychoanalytic traditions, there is a limitation that Kristeva assumes conjugal parenting to be a norm, foreclosing on alternative familial, communal and cultural forms of caregiving.

More recently, postmodern critics have that psychoanalysis is an intrinsically modernist project that attempts 'master-narratives' and unitary 'truth' (Frosh, 2002). Counter to this is cultural psychoanalysis and further post-structuralist versions that explore language and meaning-making in relationships (Frosh, 2002). As a tradition, psychoanalysis has an interest in the individual that is largely lacking in the postmodern emphasis the linguistic and social construction of gender (Burr, 2003). Psychoanalytic theory is fairly unique in the view that not all experience can be represented consciously or in language (Frosh, 2007).

2.2.4. Hegemonic masculinity.

Hegemonic masculinity has been an important theoretical concept for masculinity studies in Southern Africa[5]. The term 'hegemonic masculinity' developed from the 'new sociology of men' in the late 1980s (Carrigan, Connell, & Lee, 1987). It is a social constructionism that focuses on how masculinity is defined in social formations, hence what may be called a 'macrosocial' constructionism in its emphasis on instutional bases of masculinity (Blackbeard, 2005; Carrigan et al. 1987; Connell, 1995). Core concepts are as follows.

First, masculinity is structurally defined within social institutions and social activities (Connell, 1995). In this sense, masculinity is based in a power structure of relations that is constituted through social activities (Connell, 2002). Masculinity therefore produces and is produced within economies, education, technology, division of labour, religion, the state and organisations (Connell, 2002). Although Connell recognises that there are contradictions and complexities in how individual men experience these 'sites' of masculinity, the emphasis lies with social theory or the 'macrosocial' construction of masculinity (Blackbeard, 2005; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005).

Second, Connell (1995) argues that masculinities are multiple and develop in relation to one another. Although Connell keeps the concept of socialisation, therefore overlapping with sex role theory, he differs with sex role theory on the basis that there is not one 'role' into which boys are socialized (Connell, 2002). He also maintains that socialisation is not 'unidirectional' learning of sex role norms (Connell, 2002). Connell argues that there is no one definitive masculinity or 'sex role' and this is evidenced in the multiplicity of masculinities between and within cultures, peer groups and organisations.

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[5] Some of the local studies that use the concept of 'hegemonic masculinity' are Ampofo and Boateng (2007), Davies and Eagle (2007), Joseph and Lindegger (2007), Lindegger and Maxwell (2007), Mfecane (2008), Oxlund (2008), Pattman (2007), Reid (2005) and Sathiparsad (2007).

Third, the concept of hegemonic masculinity defines the relationship of masculinity with gendered, political, economic and other forms of power in society (Connell, 2002). Although there are variations in the definition across Connell's work, the most common definition of hegemonic masculinity that he uses is that hegemonic masculinity is a version of masculinity which is privileged, and is represented and socially sanctioned as dominant, exemplary and acceptable (Brandth & Haugen, 2005; Connell, 1995). Introduced into social theory by theorist Antonio Gramsci (1891-1937), hegemony denotes the cultural means through which power relations are legitimated by 'taken-for-granted' meanings (Beynon, 2002). Connell (1995) argues that multiple masculinities are organised around that which is perceived to be a 'dominant and dominating' standard. Positioned against the domiant and dominating standard are other 'subordinate' versions – these may be 'marginalised' masculinity, 'complicit' masculinity or 'subjugated' masculinity (Kenway & Fitzclarence, 1997). Subordinated forms of masculinity are positioned around the configuration of ideals and practices that are the hegemonic standard in a specific context (Beynon, 2002). These positions or multiple masculinities are taken up by individuals and groups and are 'hierarchical' in the sense that one group or individual may be more or less subordinated (Connell, 1995; Haenfler, 2004). To reiterate, what is hegemonic masculinity in one context may not be considered the hegemonic standard in another and is therefore a valued form at specific contexts of time and space (Haenfler, 2004). An definition that is useful in this regard is as follows

> '[Hegemonic masculinity is] a form of masculinity that gains ascendancy at a time or in a place and to which other forms are subordinate' (Beynon, 2002, p. 16)

Fourth, hegemonic masculinity is maintained as a 'cultural capital' by the advantages or 'patriarchal dividends' accrued to men through gendered power relations (Connell, 1995). It may not only be hegemonic masculinity which maintains gendered power relations but the versions of masculinity around the perceived ideal such as those defined as subordinated – complicitous, marginalised or complicit (Connell, 2002). It may be argued that hegemonic masculinity is an unattainable or impossible or perhaps even imaginary 'standard' which exists

only as a cultural capital that sustains gendered power (Blackbeard & Lindegger, 2007; Gibson & Lindegaard, 2007; Lindegger & Maxwell, 2007).

To be fair, Connell's theory offers a coherent explanation of masculinity at a large-scale level (Lindegger & Quayle, 2010) and in local masculinity studies these theories have challenged that idea that all men (or young men) are in the same position of power in relation to patriarchy and that masculinities are contestable (Cleaver, 2002; Morrell, 2001). In identifying the intersection of masculinity with class, history and race, Connell's theory is relevant to masculinity studies in South African contexts of diverse and multiple histories (Lindegger & Quayle, 2010).

Connell's theory is useful but has limitations in accounting for positional changes (in relation to hegemonic masculinity). The school studies by Frosh et al. (2002) indicate that individuals and groups may hold more than one 'position' in relation to hegemonic masculinity and that positions shift contextually or may be simultaneously held within an individual, group or small-scale social formations such as school cultures. The latter point was well developed early in masculinity studies by Mac an Ghaill (1994) who argued for that schools were 'microcultural contexts' for gender construction. Returning to the argument of Frosh et al. (2002), positioning may be considered to be an active process. This may be crucial in identifying how masculine identities can be developed or sustained in ways that are 'distanced' from hegemonic standards, especially at the level of individual, inter-individual and group subjectivity (Blackbeard & Lindegger, 2007; Lindegger, Quayle & Blackbeard, 2009). Understanding individual and group positioning among multiple masculinities is a key to alternative masculinities. Connell (2002), on the other hand, emphasises the structural and not the individual legitmation of gendered power (Cooper, 2009; Lindegger et al., 2009). In Connell's general emphasis on social structural processes, there is little sense in how boys/men negotiate masculinities in local and wider culture or emotional experiences of boys/men in living up to ideals (Cooper, 2009; Lindegger & Maxwell, 2007; Seidler, 2006).

The ambivalence, contradiction and the tensions among multiple masculinities in the internal (and external) world of the individual may be of most relevance in unlocking the ways in which

young men find alternative versions for adequate masculinity – an area which in general is not the focus of Connell's work. Seidler (2006) argues that Connell's theory may be more relevant to rationalist, secular cultures than post-industrial cultures of diversity, communication and hybridity. It can be argued that challenging dominant masculinities involves engaging with the emotional processes and cultural subjectivities through which young men position themselves and are positioned (Seidler, 2006). Therefore theory is needed for understanding individual, group and cultural subjectivities.

Although revisions to Connell's theories have 'signposted' individual subjectivity (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005), there appears to remain an emphasis that men/boys operate only in terms of what is known and volitional – a problem throughout Connell's work it seems (Haywood & Mac an Ghaill, 2003). Reid (2005) suggests that at the level of individuals and groups, legitimations of masculine privilege may be more tentative, provisional and nuanced than posited by Connell. The 'tentativeness' of masculinity is well-evidenced in interview research with young men which reveals the rhetorical and unconscious processes of groups and individuals in finding positions among contradictions, ambivalences and tensions (Blackbeard & Lindegger, 2007; Frosh, Phoenix & Pattman, 2003a).

While the need for reflexive stances is imperative, to bracket out all theoretical assumptions in the somewhat phenomenological way of Seidler (2006) and Canadian theorists, Frank et al. (2003), creates a knowledge that is so 'textual' and based on difference that it seems to lack coherence. Frank et al. (2003) contend that masculinity studies may benefit from disengaging from theoretical assumptions and rather enter the complexity of a 'texted-world' which is a contradiction, based somewhat on the idea of textuality from discourse analysis theory, an approach which is discussed further on.

Nevertheless, it appears that Connell's theory does not account well for lived experience, individual difference and the ways in masculinities change through 'micro-level' processes (such as unconscious, individual, group or 'small-scale' cultural contexts). An example of this is the study of adolescent peer counsellors by Davies and Eagle (2007). In this study, there was some

evidence that masculine identities or 'positions' are continually managed in group and individual processes of othering, identifying, idealising and negotiation (Davies & Eagle, 2007). The participants, who were 'peer counsellors' in a school context, managed an identity that was acceptable to peers while at the same time they were able to act in non-hegemonic ways by caring for others (Davies & Eagle, 2007).

Connell's concepts of hegemonic masculinity and multiple masculinities can be integrated with theories that are more useful for understanding subjectivities at the level of self and identity, especially where there is a frame for understanding individual and collective positioning.

2.2.5 Discursive psychology.

Edley and Wetherell's (1997) discursive theory is broadly social constructionist and takes a relational, narrative reading of 'discourse' in bringing together social and inter-subjective processes in the construction of masculinity. Analytic concepts such as 'interpretive repertoires', 'cultural narratives', 'imaginary positions' and 'psycho-discursive practices' are used to explain the ways in which masculine identity is 'accomplished' in social interaction (Edley & Wetherell, 1997; Wetherell & Edley, 1999). Citing Billig (1991) at some points, these theorists emphasise the paradoxical way in which discourse is both produced by individual subjects and how individual subjects are produced by discourse (Edley & Wetherell, 1999). They suggest that masculine identities, they suggest are 'highly occasioned and situated' and occur as meaning-making in social interaction. Masculine identities are instantiated, constructed and reconstructed within ordinary talk and draw on the 'available' cultural narratives of masculinity (Edley & Wetherell & Edley, 1997; Wetherell & Edley, 1999). They contend that the masculine subject is a 'kind of passage' or channel through which cultural narratives 'speak', constantly positioning identities from an 'interpretive repertoire' of masculinity narratives (Wetherell & Edley, 1997; Wetherell, 1998).

These theorists emphasise the rhetorical work which takes place in accomplishing subject positions in but also through, masculine discourses (Edley & Wetherell, 1997). They argue that

it is the rhetorical opportunities and contradictions among subject positions that counter-hegemonic alternatives for masculinity are made possible (Wetherell & Edley, 1999). They suggest that individual men/boys may occupy more than one subject position simultaneously in relation to masculinity norms develop new subject positions through conversation (Edley & Wetherell, 1997). Boys/men may simultaneously adopt positions in compliance and resistance against hegemonic norms and engage in 'psycho-discursive' practices to negotiate positions – a kind of individual process of acting on and developing discourses of masculinity in the social 'imaginary' (Wetherell & Edley, 1999).

Wetherell and Edley's arguments from discursive psychology develop the idea that 'positions' are located among a multiplicity of masculinities occurring within, and through discourse. They portray what may be called the 'micro-level interactions' that produce hegemonic and counter-hegemonic positions. Although this theory is useful in highlighting the individual subject in interaction, it may be argued that it is a theory of the masculine subject rather than a theory of masculine subjectivity. The 'masculine subject' appears to be an 'empty' conversationalist without any internal world of lived experience, individual imagination or emotional realities. From this it seems that the only way that young men can accomplish counter-hegemonic stances is through language-based social interaction, a reductionist argument. In this version, masculinity appears to be an external linguistic identity without an experienced masculine self at individual and perhaps group level. A further problem is the apparent assumption that individuals are volitional and agentive, as opposed to counter-arguments that masculine identities are considerably influenced by non-volitonal and unconscious factors (Blackbeard, 2005; Nayak & Kehily, 1996; Redman, 2001).

2.2.6. Psycho-social theory.

'Psycho-social' theory[6] integrates the social constructionism of identity with psychoanalytic understandings of subjectivity (Frosh, 2002; Frosh, Phoenix, & Pattman, 2003b; Frosh, 2007).

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[6] The hyphen in 'psycho-social' indicates a disrupted interconnectedness of the psychological and the social (Saville-Young, 2009).

There are overlaps with Wetherell and Edley's (1999) theory although the integration with feminist and linguistic psychoanalysis offered by psycho-social theory develops a more nuanced approach for understanding masculine subjectivity. Similarities with Wetherell and Edley's (1999) discursive psychology include the following: (1) identity positioning occurs through contradiction, oppositions and 'stances' in relation to hegemonic norms (Frosh et al., 2003b; Phoenix, 2004), (2) masculine identity is multiple and linguistically 'coded' (Frosh, Phoenix, & Pattman, 2002), (3) boys/men may take up more than one position towards hegemonic masculinity (Frosh et al., 2003a), (4) masculinity is accomplished through doing and is constructed in sociality (Frosh et al., 2002; Saville-Young, 2009), and (5) performative masculinity is produced by active negotiations with the cultural scripts or 'canonical narratives' of masculinity (Phoenix, 2004). Psycho-social theory is based in the work of Frosh et al. (2002) and differs from Wetherell and Edley's (1999) discursive psychology in extending the ways in which individual boys/men accomplish identity positioning (Frosh et al., 2003a). The moments of silence, absence or disruption in social interaction suggest limits to 'conscious articulation' and this suggests that masculine self and identity is not always agentive and volitional as implied in discursive psychology (Frosh et al., 2002; Saville-Young, 2009).

In psycho-social theory, identity positioning is conceptualised as more than a linguistic 'negotiation'. Psycho-social theory is interested in the emotional 'investment' a person has in relation to identifying with one position and not another (Frosh et al., 2002). Subject positions are produced in non-rational ways, 'psycho-socially' constructed through unconscious defences, for example by projecting anxieties or desires onto others or idealising and devaluing girls/women (Frosh et al., 2002). Subject positions are 'inhabited' with anxiety and emotions (Frosh et al., 2002). Taking or rejecting a subject position may be invested with pleasure, anger, resentment, bitterness, fear, embarrassment, regret or other feelings (Frosh et al., 2002).

It is argued that the relevance of psycho-social theory for local masculinity studies is as follows. The individual is not seen as separate from the social and the cultural. The social, cultural and individual are not seen as static entities but as dynamic and interactional – of particular relevance in a diverse society such as South Africa. Meanings of masculinity may change over time just as

sociohistorical and cultural meanings are constructed and re-constructed (Beynon, 2002). The relevance for local masculinity studies is that, unlike Connell's theory, which appears to treat culture as a static entity, psycho-social theory invites a perspective on culture as a dynamic process that is interactional with individual subjectivity – again relevant to South Africam contexts where the dynamic quality of culture is salient.

2.3.   Dialogical self theory

Dialogical self theory (DST) developed out of psychology in the early 1990s and has burgeoned into an extensive body of theory and research. Central is the idea that the self is an 'assemblage' of multi-voiced positions, located in space and time, both real and imagined (Hermans & Kempen, 1993). It is proposed here that DST has much value in masculinity studies as a means for understanding the formation of self and identity in relation to hegemonic masculinity. It appears from recent work in by Hermans and Hermans-Konopka (2010) that there is yet to be a full differentiation between 'self' and 'identity' in DST, a potential limitation of DST if this reading is accurate. Key ideas are that the self is relational, is a domain of power dynamics and that the self is extended beyond the positions it occupies.

2.3.1. Relevance of DST for masculinity studies.

The use of Dialogical Self Theory (DST) in masculinity studies is a very recent development and this has been in a related set of recent local studies of young men and masculinity (Blackbeard & Lindegger, 2007; Lindegger et al., 2009; Lindegger & Quayle, 2010). DST is premised on the idea that the self is 'extended' in time and space and is therefore a departure from modernist conceptions of the self as a singular datum (Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010). It is suggested here that DST also moves beyond post-modernist perspectives of subjects within multiple discourses and represents a new orientation for understanding self and society. DST proposes that the self is a 'society of mind', a highly dynamic process that occurs in both internal and external domains (Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010).

It is argued here that DST offers an appropriate and useful conceptual framework for masculinity studies. DST describes interacting subjective and social dynamics in masculine experience and deals well with complexity and is useful in identifying how alternative masculinities are accomplished through self-positioning. DST is an integrated theory that does not reduce the social and the self to language, social structure, cultural narratives or personal subjectivity but rather includes these elements to a greater or lesser extent. In current contexts of global and local cultures, DST offers an explanatory system that deals well with complexity, sometimes at the risk of over-inclusivity. DST identifies the social processes of self-construction and the dynamics of self in social construction and therefore has relevance for understanding the relationship between cultures and masculine selves (Lindegger et al., 2009).

2.3.2. Theorising the self and identity.

Hermans (2003) describes DST as being 'on the interface of James and Bakhtin' (p. 100). This statement captures the combination of multiplicity (Bakhtin) with the notion of an extended self (William James). A key premise in DST is that the self is extended into space and time, just as society is spatially and temporally situated (Hermans, 2004). Derived from pragmatist William James, the idea of an extended self means that, in contrast with modernist or Cartesian views, where the self is generally conceptualised as an internal core or cogito, the extended self has permeable boundaries such that there are 'interiorised-exteriors' and 'exteriorised-interiors' (Hermans, 2004; Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010). For example, a masculinity researcher asks an adolescent boy to produce a drawing of his family members and then talk about them. In drawing and speaking, the boy is externalising representations of 'internalised others', implying that he has internal representations of his family members as external others.

In response to the Cartesian self as an essential cogito, with the dualistic assumption that self and other are separate just as self and society is separate, DST is premised on the notion that the self is social, historical and cultural and that the boundaries between self and other are permeable (Hermans, 2001; Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010). In relation to culture, the self is neither

a universal nor essential entity upon which culture is 'imprinted', rather the extended self is 'culture-inclusive' just as culture is 'self-inclusive'(Hermans, 2003).

DST is derived from Russian Dialogism, and the self is compared with the multi-narrated polyphonic novel (Hermans & Kempen, 1993). The self is portrayed as an assemblage of 'speaking' or voiced positions that have a narrative coherence (Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010). Self and identity appear to be largely interchangeable in DST and both self and identity are considered socially and culturally inclusive (Hermans, 2004; Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010). With globalisation and its counter-process, localisation, intercultural contact and global media have increased the availability of voiced positions available (Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010). For example, many young South Africans are 'bicultural' and have a traditional local culture and a modern global culture and may 'switch' between these or hold them together simultaneously (Hermans, 2001). A young South African might speak from two or more positions, for example, 'I as Zulu young man', 'I as an urban township dweller' or from sub-cultural position 'I as a soccer player'. Globally, there is an increasing need to 'manage' multiple identities and to know the difference between what might 'work' or be appropriate for one identity and not another (Hermans, 2004; Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010). For young South African men, meanings of what it is to be acceptably masculine in one cultural dynamic may be different from another, or there may be norms for masculine acceptability that exist only in the dialectal combination of two cultures, for example the specific ways that Zulu young men in consumer cultures can be acceptably masculine.

In DST, the self is a unity-in-multiplicity or a 'society of mind' with both centralising and decentralising forces which usefully describes the intersection of the social and the subjective, a key interest for this research (Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010). The unifying 'pull' in the self-system provides continuity, predictability and coherence across space and time (Hermans, 2008). This manifests as the continuity of being the same person yesterday as the next day (time) or being the same person in various localities (space). On the other hand, the disintegrating 'push' leads to discontinuity, the innovation of new voiced positions and increasing fragmentation (Hermans, 2008). A person experiences themselves as 'scattered' in a

multiplicity of spatial and temporal domains, the availability of which has vastly increased in a globalised world of translocality, intercultural contact, media and information technology (Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010).

Recent developments of DST suggest that in the globalised world at least three versions of the self are present, the traditional self, the modern self and the postmodern self (Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010). The three selves are socio-historically located and imbricated upon each other. The traditional self is associated with social gratitude and stable social formations, and has been re-invigorated with the emergence of localisation as a counterforce of globalisation (Hermans,2004; Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010). The modern self is defined as an indivisible, encapsulated and essentialised entity (Hermans, 2008) located in the Western industrialised state and associated with sharp boundaries between self and other, theory and practice (Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010). The modern self values individual self-esteem and is characterised by the centralising, unifying force (Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010). The postmodern self is characterised by decentralised multiplicity that has developed through the over-abundance of choice in a global world of 'compressed' time and space (Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010). There is no 'central author' to the postmodern self in a world with endless possibilities for new voiced positions (Hermans, 2008). The self is a system that has both centrifugal and centripetal tendencies (Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010). The postmodern self is evident in social constructionist accounts of masculinity – these portray the subject as positioned in a multiplicity of discourses or cultural narratives. Postmodernity creates a kind of disembodied 'self-less' world, where the self outside of discourse is 'empty' (Cushman, 1990 cited in Hermans, 2003) or alternatively, a 'saturated self' that does not exist outside of cultural narratives (Gergen, 1991, cited in Hermans, 2003). Although the postmodern self has freedom and variation, there is also meaningless hedonic consumerism, experiences of uncertainty and a lack of rootedness, suggest Hermans and Hermans-Konopka (2010).

Hermans and Hermans-Konopka (2010) suggest that the condition of postmodernity offers liberatory possibilities beyond the structural patriarchy of modernism. This has implications for creating new I-positions for masculine self and identity through dialogue and diversity. A

crucial part of DST is that dialogue is crucial to the construction of the self as extended, relational and embodied (Hermans &, Hermans-Konopka, 2010).

An important aspect of DST is that there are both individual and collective voices in the self-society interconnection (Hermans, 2008). For example, a South African young man might 'speak' from a collective voiced position – 'we as young men', 'we as sportsmen' and so on. Voiced positions are in relationships of power with one another that may change in time and space (Hermans, 2004). One voiced position may be dominant and others marginalised, subordinated, or even 'exiled' from the self-system which to some extent parallels Connell's conceptualisation of multiple masculinities (Connell, 1995; Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010). Researchers have noted varying strategies of adolescent boys to maintain heterosexual selves that exclude or marginalise gay self-positions, strategies that become more emphasised in the collective 'voice' of a male peer group in which gay voice positions are silenced (Blackbeard & Lindegger, 2007; Frosh et al., 2002). Similarly, the 'instantiation of identities' through conversational rhetoric, as described in discursive psychology, has some similarity with the idea of power dynamics in DST, however with the emphasis being on interaction between subjects (Edley & Wetherell, 1997; Wetherell & Edley, 1999).

A way to conceptualise voiced positions is as 'characters', the activist, the dreamer, the outsider and so forth (Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010). Changing power relations among voiced positions has a quality of 'shape shifting', a particular image or symbol that catalyses change (Hermans, 2004; Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010). Something analogous to this may be in recent research with young student politicians (Oxlund, 2008). The young men in this study identified with the terms 'young lions' and 'comrades', a term which was used as an accolade for anti-apartheid activists. However, here a new generation of young men re-invoked these 'shape-shifting' images to stabilise a position that marginalised women from student politics.
The dialogical self is an embodied self (Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010). Although the postmodern thinking may portray the self as a 'passage' through which discursive meaning flows (Wetherell, 1998; Wetherell & Edley, 1999), DST suggests that embodiment places parameters on the amount of complexity that can be managed. 'Positioning' is fundamentally an

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embodiment in time and space. Recent DST has started to look at the ontogenesis of positioning in early development. A neonate is aware of movement in space, and positional concepts such as 'close', 'distant', 'here' and' there' are formed in infancy (Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010). 'Positioning' is pre-verbal, and the ability to 'voice' a position develops later (Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010).

2.3.3. Positioning self and identity.

The concept of self (or identity) 'positioning crucially implies location or movement in space and time. The dialogical self is conceived of as a 'dynamic multiplicity of relatively autonomous I-positions' (Hermans, 2008). The 'I' fluctuates among positions in the spatial and temporal domains (both external and internal) and 'gives voice' to these self-positions through which dialogue is made possible (Hermans, 2008). Not all positions are voiced or can be voiced, and some positions may be subdued, silenced or subjugated by dominant voiced positions, somewhat similarly to subordinated masculinities organised around the hegemonic standard, although here the emphasis is more macrosocial (Connell, 1995; Hermans, 2004). In DST, each position has an emotional tone – a voiced position may be joyful, excited, angry, fearful, sad and so on (Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010). A key aspect of the dialogical self is that it is relational and involves both active positioning of self with others and the passive positioning of self by others. This is extended to relationships of self with oneself and relationships of self with objects, events, places and times.

> 'the process of receiving, finding and taking one's place in a field of social relationships.
> There is an active placing of oneself in a particular relationship with somebody or something
> else and in a particular relationship with oneself ...[or] in the passive form: being positioned
> by others, being placed by others and oneself' (Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010, p.150)

The relative dominance of voiced positions is spatialised and the 'distances' between positions can be negotiated. The notion of a 'position' implies that there are other positions (Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010). A position may be closer to one position than to another. The

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relationship of dominance and spatialisation is accounted for by the spatial nature of social interaction and the spatial nature of embodiment. Positioning in the self-society interconnection relates to dimensions of physical embodiment and movement. Therefore, the body, the personal and the social are characterised by space, position and movement (Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010). The vertical dimension of spatiality is about power and the horizontal dimension is about distance (Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010). This is depicted in the schematic (Figure 1) based on the description of positional 'movement' by Hermans & Hermans-Konopka (2010).

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                        Up │ Superior




  Here                                                    There
  ─────────────────────────┼────────────────────────────
  Close                                                   Distant




                      Down │ Inferior
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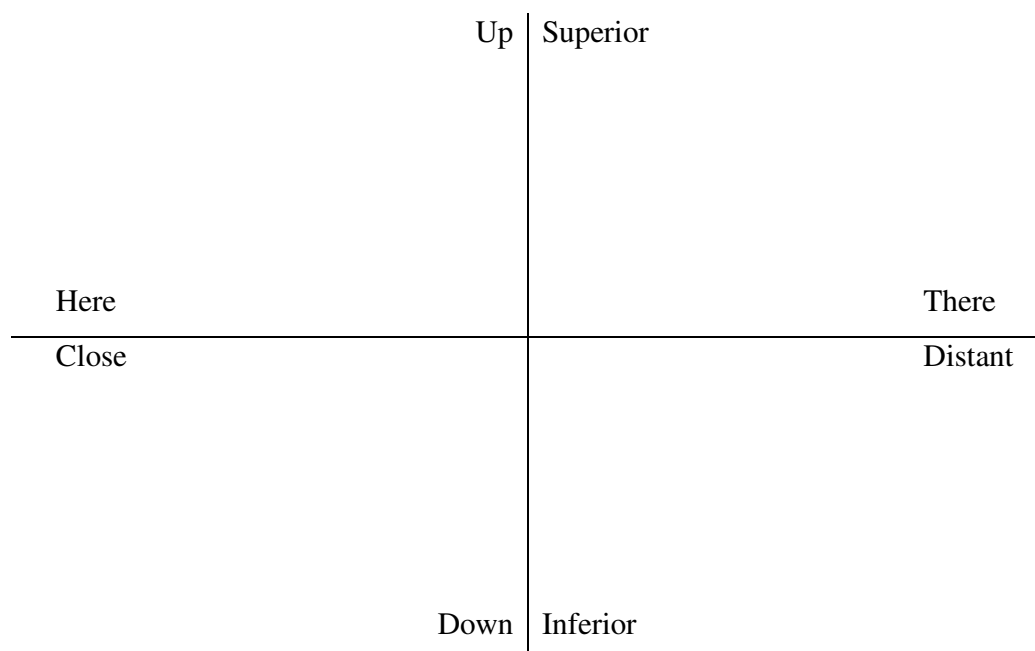
Figure 1: Spatial dimensions of positioning

The idea of positioning as spatially and temporally situated has relevance for hegemonic masculinity as a theory of gendered power, bearing in mind the idea that hegemonic masculinity is 'ascendant' in time and place (Beynon, 2002). Hegemonic masculinity can be identified as a voiced position that is 'up' or 'top-dog' and subordinated masculinities may be positioned further away from the hegemonic position and spatially 'down' or 'inferior' to use

terms from Hermans and Hermans-Konopka (2010).

Applying this idea loosely to Connell's (1995) typology, 'subjugated masculinity' might consist of voiced positions that are the most inferior and therefore are positionally the most 'down' or 'under-dog'. 'Complicitous masculinity' might be 'closer' to hegemonic masculinity than the others but is also subordinated, and therefore is 'down'. 'Marginalised masculinity' could be the furtherest away from hegemonic masculinity although the dimension of 'up' or 'down' might be variable, on the basis that masculinities that are marginalised retain some kind of independence. Shifts in the power dynamics of the self-system or the self-society connection (Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010) could realign these spatialisations in many different ways.

It is of crucial relevance that voiced I-positioning occurs in 'physical' and 'social' space, be it an 'interiorised exterior' or an 'interiorised exterior'. A restrictive social environment may not allow a voice to actualise a suppressed position (Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010). Although the idea of the unconscious is not explicit within DST, 'shadow' positions, disowned positions and the 'darker' regions of self' are described (Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010). A 'shadow' position may be actualised by new experiential spaces and 'promoter positions' that expand the positional repertoire or 'bandwidth' (Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010). 'Promoter positions' may be images, heroes or religious figures that develop as specialised and temporary positions that catalyse transformation, an interesting dimension for identifying ways in which alternative masculinities can be sustainably created.

The more recent work in DST has developed the idea of 'positioning processes' which is highly relevant to this research on the ways in which young men can accomplish alternative masculinities. Hermans and Hermans-Konopka (2010) describe six positioning processes, namely, I-positions, metapositions, coalitions, third positions, compositions and depositioning. These are discussed further, introducing how this has relevance for masculinity studies and particularly for this study.

'I-positions' are important for centralising and ensuring continuity of the self, as the establishment of each I-position enables dialogue with other I-positions (Hermans, 2006). It is the I-as-knower that enables an I-position to speak, and in so doing brings possibility of dialogue with other self-positions (Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010). For example, positions an adolescent boy might have are 'I as a young free South African', 'I as a person who has a passion for cars', 'I as a member of my community' or 'I as part of a social crowd'. The 'I' retains a possibility of unity although it is multiplicitous. This has relevance for the creation of alternative positions within masculine self and identity, where a position of 'resistance' to hegemonic imperatives may be more sustainable in a more unified self-system.

'Metapositions' are perspectives in which the linkages between positions can be seen and 'bridges of meaning' created through reflection (Hermans, 2006; Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010). This is relevant to how alternative masculine selves can be derived from combining existing positions. Metapositions may become available through different times, spaces or relationships (Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010). As an example, psychotherapy can be a metapositional space where therapist and client find a 'bird's eye perspective' on the conflicts experienced (Hermans, 2006). On a methodological note, a strength of participant research methods in young masculinity research is that the research process itself creates opportunities to reflect on experiences which promote metapositioning (Blackbeard & Lindegger, 2007; Langa, 2008). Metapositioning creates sufficient distance for an observational stance that allows visibility and evaluation of linkages and differences (Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010). One of the ways metapositioning can work is to 'act as a 'stop signal' for automatic and problem behaviours arising from ordinary and well-established positions' (Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010). This may be very relevant for HIV prevention with young men, where acting unreflectively from one I-position leads to impulsive risk behaviour, which appears to be a characteristic of local hegemonic masculinities (Lindegger & Maxwell, 2007).
'Coalitions' occur when there is collaboration between two positions which are incompatible. In the dynamic sense, coalition occurs when positions 'learn to cooperate' (Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010). Coalitions can breathe 'new life' into the impasses between conflicting positions (Hermans, 2006). An adolescent boy may have difficulty reconciling the position, 'I as

an acceptable young man' which requires risk-taking behaviour with 'I as a healthy young man' which requires responsible behaviour. A collaboration could produce a 'responsible risk-taking' dialogue that differentiates healthy from unhealthy risks, for example by being sporty or adventurous.

 'Third positions' may arise from the 'push-pull' of two conflicting positions (Hermans, 2004). The actualising of a third position redirects energy as it is a 'stepping out' of a contradictory binary into a 'middle way' that is an alternative to the binary opposition (Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010). As findings from Lindegger and Maxwell (2007) suggest, young men are caught in a 'double bind' of unattainable ideals for an accepted masculinity. Third positions can be actualised through experiences that widen horizons and through powerful promoter positions which are able to integrate negative and positive feelings (Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010). Experiential spaces for third positions may be called 'promoter fields' in which new integrations are made possible through consistent relationships and dialogical spaces (Hermans & Hermans Konopka, 2010, p. 235). Dialogical spaces have sufficient 'bandwidth' (repertoire) to maintain unity-in-multiplicity; expect and tolerate misunderstandings, recognise power relations and are deepened by a broader field of awareness. Third positions could arise from cultural or other forms of hybridty as new embracing possibilities.

'Compositions' move from specific positions to patterns. Whereas the previous three positioning processes were about the appropriation of positions, compositioning is about open and receptive dialogue in which the pattern among the positions is more important – the 'wider whole' of which the self is a part (Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010). In relation to this research, compositioning would be the moments of identification with a wider field, such as where the patterns of an individual or group or community become the focus rather than the specific positions taken up by the systems. Illustrations of this are the patterned drawings by M.C.Escher which appear on the covers of *The Dialogical Self: Meaning as movement* (1993) and *Dialogical Self Theory in Globalizing Society* (2010). From 'close-up', one is aware of the individual parts of an Escher drawing but as distance increases the larger patterns become more apparent than the parts until the totality is evident.

In 'depositioning' the 'I' is at a deep level of receptivity to experience. This may be a sense of 'immersion' in life, a sense of complete detachment or a state of pure consciousness (Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010). In states of transcendence, the 'I' can disappear entirely or the 'I' can be unified into a 'We'. Depositioning appears to be a way of entering experiential truths at a deeper or 'mystical' level. Given the grounding DST has with the work of William James the following extract from *The Varieties of Religious Experience* gives a sense of depositioning.

> 'The kinds of truth communicable in mystical ways, whether they be sensible or supersensible, are various. Some of them relate to this world – visions of the future, the reading of hearts, the sudden understanding of texts, the knowledge of distant events, for example; but the most important revelations are theological or metaphysical' James (1902/1958).

It is therefore possible that spiritual experience contributes towards new self positions in various ways and may make available alternative ways of being acceptably masculine.

2.3.4. Relevance of DST for masculinity studies.

In conceptualising the self-as-society, DST can be usefully integrated with the concept of a hegemonic masculinity. With this integration, it becomes possible to explore positioning in relation to hegemonic masculinity at the level of personal and cultural subjectivity. The discursive psychology of Wetherell and Edley (1999) offers an integration with hegemonic masculinity but with less usefulness in explaining the processes of positioning in relation to hegemonic masculinity as perceived or experienced. Equally, psycho-social theory bridges the social-subjective divide well in combining psychoanalysis and discourse theory, but the emphasis on linguistic psychoanalysis reduces subjectivity to language. A strength of psycho-social theory is in conceptualising the emotional experiences of boys/men in relation to masculinity.

DST has innovative potential for masculinity studies because it can be used to apply Connell's idea of multiple masculinities at an individual level. The positioning processes are useful in conceptualising how alternative masculinities can be developed through active dialogues, diversity and 'distances'. The self-culture interconnection allows a perspective on the mutual influences of culture and self as co-constitutive. This is valuable in explaining the process of individual positioning in relation to cultural resources. The concept of an embodied self is significant for understanding masculinity as embodied and avoids a reduction of the self to language.

2.4. Considering empirical research

This section presents an overview and critique of relevant empirical research from a theoretical perspective with implications for the theoretical discussion and research methodology.

2.4.1. Brief overview of empirical research relevant to masculinity studies.

Some masculinity researchers have operationalised and developed measures of masculinity or aspects of masculinity based on empirical ontological notions. Examples include a scale to measure attitudinal norms of men in South Africa (Luyt, 2005) and a measure of adolescent 'masculinity ideology' (Chu et al., 2005). Theoretical notions of gender ideology are critical to Luyt's study which attempts to operationalise masculinity as a set of gender norms or measureable gender 'traits'. Luyt (2005) contends that the construct of 'masculinity ideology' reflects social constructionist thinking whereas the measures of gender 'traits' are based in sex role theory in which masculinity and femininity occur along a continuum. Chu et al. (2005) take a different approach by operationalising findings from interpretive research studies but also use a 'normative' rather than 'trait' model of masculinity. Unlike these studies, Young and Sweeting (2004) use a trait approach for masculinity and femininity with the aim of developing a scale to identify 'gender atypical' adolescents who are vulnerable to bullying. Young and Sweeting found that their results confirmed interpretive research findings that boys experience more 'gender policing' than girls do. The kind of research described here is unusual in masculinity

studies, which has largely been based in interpretive methods, critical debate and theory (Morrell, 2007a; Morrell, Posel & Devey, 2003).

A case for empirical research is made by Morrell et al. (2003) in their research on fathers in South Africa. They argue that although small sample interpretive studies have relevance for masculinity studies, documenting information that is relevant for masculinity research has implications for policy, programmes, activism and in what should be important inclusions in household surveys (Morrell et al., 2003).

In South Africa, demographic research and large scale surveys are relevant in measuring empirical constructs such as sexuality, prevalence and incidence, and self-reported behaviours and practices. The large scale surveys such as those done in antenatal clinics or households have produced empirical findings on HIV that is relevant for local masculinity research, given that forms of masculinity appear to have a strong association with HIV risk behaviours (Rehle et al., 2010). Much of the survey research in South Africa on young men and womens' sexuality has been based on the knowledge, attitudes, practices and behaviours (KAPB) model of sexuality (MacPhail, 2003; MacPhail & Campbell, 2001). This empircal research has relevance in developing research agendas in masculinity studies and can be a backdrop for intensive interpretive studies although ontological differences may make for a conceptual gap.

Empirical findings are often limited, both methodologically, in terms of explanatory theories and ontological assumptions. Self-report has a number of methodological problems such as social desirability, perceptions of social stigma, under-reporting and over-reporting and perceptions of research (Harrison, 2002; Kelly, Parker & Lewis, 2001). Prevalence and incidence statistics may be used empricially as a 'search for single causes', although there are so many possible variables among proximal, distal and subjective-individual factors (Harrison, 2002). Emprical conclusions on the basis of prevalence statistics can promote negative stereotypes of young men and women which may exclude subjective, social, material and cultural factors, and gender issues including masculinity (Harrison, 2002). Such research produces inadequate, perhaps under-theorised knowledge that lacks specificity and cannot explain the influences cultures, contexts,

subjectivities, or the part that hegemonic masculinity plays in the transmission of HIV (MacPhail, 2003).

2.4.2. Theoretical critique of empirical research.

Research that operationalises masculinity as a 'trait' carries the empirical assumption that masculinity is located in individuals and can be evidenced through self-attributions of behaviours and personal characteristics (Chu et al., 2005). The trait perspective essentialises masculinity as a personal quality that exists outside of culture, gender relations, material conditions and other domains.

Research that operationalises masculinity from a normative perspective locates masculinity as attitudes or alignments with social roles (Chu et al., 2005). The normative perspective is also an individual level construct that does not explain masculinity as relational or contested but rather as a set of general conceptions about boys/men in society. Although limited by theoretical assumptions, operationalising masculinity as a measurable or categorical construct can prompt research questions that can be addressed better with small sample interpretive research. Alternatively, empirical research can operationalise the findings from smaller interpretive studies to develop more generalised knowledge. This may give rise to ontological dilemmas as the definitional assumptions of interpretive research may differ widely from empirical research.

Survey research usually involves individuals and not groups, and may be guided by rationalist assumptions around sexual decision-making and how sexuality is defined (Seidler, 2006). The risk of sexual behaviour surveys is that sexuality is objectified in the research itself, as a set of practices and behaviours for example, which may reinforce hegemonic norms that objectify sexuality as instrumental and non-relational (Seidler, 2006). Produced and applied uncritically, empirical work can support culturally-based rationalist discourses of the masculine self, in which 'choice' is understood only in rational, individual terms (Reid & Walker, 2005). Without theory around culture and masculinity, 'choice' is simplified rather than being a complexity of meanings, contexts and subjectivities. DST notions of the non-essentialised self-as-society

(Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010) may be especially helpful here in understanding how 'choice' is positioned in the relationship between culture and self. The DST notion that the self is extended in time and space, positions 'choice' within contexts of history and locality, crucial concerns if 'choice' is to be understood in ways that make sense of current realities. For young men in contemporary South Africa, 'choice' may have very different meanings within global, local, traditional and the national identities. For example, 'choice' has different meanings within the discourse of human rights which is a part of the national culture as opposed to the meaning of 'choice' in traditional culture where personhood is defined communally (Hermans, 2003; Mkhize, 2006; Posel 2005).

Baxen and Breidlid (2004) suggest that in KAPB studies, culture is taken as an essential category. Language may be conflated with culture and culture is reified rather than seen as a process of meaning-making (Baxen & Breidlid, 2004). Although social constructionism has much to offer in this regard, DST presents a particularly extensive account of cultural processes in relation to subjectivities, including positioning of a masculine self and identity (Lindegger, Quayle, & Blackbeard, 2009).

Much of the empirical survey research in South Africa on young men and womens' sexuality has been based on the knowledge, attitudes, practices and behaviours (KAPB) model of sexuality (MacPhail, 2003; Macphail & Campbell, 2001). This model may be interpreted as empirical in the sense of attempting to produce 'objective' generalisations. Some of the methodological limitations of KAPB studies include the inaccuracies of retrospective recall (Catz, Meredith & Mundy, 2001), that information is 'abstracted' from the social and spatial contexts in which sexuality occurs (Kesby et al., 2003) and gender, ethnicity, culture and language are treated as fixed social categories rather than dynamic processes.

Self-report surveys that describe frequency, age of onset and type of sexual behaviours may have limited validity. From the DST perspective identities are 'managed' between internal and external domains and among various voiced positions (Hermans, 2004). Young men present different versions of masculinity in focus groups as they do in individual interviews (Blackbeard

& Lindegger, 2007; Lindegger & Maxwell, 2007). This means that young men may report being more sexually active than they actually are in order to position an acceptable masculine, a self-report bias. This phenomenon may limit the validity of self-report survey research (Curtis and Sutherland, 2004).

2.5.   Ontological argument

This research was based in an 'interpretive paradigm' that the world cannot be studied separately from the subjectivity and values of the researcher (Snape & Spencer, 2003; Zimmer, 2006). The study was situated in an ontology premised on two notions (1) the assumption of a tangible external reality that exists outside of understanding and beliefs, and (2) the assumption that objective reality can be partially apprehended through subjective representations and social meanings (Snape & Spencer, 2003; Zimmer, 2006). This view assumes a 'correspondence' between the researcher's subjectivity, the intersubjectivity of others and the reality which is understood (Zimmer, 2006). The justification for this ontological view was as follows.

First, much post-modernist theory is relativistic and neglects material and political conditions (Sey, 1999). This negates the notion that ideas change socio-political and material realities and, from the position of dialectical materialism (and other social theory), discourse analysis and other forms of social constructionism become about a meaningless circulation of culture-as-information (Sey, 1999). The counter-critique to this is that post-modern theory, especially discourse analysis, unsettles received notions about self and subjects, especially so in the global economy that is increasingly based on information rather than commodification.

Second, the concept of dialogical self is premised on the embodiment and spatialisation of consciousness that rejects any dualistic notions of a disembodied mind (Hermans, Kempen, & van Loon, 1992). This suggests that mind exists in a tangible external reality that is both social and material. While a counter-critique may be that postmodernist constructionism, especially discourse analysis, has the potential for destabilising late capitalist production by unsettling received notions about social structures and subjects (Sey, 1999). This may be particularly so

from a perspective that the globalised economy is no longer based on commodification but on control over the information economy (Sey, 1999).

Third, there is no false dichotomy that separates 'objective', uninterpreted experience and 'subjective', interpreted experience because action and interpretation are closely linked. In DST the distinctions between events and interpretation are indistinct, as signified in the statement 'verare et facere idem esse' ('knowing and doing are the same') (Vico, 1744, cited in Hermans et al., 1992, p.24). In DST, the interest is more in the organisational activity that moves from the singular to the multiple and then to the composite whole, in which meaning is more stable (Hermans, 1989).

From this ontological perspective, the researcher was not conceived of as neutral, objective or value-free and this invited reflexivity (Snape & Spencer, 2003). That there was an objective reality was assumed but this could not be fully apprehended through individual or collective subjectivities.

2.6.   Epistemological argument

Hermans et al. (1992) cite Kelly (1905-1967) to make the point that there are many likely interpretations of an event or experience, but that what is more important is the extent to which interpretations are an organised knowledge.

> 'To make sense of the world, one must interpret it, and alternative explanations
> are always available.' (Kelly, cited in Hermans et al., 1992, p.24)

The idea of interpretation as 'located' in the subjectivity of the 'person as scientist' is crucial here (Hermans et al., 1992). From this follows the need for reflexivity in the research process, in which the researcher's assumptions, identity and personal subjectivity are part of the research, neither bracketed out or excluded entirely. These points are elaborated below with reference to DST and hegemonic masculinity as the theoretical bases of the research.

First, among other aspects, DST is interested in the use of knowledge. The usefulness of knowledge is one of the connections between American Pragmatism and DST (Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010). DST is interested in both the 'real' and the 'imagined', placing lived experience as an organisation of multivoiced narratives and the usefulness of organisation in general (Hermans, 1989; Hermans & Kempen, 1993). One of the philosophical forerunners of DST, Hans Veihinger (1852-1933) combines these two aspects in a philosophy of 'fictionalism', that is (1) the importance of useful knowledge, (2) an emphasis on human imagination and intention. This is stated in the following statement.

> 'an idea whose theoretical untruth or incorrectness, and therewith its falsity, is
> admitted, is not for that reason practically valueless and useless; for such an
> idea, in spite of its theoretical nullity must have a clear function' (Veihinger, 1935, p. viii
> cited in Hermans et al., 1992, p.26).

Hermans et al. (1992) disagree that 'theoretical nullity' is functional, but agree with the emphasis on knowledge as an active organisation that includes imagination. Hegemonic masculinity can be seen as a set of 'fictions' that lack an empirical reality and are used to legitimate patriarchal gender relations (Joseph & Lindegger, 2007). These 'fictions' may be embodied and represented in social interaction, personal subjectivity and institutions but their function is to set an unattainable ideal that maintains unequal gender relations (Lindegger & Maxwell, 2007). The issue of producing useful knowledge is important for this research from both an epistemological and ethical standpoint perspective.

Second, DST rejects Cartesian notions that the mind is ahistorical, self-contained and separate from the external environment. Rather, there is a 'society of mind' in which social and subjective, the external and internal are deeply interconnected (Hermans & Hermans-Hermans-Konopka, 2010). The dialogical self is embodied, historically and culturally situated within 'landscapes' such as the physical and social environment, technology, media, ideas and economics. The self is extended through time and space, and can be represented graphically in

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multiple landscapes which have an interconnectedness and permeable boundaries. This is demonstrated in a schematic that has been adapted from Hermans and Hermans-Konopka (2010). The example is of a young township man living two cultural identities, one as a young township man and the other as an urban consumer (Figure 2).

Figure 2 is an illustrative, hypothetical example of the 'scape model' schematic from Hermans and Hermans-Konopka (2010). The vignette is as follows. The young man lives in an urban township and his urban consumer identity is signified by social networking, cellphones, being a soccer fan, wearing branded clothes and working in a fast food outlet. In addition, he lives in a small outbuilding in the township, attends a church and has Christian beliefs. A parallel identity that this young man has is his identity as a traditonal Zulu young man. From time to time, he visits the family homestead (umuzi) in a rural area, spending time with his extended family and taking part in traditional activities and community events. When he was younger, he looked after livestock and was a 'stick-fighter, and these activities defined him as a Zulu adolescent boy. In addition, in his identity as a rural, Zulu young man, he has traditional African beliefs and consults a traditional healer. The schematic represents the extension of the self in time and space.
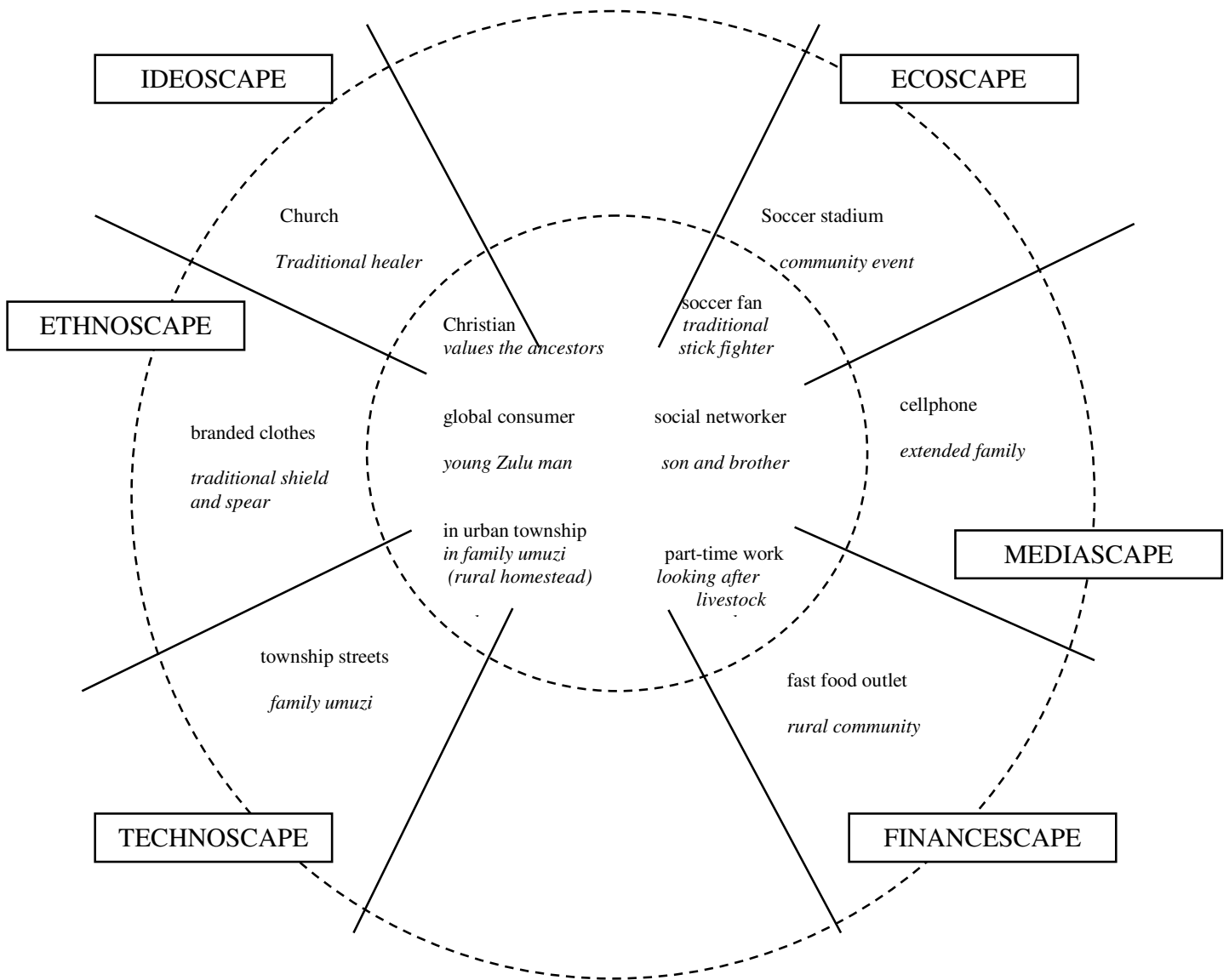
Figure 2: Adaptation of scape model of a 'bicultural' self and identity for a young man from a South African township (see Hermans & Kempen, 2010, p. 61)

As depicted, the young township man 'manages' two selves or identities, one as a young Zulu man and the other as an urban consumer living in an urban township. The permeability of the interconnectedness of the 'exterior' world and the 'interior' world is represented by the dotted

lines of the concentric circles. The straight lines are bi-directional, signifying the centralising and decentralising aspects of the 'self-as-society' (Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010). The entirety is the self-system with the centralising tendency characterising a 'modern self' and the decentralising tendency characterising a 'postmodern self' (Hermans et al., 1992; Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010). This can be applied to the diagram in the peripheral domains that are decentralised and the internal domains that are centralised.

In relation to a theory of knowledge (epistemology), this means that knowledge of the masculine self is connected with knowledge of the situational context and historicity of the masculine self. A forerunner of DST, Gianbattista Vico (1668-1744) suggests an interpretive epistemology by locating knowledge of the self in knowledge of the broader spatio-temporal domain of history.

> 'the structure of history must be sought in the human mind.'
> (Vico, 1774/1966, p. 52, cited by Hermans et al., 1992)

Third, producing knowledge with DST and hegemonic masculinity means attending not only to what is present but also to what is absent. Although in DST, history and culture are defined more as process than structure, the common ground here is that dialogical processes of the self are embedded in historical context and cannot be seen outside of them, which has implications for a theory of knowledge (Hermans et al., 1992). In the integration of DST with hegemonic masculinity, this means that its monological dominance may be found in both the external and the internal domains. This could be usefully applied as an elaboration on Connell's theory that focuses on external domains. The implication for the 'interpretist' epistemology of this research is that the search for useful knowledge about masculinity is the external, the internal and the interconnectedness of the two. Hermans and Hermans-Konopka (2010) draw attention to the knowledge that may be inferred from the silences as much as the visible links, and these are the 'speaking silences'. What this means for epistemology is that interpretive meaning may be found as much in what is said or represented and in what is not said and not represented or cannot be said or represented.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1.   Rationale

Substantial local and international research has shown that some constructions of masculinity are associated with a range of social and health problems that affect both girls/women and boys/men (Lindegger & Maxwell, 2007; Ragnarrson, Townsend, Ekstrom, Chopra, & Thorson, 2010). It has been increasingly noted that social and health problems associated with men are not only or primarily about behaviours, but about dominant ideals of masculinity and the practices that are informed by constructions of masculinity (Lindegger & Maxwell, 2007; Ragnarrson et al., 2010; Rehle, Hallet, Shisana, Pillay-van Wyk, Zuma et al., 2010). South Africa has one of the highest prevalence rates for HIV infection, between 5 and 6 million currently infected, which is an estimated 10 percent of worldwide infections (Ragnarrson et al., 2010; Rehle et al., 2010; Sathiparsad, 2005). In this context, identifying gendered pathways to risk becomes a highly relevant research focus and local research has indentified that in hegemonic ideals, standards and associated practices and behaviours are key factors which put men and their partners at risk of HIV infection (Lindegger & Quayle, 2009; Mfecane, 2008). Prevailing masculinity ideals endorse or perhaps even enable unsafe sexual practices, practices of 'sexual networking' or multiple partnering, excessive alcohol use as a feature of acceptable manhood, limited and delayed help-seeking through norms of invulnerbaility, and the coercion and control of women (Ragnarrson et al., 2010; Sathiparsad, 2005). Such practices and behaviour put men and their partners at risk for HIV but are also highly related to gendered violence, gender inequality, health risks and various social problems, and all may be associated with dominant constructions of masculinity (Ragnarrson et al., 2010; Sathiparsad, 2005).

It is argued that identifying the ways in which boys/men can develop alternatives to hegemonic masculinity is a relevant research focus, as alternatives to problematic masculinity may reduce and address associated practices and behaviours. An area of special relevance in the local

context is that of HIV as a chronic epidemic. The National HIV&AIDS and Sexually Transmitted Infections (STI) Strategic Plan 2007-2011 have set dual goals of reducing HIV incidence and the scale-up of ARV treatment (Rehle et al., 2010). Crucial here is the growing recognition of masculinity ideals and practices as factors affecting uptake of risk reduction interventions such as adult male circumcision, and in health protective behaviours such as voluntary HIV testing and adherence to ARV treatment regimens (Ragnarrson et al., 2010; Rehle et al., 2010). A current focus of HIV prevention is reducing the incidence of HIV among vulnerable groups such as young women, and this should account for the role of masculinity ideals and practices in producing vulnerability (Rehle et al., 2010). Notably, this research was situated in a province of exceptionally high HIV prevalence – about 15 percent of people in the 15-24 age group currently infected, the majority of whom live in urban townships (Rehle et al., 2010; Sathiparsad, 2007). Relevant to this, the research was conducted with adolescent boys who were HIV positive, and were all residing in urban townships, although it should be noted that the health facility and not the urban township was the locus of the study.

In South African masculinity studies, qualitative research indicates that adolescent boys adopt multiple positions in relation to hegemonic standards (Davies & Eagle, 2007; Blackbeard & Lindegger 2007; Langa, 2008; Taylor et al., 2002). These and similar studies suggest that multiple positions are not fixed but vary in contexts of social situation, cultural and sub-cultural contexts and physical locations (Lindegger & Maxwell, 2007; Walker, 2005). Positioning occurs through interaction with others, in the 'positioning talk' of a peer group, the individual experiential level, and in the contradictions and negotiations of intra-personal subjectivity (Blackbeard & Lindegger, 2007; Joseph & Lindegger, 2007). Masculinity research support the perspective that some adolescent boys manage to find and sustain alternative, counter-hegemonic or resistant versions of masculinity in which a sense of being adequate or acceptable is maintained (Coulter, 2003; Frank, Kehler, Lovell, & Davison, 2003). Such findings support the aims of this research study with implications for targeted HIV prevention and other programmes, policies and activism that address problems of masculinity.

South African masculinity studies have drawn extensively on the concept of hegemonic masculinity. The hegemonic masculinity concept has been useful in dismantling the idea that all men hold the same position in relation to gendered power (Eagle & Hayes, 2007). In Connell's theory, hegemonic masculinity has a functional rather than empirical reality, and exists for the purpose of legitimating gendered power (Joseph & Lindegger, 2007). The subjectivities of individuals, groups, cultural formations and communal contexts are intrinsic to how hegemonic masculinity is perpetuated and continues to legitimate unequal gender relations. From a theoretical perspective, the application of DST in masculinity studies is a very recent innovation, and fills the need for understanding masculine positioning within the interconnectedness of the self and the social. This research draws extensively on DST and may contribute to theory development in the burgeoning field of masculinity studies.

The reason for doing this research study with HIV positive adolescent boys was to explore the intersection of HIV positive identity and masculinity. As already mentioned, the close association of forms of masculinity with HIV risk has been a well-documented finding in local studies. Researching the construction of masculinity and HIV identity has potential for finding some of the ways in which masculine self and identity are positioned against hegemonic ideals and practices. This is not only in relation to HIV risk but has potential relevance for preventions, programmes or activism which can address any associated 'problems of masculinity'. Being HIV positive can create disruptions and opportunities in the narrative constructions of self and identity (Davies, 1997; Ezzy, 2000) and within the constraints, threats and difficulties of living with HIV, there may also be opportunities for changing forms of masculinity. This study at the intersection of HIV identity and masculinity had a somewhat strategic focus, aimed at unpacking the unique opportunities and challenges that might face a specific group of adolescent boys, but it was anticipated that this would have relevance beyond that specific group.

3.2. Research aim

The overall aim of this research was to explore masculine self and identity among a homogenous sample of South African adolescent boys aged 13 to 16 years who were HIV positive and part of an HIV support group.

3.3. Research question and objectives

The main research focus was to identify the individual and group constructions of masculinity among adolescent boys living with HIV and who were part of an adolescent support group. Attention was given to the constructions of hegemonic versions of masculinity and how self and identity positioning occurred in relation to hegemonic masculinity.

The research question was as follows.

- How did the boys position themselves in relation to hegemonic masculinity?
- How does being HIV positive influence the positioning of masculine self and identity?
- What is the influence of masculine self and identity on being HIV positive?

The objectives of the study were as follows.

(1) To identify the dominant or hegemonic constructions of masculinity as perceived by the participants.
(2) To examine individual and group meanings, experiences and positioning strategies in relation to these dominant standards

3.4. Research design

Broadly, the study focused on a combination of two theories, DST and aspects of Connell's new sociology of men, most especially hegemonic masculinity. The study was part of a larger

research project, the South African-Netherlands Partnership for Alternative Development (SANPAD) study of young masculinity in South Africa. The goals of this present study was to work with a group of HIV-positive adolescent boys age 13 to 16, to identify how the boys were positioned and positioned themselves in relation to hegemonic masculinity and to give an organised and useful conceptualisation of this that was relevant to theory and in gender-based programmes, policy and activism. The research focus was to identify individual and group constructions of masculinity and the ways in which individuals and groups were positioned against hegemonic constructions of masculinity. On this basis, an inductive qualitative approach was appropriate for the exploration of individual and group subjectivities. The matching of the research design with the research question was crucial for the overall credibility of the study (Babbie & Mouton, 2005). A qualitative research approach matched the theoretical basis of DST together with the concepts of hegemonic masculinity and multiple masculinities. As the interest was in the positioning of both individuals and groups, research methods that could access both group and individual subjectivities were used and replicated methods from related research in 'young masculinities' (Frosh, Phoenix, & Pattman, 2002; Blackbeard, 2005; Joseph & Lindegger, 2007).

3.5. Data collection methods

Within the qualitative methodology, the mixed method approach of Silverman (2001) was used, as this combined a quantitative content analysis of the visual material with intensive qualitative analysis of identity narratives. A mixed-method approach had some overlap with the mixed method research used in a previous research project (Blackbeard, 2005), however additional methods were used to enhance the overall credibility of the findings in terms of qualitative validity and reliability (Creswell, 1998; Silverman, 2001)[7]. Blackbeard (2005) used autophotography and photo-elicitation interviewing, semi-structured interviews and focus group

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[7] The terms 'credibility', 'transferability' and 'dependability' can substitute for the empirical terminology of internal validity, external validity and reliability (Babbie & Mouton, 2005). Following Silverman (2001), the terms reliability and validity are used critically and on the premise that they refer to qualitative rather than quantitative validity and reliability.

methods. Reflective writing, biographical drawing and biographical interviewing were also used to enhance the validity of the study through prolonged engagement and the 'triangulation' of mixed data sources (Silverman, 2001). The research methods used are described and discussed below and are presented in Table 1 on the next page.

Research method	Description of research method	Research where used
Semi-structured Interview	Open-ended questions following an interview schedule as prompts for further conversation, moving from general to specific.	Cooper (2009) Joseph & Lindegger (2007) Lindegger & Maxwell (2007) Mfecane (2008) Frosh et al. (2002)
Focus group	Open-ended group discussion or interview with a list of prompting questions or general themes.	Gibson & Lindegaard (2007) Joseph & Lindegger (2007) MacPhail (2003) Sathiparsad (2007) Frosh et al. (2002)
Autophotography (photo-narrative)	Participants take photographs in response to a general question and then images are used as prompts for open-ended interview.	Blackbeard (2005) Davies & Eagle (2007) Langa (2008)
Reflective writing	Participant-produced writing.	Unterhalter, Epstein, Morrell, & Moletsane (2004) Pattman (2007) Bromnick & Swinburn (2003)
Biographical drawing	Inviting participants to depict life experiences with a drawing as a prompt for a biographical interview.\	Present study
Biographical interviewing	In-depth personal narratives.	Mankayi (2008) Morrell (2007b) Cooper (2009) Saville-Young & Frosh (2009)

Table 1: Research methods used in the present study.

3.5.1. Semi-structured interviews.

Individual semi-structured interviews are the most familiar research method in qualitative research (Kesby, Fenton, Boyle, & Power, 2003). It can be problematic if semi-structured interviewing is used non-reflexively, as a 'once-off' method , when the interview schedule is rigidly applied or if the researcher's voice predominates (Lasser & Thoringer, 2003). Clearly, to adhere to a general interview schedule without freedom to move towards participant-specific dialogue does not fit with an interpretive epistemology. Semi-structured interviewing can be a very successful research method if used effectively and in ways that fit in the paradigm of interpretive research.

In local masculinity research, studies that use semi-structured interviewing effectively appear to be (1) those in which interviewers are active listeners and allowed conversation to develop beyond the question protocol (Joseph & Lindegger, 2007), (2) those in which semi-structured interviewing is used in conjunction with other sources of data, for example, case studies (Moletsane, Morrell, Unterhalter & Epstein, 2002), focus groups (Lindegger & Maxwell, 2007) or ethnographic fieldwork (Mfecane, 2008), and (3) studies where there are repeated interviews with each participant (Babbie & Mouton, 2005; Joseph & Lindegger, 2007).

Questions were intended to elicit an open-ended conversation that would identify constructions of hegemonic masculinity as these related individually to masculine self and identity. The focus of these interviews was to establish what the boys saw to be the ideals and practices that defined masculinity. These interviews were also intended to build further rapport between the researcher and the participants and to give a sense of how masculine self and identity was positioned in relation to hegemonic norms.

3.5.2. Focus groups.

Focus groups used the same prompting questions as the individual interviews. The reasons for using focus groups or 'group interviews' were as follows.

First, to identify the similarities and differences between the individual and group interviews. A specific area of this was identifying perceptions of dominant norms and how the individuals positioned themselves in relation to hegemonic masculinity in the group context. There was an interest in whether individual participants would present 'versions' of masculine self and identity that were different from presentations in individual interviews. This was an interest in the 'visibility management' identified by Lasser and Thoringer (2003), which has been verified in local studies such as Blackbeard (2005) and Lindegger and Maxwell (2007). In these studies, it was noted that young men 'managed' how they appeared to others in the male peer setting of the focus group. For discursive psychologists, focus groups are appropriate for the stance that masculinities are situated identities that are 'instantiated' in conversation. Edley and Wetherell (1997) propose that focus groups provide a 'psycho-discursive' context in which young men construct alternative, counter-hegemonic masculine identities through language and social interaction.

Second, focus groups would be potentially useful in identifying group processes that 'managed' or monitored hegemonic norms as suggested in previous studies (Frosh et al., 2002; Blackbeard & Lindegger, 2007). There was an interest in whether there was a 'group perception' of hegemonic masculinity and whether this was 'fluctuating' as suggested by previous research (Blackbeard & Lindegger, 2007; Frosh et al., 2002; Davies & Eagle, 2007).

Third, a focus group method alongside other data sources enhanced internal validity through 'triangulation' which is the corroboration of data from more than one data source (Babbie & Mouton, 2005). Researchers in adolescent studies, Bergin, Talley and Hamer (2003) suggest that in focus groups, the participants' voices become more 'dominant' than the researcher's voice, which has interesting implications for identifying the dominant or hegemonic 'voice' of the

group. Further, they suggest, less meaning can be imposed by the interviewer in a focus group discussion. It is argued though, that focus groups are not 'better' than individual interviews but that they provide a different relational dynamic, which in theoretical terms (and speculatively) creates more I-positions and possibility for metapositioning (Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010).

3.5.3. Autophotography.

'Autophotography', sometimes known as photo-narrative, is a participant research method in which participants produce photographs prompted by an invitational question (Noland, 2006). Participant produced photographs depicting their lives as young men in South Africa. The photographs were then a prompt for an open-ended conversation (or 'photo-elicitation interview') between the participant and the researcher. Autophotography has some overlap with 'photovoice' as a community-mobilisation technique (Strack, Magill, & McDonagh, 2004). However, autophotography has been particularly used in local masculinity research as a context for exploring self and identity, and therefore has a different emphasis to the photovoice method (Blackbeard, 2005; Davies & Eagle, 2007; Langa, 2008). It is suggested that both photovoice and autophotography share the element of 'perspective'. Just as photovoice enables individuals and communities to gain a metaperspective from which to mobilise community-level changes, autophotography can provide adolescent boys with an opportunity to view their lives from a different position. In relation to DST and the research question, there was clear relevance in exploring whether participant-produced photographs would provide an opportunity for metapositioning (Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010). By taking photographs and then providing commentary on their lives as young men, the participants were able to 'actualise' various I-positions. This was in the sense that they were standing 'outside' of their lives from positions of observers and commentators. Autophotography is a multiple source of data in that it comprises inter-related visual and verbal data – therefore inherently 'triangulated' (Babbie & Mouton, 2005). The potential 'disjunctures' and 'dissonances' between the photographic data and the interview data also had the potential to uncover dynamics of positioning and was therefore highly relevant to the research question.

Further benefits of autophotography are as follows. The participant-produced visual data changes the dynamic of a semi-structured interview in which the interviewer provides the interview prompts. As participants guide the interviewer through the photographs and their meaning, contexts and the narratives of each image, this puts the participant in the position of leader and the researcher as the follower (Noland, 2006). The situation of the photo-elicitation interview created an opportunity for contextualising a discussion of self-as-society extended in the time and space of the photographic context (Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010). Verbal data is often privileged in qualitative research and visual data is a valuable source, and can be more so when visual and verbal data are interconnected (Silverman, 2001).

As an ethical research practice, previous studies suggest the following regarding autophotography, (1) that participants engage with and enjoy the research process (Blackbeard & Lindegger, 2007; Langa, 2008), (2) the process creates a collaborative rapport between researcher/s and participants (Langa, 2008), and (3) the photographs can provide a focus which is more comfortable for participants than being asked to comment on aspects of their personal lives without a context (Noland, 2006).

3.5.4. Reflective writing.

As a prompt for further individual interviews alongside the photo-elicitation interviews, research participants were invited to write some reflections prompted by questions about their experiences of being a young man living in contemporary South Africa. Participants were invited to talk about their reflections in individual interviews. Basing interviews on written reflection was intended to give participants a focus for an interview that shifted the dynamics away from a researcher-guided interview. Although a peripheral area of this research, writing techniques have been a core focus of other studies and have been used convincingly in producing detailed accounts of lived experience that is relevant for interpretive research with adolescents (Pattman, 2007; Unterhalter et al., 2004). Perhaps more so than semi-structured interviews, invitational writing tasks can create 'opportunity spaces' for expressing opinions, individual meanings of experiences and articulate new aspects that are novel to researchers (Unterhalter et al., 2004).

Given the theoretical basis in DST and a corresponding interest spatio-temporal context, it was appropriate that the participants wrote the reflections in their own personal space and time outside of the research setting. The act of reflecting outside of a research setting has a benefit that might be lacking in most semi-structured interviews and focus groups, especially if these are 'once-off' events. Although a minor focus of the present study, the internal-external dialogue of a reflective writing interview is appropriate for research based in DST and may give the opportunity for the voicing of positions that would not otherwise be present in (what is optimally) the 'dialogical space' of the research. In existing DST research, the use of 'texts' can be creative and imaginative. For example, DST researchers Cortini, Mininni and Manuti (2004) use a data set of short message systems (SMS) as the material for research on self-positioning in the mediascape.

3.5.5. Biographical drawings.

Inviting participants to draw a depiction of important experiences in their lives was an idea that developed with the research process. In much the same way as the photo-elicitation interviews and reflective writing task, the biographical drawings were intended as 'prompts' for interviewing that would create metaperspectives in a similar way to autophotography. Biographical drawings may be seen as creating a 'contextual detail' which gives a surrounding sense of the person's life over time. Babbie and Mouton (2005) suggest that contextual detail is crucial because research participants are not isolated 'units of analysis' without an environment. In-depth biographical research can involve the 'documents of life' such as personal letters, photographs and conversations with people around the individual's life (Babbie & Mouton, 2005). Although biographical research refers to a prolonged and intensive genre of life history research, the principle of using visual and verbal documentation for biographical interviews was used here, although in far less depth.

3.5.6. Biographical interviews.

In combination with the biographical drawings as 'visual prompts', the biographical interviews were intended to create a different medium from which participants could 'give voice' to lived experience. The drawings were also 'located' in contexts of narrative time and space. The 'biographical interviews' in this research were not intended to have the kind of 'depth' found in narrative interviewing (Emerson & Frosh, 2004; Saville-Young & Frosh, 2009), intense life-history research or the psychodynamic approach of Hollway and Jefferson (2000) where the countertransference of the interview is as important as the content of the conversations. Hollway and Jefferson's approach may be problematic in the application of psychotherapeutic concepts to a researcher-participant relationship that has quite different dynamics from psychotherapeutic relationships.

The intention of using biographical methods in the present study was to explore the ambiguities, emotions, and contradictions of narrated life experience and thereby develop a contextual understanding of the boys' personal histories. This was relevant as potentially revealing how masculine self and identity was positioned in time, space and in narrative constructions. Prompting questions were introduced into the interviews, although this would be somewhat outside the norm for biographical interviews. These questions developed out of the research process following the photo-elicitation interviews and out of the discussions among the interviewers. The processes of interviewer-researcher reflexivity will be discussed further on. The interview schedule repeated some of the standard questions from the previous interviewing but also added direct questions about being a young man living with HIV. The purpose of inviting conversation more directly around issues of HIV came about through the research process itself, and was primarily a result of researcher-interviewer reflexivity processes which will be discussed under research process.

3.6.   Research procedure

Adolescent boys who were members of an adolescent HIV support group were invited to take part in this research. The adolescent support group was facilitated by volunteers and counsellors, located at a health facility that provided HIV education, support, counselling and ARV treatment.

The process of enrolling participants into the study involved a range of procedures and interactions that took several months. These were, (1) submitting the research proposal and gaining ethical clearance from the university, (2) initial contact with the health facility, (3) sending a formal proposal to the health facility research ethics committee, (4) sending draft forms for consent, assent and photo-release forms, (5) amending forms for consent, assent and photo-release, (6) receipt of a clearance letter from the health facility research ethics committee, (7) meeting with a representative of the health professionals at the research site, (8) contacting the facilitators of support group and meeting with the facilitators of the support group, (9) decision-making with the facilitators that the interviewers would be two of the support group facilitators, (10) the researcher and interviewers meeting with the support group, explaining the study and the support group agreeing to the research, (11) researcher and interviewers meeting with potential participants from the support group and distributing information sheets, consent forms, assent forms and forms for disseminating visual data with the specific assent and consent for each image (photograph or drawing), (12) then enrolling participants once signed consent forms and assent forms had been returned. This process will be discussed further on in relation to reflexivity.

Each potential participant was given information sheets explaining the research study in isiZulu and English and informed consent documents in both languages. Also in both languages, there were informed consent documents for parents or guardians and informed assent documents for the participants. Seven participants were enrolled in the study following the return of signed informed consent/assent documents. Enrolled participants, interviewers and the researcher discussed the research at an initial meeting in which benefits of participation and compensation for transport and time used in the participation in the study was collaboratively clarified. There

was a one hour discussion of interviewing process, skills, the objective of the interview process and any related issues between researcher and the interviewers. Interviewers agreed that part of the process would be that debriefing conversations between interviewers and the researcher would be audio-recorded, transcribed and used as reflexivity data. Interviewers signed an informed consent for this in addition to their contractual agreements as interviewers in this study. The researcher and interviewers met with the participants and each participant was given a single use camera and were invited to take photographs according to the caption 'My life as a young man living in South Africa today'. Clarification on the use of the camera took place. Data collection took place over approximately six months and the three main points at which data was collected is described below.

3.6.1. Data collection procedure.

Individual semi-structured interviews took place in which participants were invited to share their perspective on their lives as young men living in South Africa with open-ended prompts.

What does it mean for you to be a young man living in South Africa today?
What challenges do you face as a young man?
What do you like about being a young man?
What do you dislike about being a young man?
Who are your role models as a young man?

The individual interviews took place in consultation rooms inside one of the buildings in the health facility in which the HIV programme was located. With the permission of the health facility group meetings took place on Saturdays when the building was unoccupied. The final data collection meeting took place outside the health facility in a public space (Botanical Gardens) following reflexive processes of discussion among interviewers, researcher and the research supervisor. From the perspective of DST and hegemonic masculinity, the location of the interviews in both space and time was potentially very significant as elements of 'inside', 'outside' and physical distances were intrinsic to understanding the self as a dynamic system.

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The prompts formed a general opening for more specific conversation which developed in the space of the interviewer-interviewee dialogue. Therefore, in relation to DST, this was an inductive technique that attempted to move from a position that was outside of the participant's personal individuality to positioning a conversation from which both internal and external perspectives on individual subjectivity could be accomplished. In this way, the objectives were that the participant-interviewer space would be dialogical and perspectival although it was debatable whether these objectives were fully attained as is discussed further on.

Focus groups took place at the same time as the individual interviews and involved two facilitators, the researcher and one of the two facilitators from the support group. The focus group schedule was the same as that used for the individual interviews and this was intended to maximise the opportunity for comparison between individual and group interviews. The focus group took place in the same building as the individual interviews.

The single use cameras were returned to the interviewers for developing. Once the photographs were developed, the group met for individual photo-elicitation interviews in which the interview space was a context in which the meanings of the photographs as narrative documents were described by the participants. The photo-elicitation interviews were aimed at being dialogical interactions in which subjectivities would emerge from the visual prompts. At this meeting journals and pens were given to each of the participants and participants were invited to write some reflections on the following prompting questions and on the collaborative understanding that the private journals would be discussed in individual interviews.

When are times that you have felt like a real young man?
Are there any challenges that you face as a young man?
What are the good things about being a young man?
As a young man, what helps you when you have problems?
As a young man, who are your role models?

Interviews took place in isiZulu and English depending on the preference of the interviewee. Focus groups were facilitated by the researcher and interviewer and both languages were used. Several participants switched between both languages during the course of the focus groups and interviews.

Following reflexive conversations among interviewers and the researcher, and between the researcher and the research supervisor, the idea was put to the participant group to have the final round of data collection outside the health facility in the Botanical Gardens. The adolescent support group often had recreational activities together in public spaces, for example at the beach, therefore it was not considered an ethical problem that the small group of participants meet in a public place especially if sufficiently far away from other people as was the case. This meeting involved the participants each producing a drawing to represent important life experiences. These were then used as prompts for biographical interviews. The drawings were included as visual data for the research. These interviews were intended as an opportunity for deeper exploration of personal life experiences, narrative subjectivities and the experiences of being a young man living with HIV. In addition to the biographical elements, questions about living with HIV were included in an interview schedule. The interview schedule questions were as follows.

What have been the best things in your life so far?
How has HIV been a part of your life?
How have you coped with the challenges of being HIV positive?
What is like to be a young man living with HIV?
What is it like to be a young man receiving ARV treatment?

A group discussion involving interviewers, researcher and participants took place at the end of this meeting in which questions, concerns and comments about the research could be dialogued. All interviews and focus groups were audio-recorded.

Transcription of a few interviews took place over the course of the data gathering and this informed the research process with some initial data analysis. Commentary on the research process took place in the group meetings with the participants during the six month period of data collection to create a level of respondent validation. This was more limited than had been hoped for logistical reasons. Although there was transcription of several interviews, some of which were translated by the interviewers, the translation and transcription of much of the data took place after the data gathering period. The quality of the translation was enhanced by the interviewers doing involved many of the initial translations, which meant that the interviewers were able to translate interviews that they had conducted. Some of the translations were done by student translators and managed within the broader SANPAD project. The quality of some translations was limited by the variable audio quality of the data. Process notes and triangulation with interviewer discussions were however helpful in confirming the content of the interviews.

There was reflexivity in the interviewer-researcher discussions which enhanced internal validity over the course of the data collection. There were however, limited opportunities for respondent validation as a means of enhancing internal validity (Babbie & Mouton, 2005; Creswell, 1998).

3.6.2. Reflexivity practices.

Conversations between interviewer and researcher took place after each meeting with participants and two sets of conversations were audio-recorded, those after the photo-elicitation interviews and the biographical interviewing. Process notes were kept after the initial semi-structured interviews by the interviewers which included the researcher. The researcher kept research journals which were sources of reflexive data during the research process. The journals documented the process before the data collection, the data collection phase and in the subsequent research process after the data collection. Adolescent studies researchers, Timlin-Scalera, Ponterotto, Blumberg and Jackson (2003) suggest two aspects for research journals, (1) personal reflections on interviews to record feelings about the interviews or the process itself, (2) objective-reflective summaries on the content and context of interviews. In addition, they suggest meetings of interviewing teams as a way to promote internal validity (credibility) and

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reliability (dependability). In practice, the journals kept by the researcher were an 'assemblage' of several aspects, (1) notes on the logistical aspects of the research, (2) personal observations during the process, (3) reflections on discussions with interviewers and the research supervisor, (4) reflections from conversations with other SANPAD researchers, (5) reflection notes from post-graduate study forum, including reflections following formal presentations of the research as a 'work in progress', and (6) reflection notes following presented papers at the Psychology Society of South Africa Congress (2009) and a post-graduate research conference at University of KwaZulu-Natal (2009). The researcher's reflection journals were considered part of the contextual data for the research and were helpful for the researcher reflexivity.

3.7. Sampling

The study sample comprised a group of seven adolescent boys who were HIV positive and members of the same adolescent support group. The sample was therefore purposively sampled (Silverman, 2001) and completely homogenous in relation to age category, sub-group context and HIV-positivity and was appropriate for the research question. The purposive, homogenous sampling was appropriate for the reasons listed below.

First, homogenous sampling means that a 'saturation threshold' for answering the research question requires fewer participants (Kelly, 2004; Timlin-Scalera et al., 2003). The point at which saturation or redundancy is possible and valid depends also on whether the data is a thick description, that is sufficiently detailed, and this may be enhanced by producing multiple data sources and prolonged engagement of the researcher with the participants, and these criteria were met in the present study (Ritchie, Lewis, & Elam, 2003). Kelly (2004) suggests that a sample of 6 to 8 may be optimal for a qualitative research design where the sample is homogenous and there is sufficient depth to the data produced. In relation to DST and the ontological and epistemological premises of this research, an interest in individual and group-level positioning justified a small purposive sample that favoured a micro-analysis or 'fine-grained' perspective with relatively high external validity (Edley, 2001; Joseph & Lindegger, 2007).

Second, producing detailed and abundant information units per interview makes a larger sample unmanageable logistically and perhaps more importantly, very difficult to produce a 'fine-grained' analysis of the data that is appropriate for qualitative design. It appears that using a larger and heterogeneous sample for autophotography research is not optimal as the information units are immense, and this has been a limitation of previous research (Blackbeard, 2005). The exceptions to this may be in research projects in which there is a large, coordinated research team such as the studies by Frosh et al. (2002) and Campbell, Foulis, Maimane, & Sibiya (2005). Obviously, as a qualitative design, there is no interest in statistical inference for units of analysis, for example, individual subjects (Ritchie et al., 2003). However, the production of abundant data with a small sample can open opportunities for some quantitative elements in the data analysis (Silverman, 2001), for example the use of quantitative content analysis of visual data in autophotography studies such as those of Davies and Eagle (2007) and Blackbeard (2005). A further issue was that the population from which the sample was drawn appeared to be very difficult to access, perhaps through excessive 'gate keeping', a point that will be discussed further on. That there was an aspect of convenience sampling in the purposive sampling approach that may have warranted consideration. Silverman (2001) notes that purposive sampling may be limited by the parameters of the resources available to a project and that optimum purposive sampling may not always be feasible.

Silverman (2001) suggests that the reliability ('dependability') of qualitative, interpretive studies can be improved with appropriate tabulations as these enhance comprehensive data treatment. Silverman (2001) suggests that simple tabulations of demographics, counts and categorising can add value to qualitative research by adding an additional perspective on the research context.

The age ranges of the participants is recorded in Table 2 and graphically represented in Figure 3 to indicate the homogeneity of the sample in relation to age categories and that all participants reported that they attended school that may have influenced the production of research data. It should be noted that in South Africa, largely influenced by social and material factors, not all adolescents attend school (Campbell et al., 2005). Table 3 indicates the participation in each part of the research by individual participants.
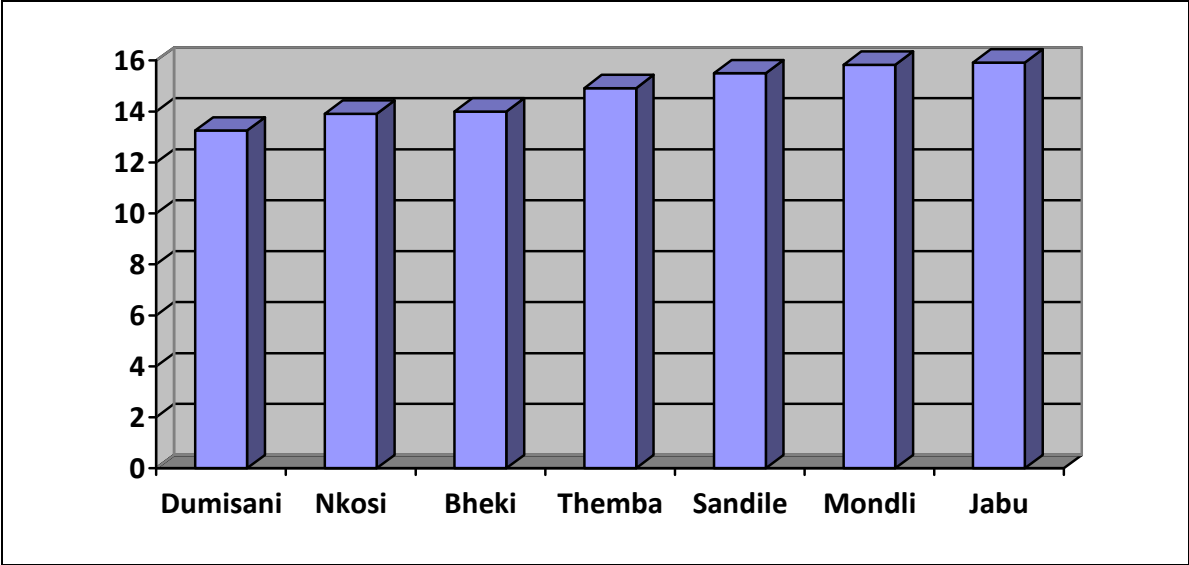
Figure 3: Participants in rank order by age (mean over 6 month data collection period)

Participant name	Age at start of study Age at end of study	School grade
Jabulani	15 years 8 months 16 years 2 months	Grade 9
Sandile	15 years 3 months 15 years 9 months	Grade 10
Mondli	15 years 3 months 15 years 9 months	Grade 7
Bheki (04)	13 years 9 months 14 years 3 months	Grade 6
Dumisani (05)	13 years 0 months 13 years 6 months	Grade 7
Nkosinathi (06)	13 years 8 months 14 years 4 months	Grade 6
Themba (07)	14 years 8 months 15 years 2 months	Grade 7

Table 2: Participant details (actual names not used)

Jabulani	Sandile	Mondli	Bheki	Dumisani	Nkosi	Themba
First interview	First interview		First interview	First interview	First interview	
Focus group	Focus group	Focus group	Focus group	Focus group	Focus group	Focus group
Autophoto		Autophoto	Autophoto	Autophoto	Autophoto	Autophoto
	Writing			Writing	Writing	Writing
Biographic interview	Biographic al interview				Biographic alinterview	

Table 3: Participation in each research method

Table 3 indicates that the seven participants engaged in most of the phases of the research but that they did not take part in all phases either because they did not attend some of the meetings or as a choice to not take part. Sandile for example, decided that he did not want to take part in the autophotography but that he did want to engage with the other aspects. This highlights that participation was voluntary and that the boys were able to manage their involvement in the research process, an important ethical point which is discussed in the next section.

3.8. Research ethics

A premise for this discussion is that ethical codes and principles define expectations and guidelines that a researcher should actively interpret and apply in the specific context of a research project (Burke, Harper, Rudnick, & Kruger, 2007). Further to this, the integrity

principle should apply to all areas of a research process and that knowledge gained through the research has benefit for participants and society (Allan, 2008). Given that ethical codes, principles and guidelines provide parameters for research integrity, it is suggested that ethical practice goes beyond a 'checklist' of guidelines but is an active engagement with the application of guidelines (Allan, 2008). The ethical discussion presented here is structured according to the guidelines for qualitative research in sexual and reproductive health by Ulin, Robinson, Tolley and Mc Neill (2002) and the guidelines for clinical research listed by Emanuel, Wendler and O'Grady (2000).

The 'value-enhancements' of the study were considered given that any research is an allocation of time and resources (Emanuel et al., 2000; Allan, 2008). It is argued that the value of this research involved benefits for developing theory in masculinity studies, broadening the 'repertoire' of masculinity studies and its relevance for gender-based programmes, policy and activism. The application of DST within masculinity practice is a recent innovation and this research was an opportunity to explore the usefulness of this theory for masculinity studies both locally and in the development of the field in general (Lindegger & Quayle, 2009). Although there has been much research on the construction of masculinity with the concept of hegemonic masculinity, there has been less conceptual work on understanding the risk behaviour of young men (Lindegger & Quayle, 2009).

Developing a better understanding of how adolescent boys accomplish credible alternatives to hegemonic masculinity norms has direct implications for HIV prevention in this country, especially for gender-based targeted interventions for boys/men (Lindegger et al., 2009). Beyond these broader 'value-enhancements', the study had potential value for participants in several areas. Previous and concurrent studies suggest that using participatory visual research methods such as autophotography has value in creating a perspective from which lived experience, self and identity can be explored in new ways (Blackbeard & Lindegger, 2007; Karlsson, 2001; Langa, 2008; Strack et al., 2005). Used collaboratively, focus groups, individual interviews and related qualitative methods have potential value for adolescent participants in creating opportunity spaces for active dialogue, exercising agency and the innovation of

alternatives (Bergin et al., 2003; Coulter, 2003; Frank et al., 2003). For example, Lindegger and Maxwell (2007) note that in both masculinity research and targeted HIV prevention, facilitated groups for adolescent boys' provide a 'developmental space' in which alternatives to dominant masculinity are made available and this can promote sustained change.

The review of the research application by the health facility ethics committee was helpful in that the proposal was assessed by the committee using the ethical guidelines of Emanuel et al. (2000) which was also the pre-existing ethical framework for the study. Allan (2008) notes that the vetting of the research by an institutional ethics committee can be frustrating for researchers but that this can give helpful feedback regarding risks and benefits of the research and ways that risk can be minimised. The somewhat protracted process of gaining 'access' to the participants in this study and the extent to which this process was perhaps overly 'protective' is discussed further on.

The 'methodological rigour' or validity of research is an important ethical principle (Emanuel et al., 2000). Rigour was enhanced by methods of peer review (post-graduate student forum), identifying an appropriate methodology for the research question and its conceptual basis and evaluating this in the research process, matching methods to the aims and objectives within a qualitative paradigm, and developing methodology as an active process. Miles and Huberman (1994) suggest that qualitative research is an active approach which starts with a defined conceptual framework that is then developed and adapted with the process and in this regard is different from quantitative designs where hypotheses are set in advance. In relation to the present study, given that qualitative methodology is inductive rather than deductive, the intention was for there to be an ongoing 'conversation' between theory and findings as would be in keeping with an interpretive research paradigm.

The issue of 'fair subject selection' or the exclusion and inclusion criteria for the study was a critical consideration (Emanuel et al., 2000). Enrolling adolescent boys as an homogenous sample from the mixed gender support group was an ethical dilemma. Masculinity research does not imply research with boys/men only, given that masculinity is constructed in self and social

processes and is not the 'individual property of men' (Lindegger & Maxwell, 2007). It is suggested that local masculinity research has largely involved boys/men as participants and the scope for working with girls/women has not been well-explored although with some exceptions, for example, a study of how girls/women construct masculinity (Talbot & Quayle 2008, cited in Lindegger & Quayle, 2009). In the present study, involving the adolescent boys (and not the adolescent girls) only placed ethical limitations as it was questionable as to which this reinforced gendered discourses in the support group itself by endorsing gendered differences. It is suggested that a part of the ethical dilemma here was whether the study required a homogenous sample in order to be methodologically rigorous or whether the research question could have been answered just as well or perhaps better by enrolling girls as participants. The study by Frosh et al. (2002) shows the value of enrolling both girls and boys, however this has not been the norm within local studies of young masculinity, some of the exceptions being Pattman (2007) and Thorpe (2002). A general observation about these studies is that in mixed gender discussion groups, boys dominated the discussion which raises the issue of whether girls and boys should be placed in separate focus groups (Pattman, 2007). This may present with other ethical dilemmas such as whether separating boys and girls 'sends a message' about gender relations and gender difference.

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Whether or not there was a 'favourable risk-benefit ratio' was an important consideration (Emanuel et al., 2000), and this was perhaps maximised by the replication and further development of research methods from previous studies. The location of this research within a larger study placed the study within a wider research community, especially with those involved in related research around young masculinity and other relevant discussion groups.

At a closer level, the risks and benefits of the study for the enrolled participants were considered in relation to the research methods used. The perception of the researcher was that the autophotography presented risks that warranted special attention as the other research methods were more established within qualitative research.

Some of the potential risks of autophotography are invasion of privacy, possible serious consequences of photographing illegal activities, personal consequences for the participant in photographing persons who did not want to be photographed or in contexts in which photography was not permitted, for example, a music concert (Strack et al., 2005). The researcher was guided by previous research experience (Blackbeard, 2005; Blackbeard & Lindegger, 2007) and followed suggestions from Strack et al. (2005). The strategies used to minimise risk were adequate briefing of participants regarding possible risks, access to counselling or other support, communicating risks and benefits in the informed consent process and avoiding undue incentives (Strack et al., 2005).

It is argued that 'independent review' was an ethical strength of this research as there was extensive 'external auditing' with review by peers not involved with the research project, in discussions with other post-graduate students, masculinity researchers and in the feedback from conference presentations (Emanuel et al., 2000; Babbie & Mouton, 2005).

Informed consent was a crucial ethical focus of the study (Emanuel et al., 2000). There was informed written consent prior to the enrollment of participants and following Lasser and Thoringer (2003), there was both informed consent by parents or guardians and informed assent by the participants themselves (Blackbeard, 2005). A potential dilemma for research with adolescents is the issue of disclosure to parents or guardians (Lasser & Thoringer, 2003). Lasser and Thoringer (2003) suggest that in research with adolescents around topics such as sexual preference, unplanned pregnancy and HIV, participants may not have disclosed these to parents or legally responsible adults. In their study around sexual minorities, exceptions were made in which adolescents who had not disclosed their sexual preference to parents or guardians signed an 'assent' form. In the present study, this situation did not arise so there was no ethical dilemma.

The question of whether consent should be on the basis of individual autonomy and/or the collective group was relevant to this research[8]. Mkhize (2006) argues that informed consent

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[8] 'collective group' refers to the sample.

should be part of a relational engagement between researchers and collective systems. Mkhize (2006) stresses that research is a collaborative enterprise in which collective consent is an ongoing process of relationship between researchers and collectives. Citing the Australian Psychological Society (2002) and the National Health and Medical Research Council (2004), Allan (2008) suggests that collective consent may be appropriate for local cultures that emphasise community cohesion but that there may be ethical dilemmas around the extent to which collective consent negates individual autonomy or the autonomy of sub-groupings within a collective. Allan (2008) suggests that individual consent with written documentation is preferable even when collective consent is part of the process. In the present study, there was individual consent and collective consent that was both explicit (individual consent documents, consensual decision-making) and implicit (collaboration of researcher, interviewers and participants). 'Collective consent' meant that there was collaboration and consultation with participants through the research process, for example, it was made explicit to the participants at the outset what the aims and objectives of the study were prior to voluntary enlistment in the study.

Norms for participation were established through an ethical decision-making process involving the research ethics committees, discussion with group facilitators and group members in conjunction with information documents. Norms for participation included compensation without undue incentives, protection of privacy through coding and anonymity and open discussion of the potential risks and benefits of participation. Information documents were provided to participants in conjunction with dialogue and collaboration.

Following ethical guidelines (Emanuel et al., 2000; Ulin et al., 2002) 'respect for enrolled participants' included the following aspects, (1) information documents with clear explanations of the purposes and procedures of the study, (2) voluntary participation at any stage of the research, for example, taking part in only some of the research procedures, (3) coding and anonymity of data, (4) document for the release of photographic data for research, presentation and publication, (5) giving participants sufficient time to decide whether to be enrolled as participants (Allan, 2008), (6) access to professional support that was independent of the

research project members, and (7) special care in not releasing identifying information of participants in publication or presentation (Allan, 2008).

3.9. Data analysis

The data for analysis was obtained from multiple sources and consisted of audio recordings, interview transcripts, photographs, drawings and research process (interviewer notes, research journal). Multiple sources triangulate findings and can enhance the internal validity (or 'credibility') of a study (Babbie & Mouton, 2005; Silverman, 2001). Using multiple data effectively means identifying how the types of data extend the information area, confirm trends and themes, qualify conclusions or refute existing interpretation, suggest Miles and Huberman (1994). A challenge was to find optimal strategies that integrated the analysis of specific types of information into a useable whole and verified the quality of the information in terms of validity and reliability. Therefore, the objective was to find an optimal combination of methods to structure the data into a meaningful whole while retaining the nuances of the specific or finer nuances (Terre Blanche, Durrheim, & Kelly, 2006).

'Low inference description' refers to making interpretations that are 'close to the text', using the words of the participants and inferring from a detailed analysis of texts (Silverman, 2001). Mixed methods of qualitative data analysis were therefore used with content analysis that had both qualitative and quantitative elements in order to gain an optimal match. Introducing quantitative elements as 'mixed methods' is not a mainstream approach for interpretive research, but multiple influence may enhance internal validity ('credibility') in an inductive process (Babbie & Mouton, 2005; Silverman, 2001). Combining methods can be limited by the basic assumptions of the techniques and their location within the 'traditions' of research inquiry (Creswell, 1998). For example, validity and reliability are based on very different assumptions in qualitative and quantitative approaches and this needs to be taken into account in 'mixed method' analysis (Babbie & Mouton, 2005; Silverman, 2001). The reason for using these terms was to avoid the many variations of terminology which occurs in much qualitative research methodology (Creswell, 1998).

Qualitative thematic analysis of the verbal texts was central to the findings but this was integrated with the analysis of visual data through versions of content analysis and an adapted critical narrative analysis of specific texts (biographical interviews) which were detailed and more 'personal' than other texts and therefore more suited to critical narrative analysis. Babbie and Mouton (2005) make an important point that qualitative interpretive research is a 'craft' or a 'mindset' rather than the rigid set of parameters as in empirical research. The malleability of qualitative research allowed the researcher to use, combine and adapt methods to find a 'best fit' of data analysis methods with the research question and the data itself. Alternatives for the combination used were considered and tested, for example in testing the usefulness of critical narrative analysis and decisions on whether to discard this method or adapt aspects of it in ways that were coherent and justifiable.

The active, creative and coherent use of established methods is an effective approach for interpretive research rather than applying methods in an inflexible way, suggest Babbie and Mouton (2005). The data analysis for the present study is represented in a schematic (Figure 5) which attempts to capture the interaction of data analysis in the induction of credible findings. Although the analysis moved through a number of steps the process was iterative rather than unilinear with dialogue among the various types of data analysis. One of the objectives was to create a 'conversation' between the various kinds of data, as this had value for the research question. The discrepancies, convergences and divergences between types of data were valuable in identifying the ways in which group and individual positions were 'actualised' (Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010). This integration was most possible at the higher 'elaboration' steps of the data analysis where the overall patterns in the data became clearer and examples could be located in the data. 'Negative case analysis' was an important feature, with probably the best example being the developing contrasts between two of the boys (Sandile and Jabulani).
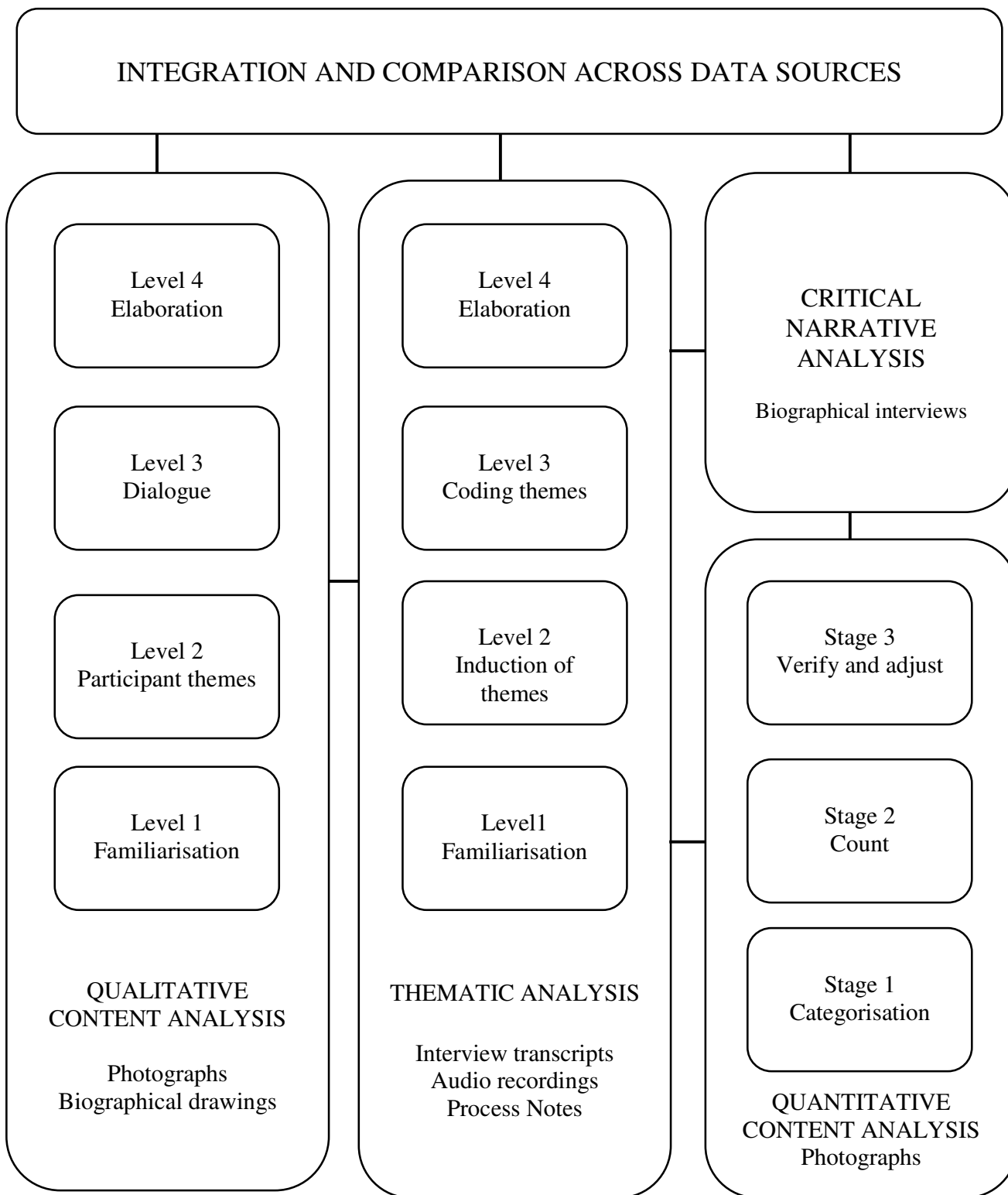
Figure 4: Schematic of data analysis

3.9.1. Content analysis.

Content analysis was used to analyse the photographs and biographical drawings and consisted of both standard quantitative content analysis and a qualitative approach of working with the material in a thematic way. These methods were not used in isolated ways but were integrated with the analysis of the verbal texts at all levels of the analysis, although this was more integrated at the higher steps in the analysis. It was important that the analysis of visual and verbal data captured the interactions among the data, for example the interaction between a photograph and its description by the participant in a photo-elicitation interview.

There are opinions that quantitative content analysis produces superficial and spurious findings on the basis that the researcher imposes categories upon the data (Silverman, 2001). Reliability of content analysis is easily established through the basic categorisation of the data and counting of categories which can then be verified by independent evaluators (Babbie & Mouton, 2005). Content analysis of the photographs was used mainly for descriptive purposes to then inform the integration of data in relation to the analysis of the verbal texts. The data set comprised 80 photographs produced by five of the participants and was therefore sufficiently large for broad categories of settings and content to be identified and counted. The data set was smaller than in previous research in which a more detailed content analysis was possible (Blackbeard, 2005).

A qualitative content analysis was used to gain a 'close-up' perspective of the visual data which was more integrated with the analysis of the verbal data[9]. The qualitative content analysis paralleled the thematic analysis of the verbal texts. This enabled integration through steps of analysis, especially at the early stages of familiarisation where the researcher gained an intuitive, impressionistic overview of the data and at the later stages of integration, especially in presenting findings that compared and contrasted 'linked' verbal and visual data. A thematic index was considered to be unnecessary given the size of the data set and the fact that many of the photographs were very similar, significant to the findings in itself. The researcher worked with steps of analysis that were (1) familiarisation (becoming very 'present' with the data),

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[9] The visual data consisted of the photographs and the drawings.

(2) identifying the various participants' themes (enhanced by familiarity with the interview data), (3) dialogue (creating a 'conversation' between the themes of the visual data with the emergent themes in the verbal data), (4) elaboration (developing and refining the organisation of the data), and (5) integration with other parts of the data analysis. These steps were identified as congruent with the thematic analysis and allowed for an interesting 'dialogue' between the visual and verbal data as a continuous process. This 'dialogue' meant looking for the similarities and differences between the visual and verbal data, the linkages between the visual and verbal data and identifying coherences and dissonances across these interconnected data sources.

It is important to note that the researcher's analysis of the data did not occur outside of the interpretations offered by others, both those more on the 'inside' of the research process (interviewers, supervisor, SANPAD researchers and the participants themselves) but also those more on the 'outside'(broader research community, post-graduate seminar group). This may have added to the credibility of the findings. In relating the photographs to the interviewer, the participants were themselves involved in an interpretive content analysis. This was also somewhat helpful in enhancing the credibility of the findings and was in keeping with the inductive, perspectival process of the study.

3.9.2. Qualitative thematic analysis.

The thematic analysis of the verbal texts consisted of steps that were conceptualised as interactive perspectives rather than a chronological, linear process (see Figure 5). The steps of thematic analysis were based on Terre Blanche et al. (2006) and were as follows. The first step of the thematic analysis was familiarisation with the material including both the transcripts and audio-recordings. Familiarisation took place by the researcher listening to the audio-recordings and transcribing some of the interviews. The transcription of interviews by the interviewers was both a means of familiarisation and a reflexivity process. This was because the familiarisation with the texts was a process that continued through all steps of analysis and occurred parallel to further data gathering. Findings emerged and at several points became 're-familiarised' with the data following the development and refining of the findings. Initial 'readings' of the data were

problematised by higher level analysis and therefore familiarization was an ongoing and open-ended process. Familiarisation with the verbal data began before the transcription of the interviews through practices of reflexivity that included conversations among the interviewers, researcher and supervisor. Bearing the research question in mind was as important at this step as it was in the other steps, an important part of qualitative research. Aims and objectives provide a guide for familiarisation at all levels of analysis, suggest Spencer, Ritchie and O'Connor (2003).

The second step of analysis was a focuses on identifying themes and comparisons in relation to the themes. Using basic editing features of word-processing, initial themes and concepts from the transcribed texts were identified. The research question was a guide at this level but some caution was necessary in not imposing meanings. This was to enhance 'low inference description' – meaning that the data was not organised to privilege the researcher's perspective (Silverman, 2001). Revisiting themes was an ongoing process in the analysis and this was adjusted both through 're-familiarisations' at the first step and in the integrating steps that followed. From a dialogical viewpoint, this involved meta-perspectives and identifying I-perspectives, both of the participants and the researcher but also of the interviewers and others involved in the research process. The way in which I-positions were represented was through an adapted version of the 'scape model' from Hermans and Hermans-Konopka (2010, p. 61) to 'map' the participants' I-positions graphically (see Appendix 2). The scape models were helpful in organizing findings, especially when used in conjunction with the thematic analysis. The thematic analysis was a means for identifying consistencies and discrepancies among voiced I-positions and the contexts in which these I-positions occurred. These were the spatio-temporal 'landscapes' of the self and the contexts in which I-positions 'spoke' – specifically the discrepancies between focus groups and individual interviews.

The third step of analysis was the coding of the data as significant themes and concepts from the data (Terre Blanche et al., 2006). Initially, themes and concepts were annotated on the electronic versions of the transcripts using mark-ups. Then, as suggested by Spencer et al. (2003) an index was developed of major themes, themes and sub-themes. 'Moving' among the other three levels of analysis was a dynamic process of organising and re-organising the data, intended to allow for

the emergence of new themes and sub-themes. Again it may be speculated that this parallels 'movement' as congruent with dialogical thinking in identifying patterns from a metapositional perspective.

The fourth step was a process of 'elaboration' (Terre Blanche et al., 2006). 'Elaboration' developed a meta-perspective on the thematic 'assemblages' of text. Here could be developed an interest in the differences and similarities among extracts assembled under the same theme. The links and disjunctures in the texts became more apparent in this step and there were more 'dialogues' between the analysis of the verbal texts and the emerging analysis of the visual texts.

The textual data for the thematic analysis were the transcripts of the initial semi-structured interviews, the journal interviews, photo-elicitation interviews and biographical interviews. The audio-recordings were also important for the initial familiarisation step, especially in tracking the nuances of the communications. The analysis of these texts occurred alongside the analysis of data from other sources. These consisted of photographs, biographical drawings and reflexivity data, both 'content' data and 'process' data.

3.9.3   Critical narrative analysis.

The biographical interviews invited a deeper exploration of individual subjectivity as a key emphasis of this research. Critical analysis was identified as a way for doing a closer, 'fine-grained' reading of these more textually 'rich' data. Alternatives to critical narrative analysis considered included conversation analysis (Edley & Wetherell, 1997; Wetherell & Edley, 1999) and structural narrative analysis (Blackbeard, 2005; McQueen & Henwood, 2002), each of which had been used in other masculinity research studies.

Conversation analysis presented problems because its theory basis was in discursive psychology, where the focus was on the instantiation of identities through conversation. On the other hand, the aim of present study was an interest in the interconnectedness of the social and the subjective at an experiential level of individual and group positioning.

Although used in previous young masculinity research (Blackbeard, 2005; McQueen & Henwood, 2002), narrative analysis based on Labov's narrative structures was theoretically incompatible with DST and was text-based in ways that would not gain much access to the experiential realities of individual positioning and masculine self-experience. Critical narrative analysis (Emerson & Frosh, 2004) was therefore identified as a possible means of exploring a deeper level of subjectivity from the data, particularly because this technique emphasised the emotional qualities of the data and in this way was congruent with DST.

In the combination of psychoanalysis and discursive psychology, critical narrative analysis can offer a way into the intrapersonal trajectories of individuals within social discourses (Saville-Young & Frosh, 2009). Through detailed readings of texts, critical narrative analysis focuses on the dissonances, contradictions, coherences, disruptions and emotional investments at the interface of the personal and discourse (Emerson & Frosh, 2004; Saville-Young, 2009). In specific 'interrogations' of a text, critical narrative analysis avoids 'ascriptivism' (Emerson & Frosh, 2004), that is, the imposition of meaning without a grounding in the text. In this way, it was complementary to the broader thematic analysis which was also anchored in the text and attempted low inference description without 'ascriptivism' (Emerson & Frosh, 2004; Silverman, 2001).

Although the critical narrative analysis was developed within psycho-social studies, there was clear relevance for DST. For example, critical narrative analysis is interested in the 'closing down' and 'opening up' of narratives in contexts of the social and the subjective (see Table 4) much as DST is interested in the power dynamics of the extended self. Critical narrative analysis is interested in how individuals 'account' for performance or practice in the social, and in this way has relevance for the theory basis of DST and hegemonic masculinity in explaining how individuals accomplish individual positions in relation to dominant positions. An example of this could be how a young man maintains an adequate alternative masculine self and identity in relation to hegemonic masculinity. Some of the overlaps between critical narrative analysis as a method and DST as a conceptual basis are represented in Table 4, which substantiates its relevance to the research study and its theoretical orientation.

Critical Narrative Analysis	Dialogical Self Theory
The closing down of narratives. Opening up of new narratives. (Saville-Young & Frosh, 2009)	Silent and subjugated self-positions. Actualising of new self positions. (Hermans, 2004)
Identifies what is said by the subject in discourse but also what is not or cannot be said. (Emerson & Frosh, 2004; Frosh, 2007)	Shadow self-positions. Unvoiced and suppressed self-positions. 'Speaking silences' in the self. (Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010)
Interest in the narrative 'I-stances' of personal subjectivity in discourse. (Saville-Young & Frosh, 2009)	The self-as-society as an assemblage of voiced 'I-positions' in time and space. (Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010)
Looks for visible 'breaches' in texts that suggest incongruencies or ruptures in dominant discourse. (Saville-Young & Frosh, 2009)	'Experiences of uncertainty' and politics of the self as a 'society of mind'. (Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010)
The reader is distanced from the text but also engaged with the emotional and sense-making movement in the text. (Saville-Young & Frosh, 2009)	Voiced I-positions as perspectival. Meta-perspectives or positions. Movement among self-positions. (Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010)

Table 4: Comparisons of critical narrative analysis with DST.

Several problems presented in using critical narrative analysis in the present study. The organisation of texts into levels of analysis based on Gee (1991, cited in Emerson & Frosh, 2004) was only partially successful in working with translated texts. With the translated tects, only the 'macro-linguistic tools' from critical narrative analysis could be used (stanzas, strophes and parts) as the micro-level units (lines, idea units and pitch glides) could not be applied with much validity (Emerson & Frosh, 2004). Detailed investigation of the text was limited by the transcripts as translated texts as some of the nuances were unavailable to the researcher.

However some aspects of critical narrative analysis were useful for the analysis. Some were as follows (1) the macro-linguistic units were helpful in identifying the flow of the conversation, (2) major shifts in narrative perspective could be identified with relevance for self-positioning in DST, (3) some of the dissonances and disruptions could be identified, (4) the focus on 'emotional investments' in personal narrative had relevance for the affective quality of voiced self-positions in DST, and (5) the structure of the narrative was embedded in the text and was not imposed. The structuralist narrative analysis as used in previous research is an example of the last point (Blackbeard, 2005).

An adapted version of critical narrative analysis was attempted with the four biographical interviews as a way into the deeper subjectivities in the text. The biographical interviews were also used in the thematic analysis and this duplication possibly added to a triangulation of findings in the sense of using multiple 'lenses' for the same material. The critical narrative analysis was a lens for uncovering the perspectival or positional shifts in these individual accounts. Examples of the organisation of the texts using macro-linguistic units are given in Appendices 4 and 5.

3.10. Standards of the research enquiry

In evaluating the standards of this research, the terms 'reliability' and 'validity' were used but referred to 'qualitative' reliability and validity and the criteria by which these could be evaluated (Silverman, 2001).

Although the sample size was limited, using multiple sources of data was a way to create detailed description and enrich the findings (Babbie & Mouton, 2005). There were three main criteria for the sampling approach and these were (1) sampling to saturation or redundancy (Kelly, 2004; Ritchie et al., 2003), (2) the research focus was on meaning and subjectivity rather than incidence or prevalence and therefore the sample size was justified (Ritchie et al., 2003), and (3) the use of intensive multiple methods of data collection produced detailed, triangulated and abundant information units per interviewee within a small sample size (Ritchie et al., 2003; Silverman, 2001).

As a multiple source method, autophotography has been replicated in several studies of young masculinity (Blackbeard & Lindegger, 2007; Langa, 2008; Lindegger & Quayle, 2009). This replication indicates that this method has external validity or 'transferability' (Babbie & Mouton, 2005). The internal validity of the research was enhanced by prolonged engagement with the research participants. Using multiple methods of data collection created triangulation of research methods, also enhancing internal validity. This established internal validity which was a credible basis for interpreting the data as representative of participant's perspectives and experiences. Constant comparison across data sources improved the internal validity of the research and through exploring contrasts and dissonances in the data, external validity was also enhanced (Creswell, 1998).

It is suggested that using multiple methods of data analysis with multiple sources produced low inference description – that is, developing and presenting findings accurately based in the actual words of the participants (Silverman, 2001). Multiple data analysis methods helped to establish further internal validity through triangulation and corroborating evidence (Creswell, 1998). Focus groups and various kinds of interviews produced various 'angles' and 'distances' from which to explore the research question, thereby elucidating the connections and dissonances between collective and individual positioning.

Data collection was an organised but flexible process in keeping with the inductive, interpretive approach of this research. The research process was 'confirmable' (Babbie & Mouton, 2005)

with systematic record keeping including interview schedules, correspondence, process notes, research journals, recorded and transcribed reflexivity discussions, coding of participants, recorded and transcribed interview data, 'appropriate tabulations' (Silverman, 2001), and coding and recording of visual data (see Appendix 1 Thematic Index and Appendix 2 Scape Models). The scape models (see Appendix 2) were very useful in 'mapping' the verbal data for each individual across various domains of the self conceptualised as extended through space and time. The scape models organised data in a way that was accessible and allowed for interesting comparisons and contrasts between voiced speaking positions. It is argued that the scape models were replicable and therefore valuable for external validity.

Triangulation can be very useful in establishing validity and reliability (Babbie & Mouton, 2005; Creswell, 1998). Multiple data collection and data analysis methods can reduce researcher bias (Babbie & Mouton, 2005). In this study, triangulation involved engaging multiple perspectives in the inductive research process. These included reflexive and recorded debriefing discussions, discussion of emerging findings with the research supervisor, the keeping of research journals and presentations of the emerging findings in academic settings such as conferences and student seminars.

3.11.   A reflexive note on the interviewers.

The influence of the interviewers is discussed more fully in subsequent chapters. Because the presentation of findings in the next chapter involves extracts from the interviews, the interviewers have been indicated in the text extracts to give the reader a sense of the interview context and because the reciprocal influences of interviewer and interviewee was a crucial consideration in the data analysis. Optimally, the interviewer-interviewee environment should be one in which there is a mutual and collaborative process. This foregrounds the interviewee responses over the interviewer's perceptions (Silverman, 2001; Frosh, Phoenix, & Pattman, 2003a). The interviewers 'revealed' their positions in relation to hegemonic masculinity quite early on in the research. The advantage of this was that interviewee's positioning was quite

evident in the discrepancies between interviewer biases and the interviewee's perspectives, in a paradoxical way, improving the standards of the inquiry.

Interview M was a young Zulu-speaking woman who was one of the support group facilitators and HIV counsellors at the clinic. Interviewer M perceived herself to be on the 'periphery' of the support group, as she was ethnically partly Sotho and Zulu, was different from other facilitators as she had a degree in psychology and because she was a woman interviewer. These perceptions contributed considerably to the dialogue between interviewer and interviewee.

Interviewer S was a young Zulu man, an HIV counsellor and facilitator and who was very passionate and committed to the support group. He viewed his involvement in the support group as being from a 'principled' position based on his religious beliefs. It appeared to the researcher that Interviewer S was very dedicated to community development in his area and indicated that many of the boys lived in the same urban township as he did. Again, the perceptions and position of the interviewer contributed to the dialogue between interviewer and interviewee.

Interviewer D was the researcher and had worked at the clinic for a year in 2005 as an intern psychologist. The researcher was known to many of the support group because of his involvement with the clinic mainly in assessment and support for children and adolescents in the antiretroviral programme. It was clear that the researcher was known by many in the support group from the initial meetings and that he was not a complete 'outsider'. The researcher's position and various perceptions of the researcher were also clearly a part of the emerging dialogues in the research process.

3.12 Researcher reflexivity.

Addison (1989) notes that in interpretive research, the researcher is seldom if ever 'neutrally' positioned in relation to the research subjects or participants, and that the mutual influence of researcher and the researched should not be considered a limitation but can be a valuable dimension of qualitative enquiry. As indicated, the researcher had interacted with some of the

participants and others in the support group as a health worker the year before the data collection took place. Much as in phenomenological research, the researcher attempted to consciously 'bracket out' his perspective as a health worker as far as possible or at least be aware of this as a lens that might affect his interpretation of the research experience. It was not possible to take a completely 'naïve' approach of suspending all assumptions and the extent to which the researcher responded to perceptions and expectations of others involved in the research process was a question for reflexivity, one that particularly justified keeping a research journal. It is debatable whether a not-knowing stance of 'bracketed assumptions' is ever completely available to the researcher (Lemon & Taylor, 1997).

The 'truth' of interpretive research, argues Lemon and Taylor (1997) may be found in the dynamic interactions of context and persons, and differing interpretations of the same experience is desirable and expected within a qualitative paradigm. This was true of this research, as there were perspectival advantages of the researcher's established relationship with the research participants, including perhaps more credibility, trust and rapport was available than would have been to another researcher. Yet, the apparent 'reluctance' of some of the participants perhaps suggested the opposite, that in fact the researcher being a known health worker created a context that limited the interactions to what was expected in a health worker-patient dialogue. Lemon and Taylor (1997) argue that a health worker's position of 'care' towards patients is not straightforward, but is socially constructed, informed by cultural, historical or moral ideas on what it means to assist or be concerned in another person and their needs. There may have been variation in what the participants considered to be the researcher's actual position towards them as a 'health worker doing research', but as argued by Addison (1989) it was very likely that the position of the researcher was an influence or 'bias'.

The researcher experienced the caution around research ethics from the health facility somewhat frustrating but at the same time was able to appreciate the perspectives of the stakeholders better, having been a health worker in training at the facility. The researcher's health worker position was relevant also in relation to the interviewers, who were also themselves in a particular role in relation to the participants (counsellors and group facilitators). The researcher found it quite

difficult to communicate the need for a position of 'non-expertise' to the interviewers, as it appeared that to some extent the interviewers assumed that the research should produce certain 'results. There may have been preconceptions about what the results of the research should be, and this appeared to be a dynamic that influenced some of interesting debriefing discussion between the interviewers and researcher around what the participants' responses should have been, an issue which is taken up further in Chapter 4.

CHAPTER FOUR

DESCRIPTION AND INTERPRETATION OF FINDINGS

4.1. Overview

Integration of description and interpretation attempts to convey the inductive process through which the findings were produced from the data. The verbal and visual data are presented together because comparison and contrasts of the data from multiple sources were intrinsic to the data analysis. The description of findings attempts to capture the 'conversation' between the multiple sources which produced the discrepancies, contradictions and similarities among types of data.

Following an overview of hegemonic masculinities, the findings are organised under broad themes and the presentation generally moves from the descriptive level to the interpretive level. The analogy of a camera applies to what is attempted in the presentation of findings. The presentation includes 'close-up' and 'distanced' perspectives, 'fine-grained' and 'broad sweeps', various 'angles' on the data (multiple data analysis), 'foreground' and 'background' contrasts, and 'zooming in' and 'zooming out' between description and interpretation.

A system for formulating masculine self and identity positioning was developed (Lindegger & Blackbeard, 2010; Lindegger & Quayle, 2010) and this is used in the description and interpretation. This is developed more fully in the discussion chapter but some of the formulations are introduced at an interpretive level in reporting the findings. These interpretive formulations were called 'solutions' and represent specific positional arrangements or configurations (Lindegger & Blackbeard, 2010; Lindegger & Quayle, 2010). The 'solutions' were not fixed and the boys presented with several of these positional arrangements or configurations, but what is called the 'walled solution' was a predominant formulation for how the boys positioned themselves in relation to hegemonic masculinities and were positioned by hegemonic masculinities. The 'walled solution' occurred both collectively and individually and

was an arrangement of 'partial identification' and 'partial alignment' with modified versions of hegemonic masculinity.

A key part of the interpretation was to utilise the positioning processes described by Hermans and Hermans-Konopka (2010) as discussed earlier. The relevant positioning processes were 'I-positions' (individual voiced positions), 'coalitional positioning' (developing dialectical collaborations or conversations between actualised positions), 'metapositioning' (a meta-perspective actualised through a voiced position), 'third positioning' (finding an 'exit' position outside of contradictory positions) and 'compositioning' (finding a various perspectives from 'close' to more 'distanced' perspectives).

4.2.   Hegemonic masculinities

Across the data, two hegemonic young masculinities were identified and described. What differentiated hegemonic masculinities from other versions of masculinity is that they were valued, seen as influential. These were central in the interviewees' accounts. The boys identified personally and aligned themselves publically with either or both of these hegemonic masculinities in varying ways. They also presented modifications or partial alignments and identifications with hegemonic masculinities.

'Township young masculinity' represented a hegemonic version of masculine ideals, practices and expectations which was validated and endorsed by male peer groups. Township young masculinity was highly 'visible' and included characteristics such as using alcohol and addictive substances, appearing to be heterosexually active, low school attendance and being 'respected' by male peers rather than by family or the community. Girls/women were objectified as being for gratifying sex drives and for the approval of male peers. The orientation of township hegemonic masculinity was towards 'living for now' with the possibility of a sudden rise to fame and material success through luck, or being a soccer 'star' or celebrity. Township hegemonic masculinity located individuals as members of closely bound male peer groups or street gangs. The idea of 'respect' by peers was a key marker of this masculinity as is discussed further on.

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'Aspirational young masculinity' represented a set of ideals, practices and expectations of boys/men which was based on a future orientation of material success. Generally, this was perceived as being accomplished through dedicated investment in education and the conscious avoidance of immediate risks. This version of masculinity was interpreted to be hegemonic in that it was valued by some of the participants and had a dominant role, appearing to be a 'rival' form of masculinity to township young masculinity.

As is substantiated with examples further on, aspirational young masculinity was focused on education and a conscious disidentification from township young masculinity. The markers of aspirational hegemonic masculinity included the desire for visible affluence accomplished in the future through education or business success. This involved being able to 'own' key signifiers (luxury car, house), and 'have' a wife and/or girlfriends. The end goal was to have financial influence over girls/women whether that was as an independent provider or as a 'player'. 'Player' was defined as being an affluent man with many girlfriends. The 'provider' or player' were forms of a commodity masculinity in which a central 'pivot' could be described as 'affluence/influence'. The main 'trajectory' of aspirational young masculinity appeared to be acquiring the material means to own and control. The 'hard' form of this version was to have both identities, being a family provider with a wife and being able to have many girlfriends for entertainment – a kind of 'double life'. A 'softer' version used variations of the concept of 'respect' – respect by and for family, by and for male peers, and by girls/women. Aspirational young masculinity drew on discourses of economic empowerment and occasionally drew on discourses of constitutional rights and traditional cultural identities. Aspirational young masculinity emphasised that individuals were the makers of their own destinies, identified with a generation of influential and affluent men.

'Walled solution masculinity' was a configuration that was a context-bound dominant voice which emerged from the constraints of being HIV positive. The walled solution was mostly but not exclusively articulated by boys who had a greater sense of belonging to the support group. Walled solution masculinity was formed through ways of creating a unified masculine self and identity in a situation where hegemonic masculinity was perceived to be unattainable. For some

boys, family contexts provided a 'protected' space that was experienced with ambivalence at times. Families affected by HIV appeared to be a boundaried social 'wall' for a modified version of masculinity centred on self-responsibility. For some, the fact of being HIV positive formed a symbolic 'wall' in which it was possible to feel acceptably masculine without feeling the need to conform to township hegemonic masculinity. The conditions and constraints of being HIV positive was experienced with considerable ambivalence. It may have been that being HIV positive was not a choice. Joining a group of self-responsible peers was however a choice or partial choice. This form of masculinity was an emerging version that had some unity and was based in a particular form of positioning in which the boys found ways to be maintain a sense of masculine self and identity in the constrained and the 'protected' situation of HIV positivity. This is elaborated upon further in the findings. Walled solution masculinity had a relative stability because the condition of HIV would not foreseeably change in the future. For some however, there was a hope for a cure in the future which would in a way 'demolish' the 'wall'.

4.3. Perspectives on the data

As an alternative to presenting the findings in a sequential manner that addresses each aim and objective, the presentation of findings uses particular thematic perspectives on the data that addresses the research question, aims and objectives. It is argued that this somewhat unorthodox approach provides a 'way' into the data that captures the ways in which the research problem (question, aims and objectives) was addressed in the findings. Perspectives on the data were developed along the following lines. First, the themes of 'inside' and 'outside' were a way to present the findings that captured the 'dialogue' between the visual and verbal texts in addition to having relevance for the theoretical orientation of the study in DST. In DST, self and identity positioning is explained occurring through dialogue, movement, spatialisation and perspective (Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010). Second, the concept that the masculine self is extended in space and time was used as a way to present findings which were relevant to the key question of positioning. This was especially with regard to contexts or spatial and social 'domains' of masculine positioning as a dynamic process. Third, the constructions of girls/women appeared

to be a central component of how the boys arrived at 'solutions' for conflicts and dilemmas of positioning in relation to hegemonic masculinity. Fourth, the intersection of HIV and masculinity facilitated organised findings which addressed the question of the mutual influences of masculinity and HIV positive identity. The mutual influences at this intersection produced positions in relation to hegemonic masculinity. Fifth, the findings from the critical narrative analysis were presented as a perspective that addressed the research question through a fine-grained reading of the biographical interviews using critical narrative analysis. Finally, reflexivity in the research findings was crucial to how the research process contributed to findings that addressed the research question.

4.4.   Interpreting the 'inside' and the 'outside'

This perspective on the data was to note what was unexpected in the data, where the discrepancies and contradictions were most apparent and what meaning this had for the research question. The discrepancies between the visual and verbal data invited interpretation that could then be verified elsewhere in the data through the triangulation of data analysis methods.
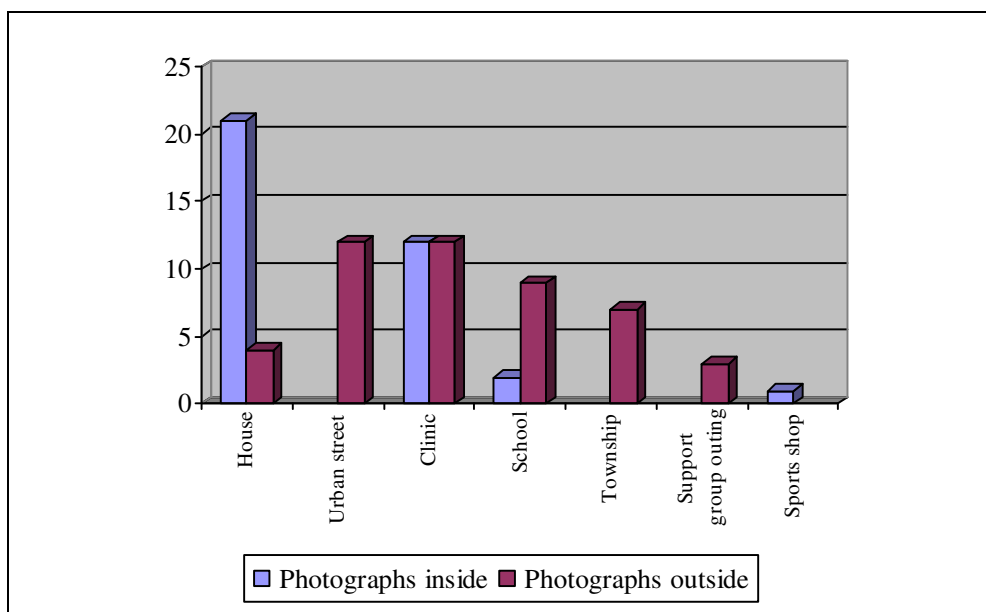
Figure 5: Comparing photographs between exterior and interior settings (N = 80 photographs)

'Gateways' for interpretation were the discrepancies between 'inside' and 'outside' that occurred in various ways across the data. The interest in what was positioned 'outside' and 'inside' emerged from the data and was a lens from which was visible located 'sites' of masculinity and the ways in which positioning occurred at these sites. From the content analysis, the discrepancies between interior and exterior settings became quite apparent. This has relevance for where self-positions were located or negotiated in space and perspective.

4.4.1. 'Inside' and 'outside' the house.

The spatial discrepancy between the interiors of houses and exteriors was surprising, given that interview accounts located house interiors as the domain of girls and the outside as the domain of boys. Indoor tasks belonged to the girls (washing clothes, cleaning the dishes) and the outdoor tasks belonged to the boys (gardening, washing the car). When boys said that they did indoor tasks this was accounted for in ways that maintained a dichotomy of these tasks being the natural or 'right' allocation of household tasks. For example, Dumisani took a photograph of his sister washing the dishes and one of his mother's car after he had washed it. In the interview, Dumisani presented two 'versions' of how he performed household tasks as the 'man of the house'. Dumisani lived with his father and five sisters but when his father was away because of his taxi-business, Dumisani became what he described as the 'man of the house'. Below is commentary on two of the photographs, one of Dumisani's computer at home and the other of his mother's car in the driveway.

Interviewer D:	photo number three
Dumisani:	where I run my business that's er the best place I like and this second yah as the man of the house washing the car here so I decided to take a picture

Extract 1: Dumisani (photo-elicitation interview)

Here, being the 'man of the house' was immediately connected to washing the car as an outdoor task associated with masculinity. This was further suggested by the next photograph in the sequence which was of his sister washing the dishes inside. The dichotomy was modified further on in the interview. Dumisani went on to describe an 'exception' in which he acted differently from the hegemonic imperative that boys should only perform 'outside' tasks.

Interviewer D:	I heard you say about the man of the house
Dumisani:	um the man of the house (.) because sometimes they leave me alone at the house so I have to wash dishes [mm] at night [mm] because there are some taxis (.) my father runs er have taxi's [mm] so I stay at home and he goes out (.) so I stay at home and wash dishes and do everything
Interviewer D:	do you mind telling us[10] about your family about your family who's staying at home?
Dumisani:	I've got a lot of sisters [mm] about five sisters and only just me (.) and my father
Interviewer D:	so how is that for you?
Dumisani:	it's great because I don't do so many chores I only do the outside gardening
Interviewer D:	you said you were cleaning (.) washing the car can you tell us more about washing the car
Dumisani:	I don't know what to say
Interviewer D:	what was happening that day when you decided to take that photo?
Dumisani:	it was like I was cleaning the car and then something came to mind like well this is a picture I have to take this one here [mm] because I'm washing the car now not just like when I was small I didn't know how to wash the car

Extract 2: Dumisani (photo-elicitation interview)

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[10] Interviewer S was co-interviewing.

It is suggested here that Dumisani was positioned at the 'site' of a hegemonic self and identity. There were multiple levels of time involved in this representational activity, both past and present. Dumisani noted that for his 'younger self', washing the car had involved learning, perhaps of what a boy should be able to do to be competent. There was also the time in which Dumisani had actually been 'involved' with the hegemonic performance, that is cleaning the car, and the point at which he took an observing or meta-perspective and took a photograph of the event in which he was no longer performing but documenting. That the idea of the photo' came to mind' said something about the kind of data produced through autophotography, for here Dumisani was engaged in an event and an almost spontaneous thought occurred almost as an 'unconscious prompt'.

Dumisani voiced alternative positions of himself from 'inside' and 'outside' of the house, and these had both 'instrumental' and 'relational' qualities. In his commentary, Dumisani depicted himself as performing manual tasks inside and outside the house but positioned within two different relational hierarchies, one in which is father was present and he was positioned outside and one in which is father was absent and he was positioned inside as the 'man of the house'. In the absence of his father, was Dumisani positioned and perhaps also positioned himself in a different way. In both instances, he stayed 'inside' the family, but in his father's absence he assumed a 'father position'. However, unlike his father in that position, Dumisani 'had to' perform inside chores that would belong with the girls when his father was present. An interesting inversion was that when Dumisani was in a 'father position', doing 'inside' tasks was legitimate on the basis that he had to take responsibility as the man of the house. On the 'inside', Dumisani was positioned differently in relation to a hegemonic norm that competent boys should only perform outside tasks. The discrepancies between self-positions raised interpretive questions about masculine self and identity positioning because this suggested a 'spatialised' extension of the self in internal and external domains. The discrepancy suggested that Dumisani's masculine self was positioned in relation to a hegemonic masculinity characterised by sexual difference discourses, and these positions differed between public and private domains of the self.

Photograph 1: Sister washing the dishes (Dumisani)

Themba recorded that he respected his family, was respected by his family and that washing the clothes was something that he did as a 'respectful' young man with 'pride. Themba photographed his friend washing clothes outside the house. Themba's perception was that his friend took pride in what he was doing and that he was being respectful to his mother in performing these household tasks.

Photograph 2: Young man washing clothes (Themba)

Themba:	I took this photo because everything that he does he takes pride: in it (.) as you can see the him here (.) (he was washing) and respecting his mother
Interviewer M:	what was he washing?
Themba:	clothes
Interviewer M:	okay
Themba:	this/ this ( ) I photographed (1) because I like the way he does this and he is the only one left
Interviewer M:	where did you take this photo (.) is it a neighbour or a member of your family?
Themba:	it's a neighbour

Extract 3: Themba (photo-elicitation interview)

Themba's perception was that his friend took pride in what he was doing and was responsible, suggesting that 'taking pride' and 'being respectful' were ways that young men could maintain this non-hegemonic performance, that is, performing 'women's work'. The word 'everything' suggested that this was a quality of desirable masculinity that went beyond the specific situation. The ending comment that 'he is the only one left' was exceptionally subdued although the implications were considerable. Whether Themba's friend was the only well person (or oldest well person) in his family was possible but was not clarified further, and it appeared that the interviewer left this to be implicit rather than ask the question why he was 'the only one left'. It was likely that Themba and his friend were in similar family situations. In the interview, Themba explained that he lived with his aunt, uncle and cousins in the township and his parents had been deceased for a 'long time'. This suggested that the loss of family members and especially parents, produced a context in which the performance of non-hegemonic household tasks was moderated by values of taking pride, having respect and being respected. This had some suggestion of a positioning solution based on principles or what could be termed a 'principled solution'. More importantly however, was that the situation of constraint and loss

caused by family losses had created a 'walled garden' in which a non-hegemonic masculinity was not only possible but necessary.

Themba's photograph of his friend took an outside perspective on a young man like himself. As he did, his friend was also performing a domestic task in a personal domain, 'inside' the family. Themba's friend was also perceived to be 'outside' of hegemonic 'acceptability'. The 'walled solution' here was physically and spatially 'demarcated', of significance for the spatialisation of self and identity in DST. Within a family context of loss, Themba and the friend with whom he identified were able to be performatively non-hegemonic within the 'walls' of their situations of limitation and constraint.

4.4.2. Cars, clothes, walls and fences as 'interiors' and 'exteriors'.

In coding categories of 'themes' in the quantitative content analysis , 56 of the 80 photographs (produced by six participants) were identified as being only of 'objects' such as buildings, cars, computers. Read in 'dialogue' with the interviews however, these objects were often imbued with personal meanings.
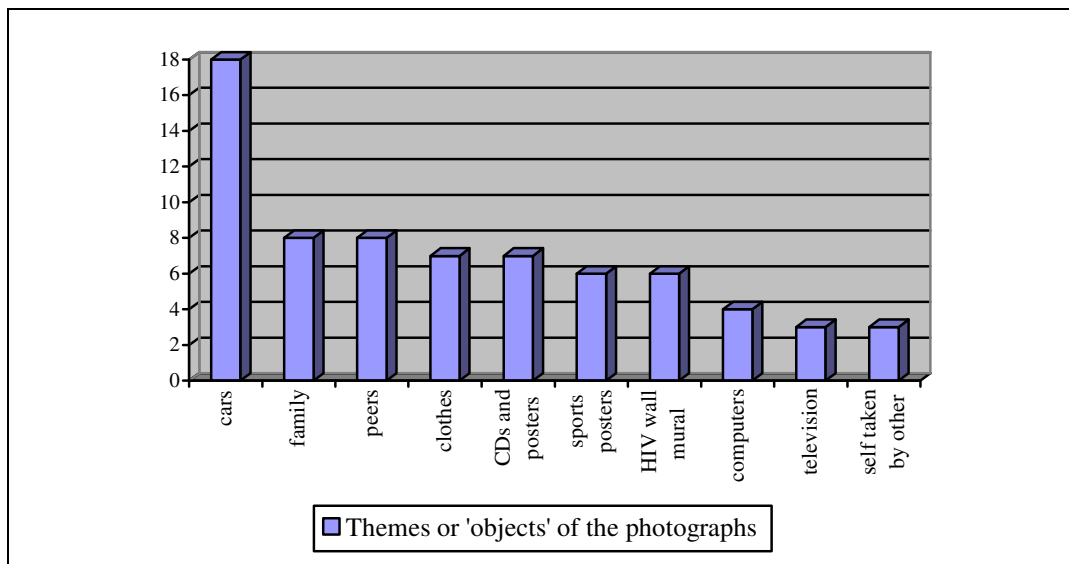
Figure 6: Content analysis categories (N = 80 photographs)

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This raised an important issue for interpretation with various possibilities. For one, the choice of inanimate objects suggested an 'instrumentality' in the way the boys had chosen to depict their lives as young men. Further, the presence of objects more than subjects may have said something about the social or symbolic distance, given that the overall effect of an 'unpeopled world' produced a sense of an isolated perspective. The 'objects' were 'social' in their implications. Soccer team posters, displays of personal clothing items, computers and cell phones were all relevant to social activity and/or relationships. There seemed to be no photographs of people actually wearing the branded clothing or shoes, instead these were put 'on display'. There were no photographs of people playing soccer or using computers or cell phones. The worlds presented were exceptionally 'unpeopled' and it was noteworthy that the boys were not 'involved' with the objects in the photographs. It seemed that implicitly the boys associated their identifications with enactments of masculinity. Not portraying themselves as participative in communication technology, sports activity or clothing as identity signifiers suggested a distance from these markers of masculine self and identity or perhaps a lack of agency. A further possible interpretation was that the boys were 'objectifying' the enactments or performances of masculine self and identity. By this is meant that they presented an 'objectified' (or perhaps 'outside') masculinity defined by what a young man does or owns or what he is expected to do and own. This appeared to be a combination of commodity masculinity (defined by 'owning') and an 'instrumental' masculinity (defined by 'having').

Cars appeared very often in the photographs and often appeared to be the main interests or 'objects', although the perspective varied in ways that were 'inside' and 'outside'. In the photographic data the perspective was of the cars from the 'outside', and it was only in a few photographs that the cars themselves had any 'relationship' with the boys, for example, Dumisani's photographs of the car he washed. There were no photographs of boys posing in front of cars or in the cars but rather a distance from these signifiers or markers of masculinity. The 'unpeopled', objectifying view suggested an isolated I-position, 'I-as-observer-of life'. As indicated by Bheki, Dumisani and Themba in their interview accounts, it appeared that each had been alone when photographing the cars. Almost emblematic of masculine self and identity, cars

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signified more than one hegemonic masculinity, most specifically a township peer masculinity based on a perspective that luxury cars signified a success that was only obtainable through a sudden rise to fame and affluence or the aspirational hegemonic masculinity in which cars signified a wealth and affluence that could be obtained through education or business accomplishments.

The presence of this hegemonic masculinity (the aspirational young masculinity) is developed further with reference to interview texts and other visual data. The cars may not only have represented the peer group hegemonic masculinities described but may also have reflected a 'generational' commodity masculinity of adult men related to the emergence of a new middle class. This was largely inferred by the researcher rather than explicit in the data because the participants and interview prompts emphasised young men. Particularly in the initial interviews, the participants' descriptions of role-models suggested a 'commodity' version of adult masculinity.

Although the outside 'view' of cars was a commonality across many of the photographs, there were nuances of perspective. Jabulani produced the most photographs of cars (N = 11) and strikingly, all of his photographs were of inanimate objects. Most appeared to be luxury motor vehicles and these were photographed on the street at angles perhaps similar to those of car magazines and advertisements. The interview data indicated that Jabulani had taken photographs of cars on the streets and did not know who the owners of the cars.

Unlike Jabulani, Themba photographed moving cars, the family car and a next door neighbour's car. As opposed to Jabulani's empty and unmoving cars, Themba's depictions were less 'distanced', for example the photograph of the family car in the garage or the car that he had washed. But there was nevertheless some sense of being on the 'outside looking in'. Themba photographed the neighbour's car from the outside of the property, and the barrier of the gate and fence was immediately apparent.

Walls, gates, fences and barriers were recurring themes in the photographic data and the biographical drawings. These images prompted the idea of the 'walled garden' solution. The view from the 'outside looking in' was very present in the data, and was exemplified by a photograph Jabulani took of the clinic from outside a very high gate or Bheki's photographs of the wall murals outside the clinic. This could be interpreted as a perspectival position in relation to HIV identity. By positioning themselves outside of the clinic and its physical barriers, the boys may have been positioning themselves outside of an HIV positive identity. This could also have been interpreted as a 'metaposition' as the boys viewed a spatialised domain defined by HIV from the perspective of 'I-as-an-observer'.

Another example of the 'outside' perspective was the photograph taken by Jabulani of shoes on display in a sports shop. As with his photographs of cars, this perspective was distanced. Jabulani did not photograph shoes that he actually owned. Given the material realities of urban township living, it was unlikely that he could have owned expensive sports shoes. Jabulani also took a photograph of a watch advertisement on the back cover of a magazine. Jabulani appeared to be more 'distant' from a commodity identity than other participants, suggesting that he identified less than some of the others with aspirational young masculinity.

Photograph 3: Car on a city street (Jabulani)

Here, Jabulani's perspective was of a somewhat sporty looking car and as with his other photographs he chose cars that were shiny Black or metallic grey. This, it is suggested, may

have been associated with a particular market appeal of the newly affluent and economically empowered masculinity or a wider class identity. The car images portrayed an adult commodity masculinity which was important for defining an 'aspirational young masculinity' – a concept that was developed further in the findings.

Photograph 4: From the 'outside looking in' (Themba)

Themba's photograph of a car inside a garage contrasted with Jabulani's perspective. It appeared that there was less 'distance' between the car and himself, although he was on the outside looking in which suggested an inaccessibility to 'signifiers' of masculinity, such as cars. The conclusion that barriers, walls and fences were significant would have been less substantiated had it not been for the recurrence of this kind of image across the data. 19 of the 80 photographs were of external walls, barriers or fences viewed from the outside. Although this kind of quasi-statistical conclusion was limited, it was a significant 'hint' that informed this conclusion, especially that interview data confirmed the sense of alienation that the boys sometimes experienced.

4.4.3. Inside and outside 'construction sites'.

In the focus groups especially but also in the individual interviews, sites in the outdoors appeared to be more legitimate 'sites' for masculine self-positioning than the indoors. In the interview accounts, the sports field was one such site for masculinity positioning. Yet, unexpectedly, there were no photographs of actual sports fields or soccer games. An interesting moment at the end of a photo-elicitation interview was when the interviewer asked Dumisani what photograph he might have taken that he had not.

Interviewer D:	(.) um were there any things that you might have taken a photo of that you didn't really get to taking a photo about?
Dumisani:	ja (.) it was er playing soccer
Interviewer D:	okay
Dumisani:	because I used to play soccer outside
Interviewer D:	mmm
Dumisani:	when I'm not doing anything so I'm bored I want to go play soccer outside
Interviewer D:	okay so say you take a photo of soccer outside I would say how is that important in your life?
Dumisani:	to get exercised (that matters) maybe one day I want to be a soccer star

Extract 4: Dumisani (photo-elicitation interview)

The boys repeatedly referred to themselves as playing soccer but these can be interpreted as ambivalent given the remarkable contrasts between the interview accounts and the visual data. The representations of heroic or exemplary masculinity ('role models') described in the interviews were generally located outdoors, 'doing things on the outside'. Sports celebrities were depicted as being active outdoors, on sports field or promoting social/health messages in the community and in the media. Posters of celebrities were of men outdoors, generally they

were music and sport celebrities who promoted health and social issues, or soccer teams and coaches that signified successful performance. These forms of heroic or exemplary masculinity were therefore located in the physical outdoors, either physically or in graphic media such as posters or television programmes – what might be called an exterior 'mediascape', to use terminology from DST (Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010).

Although this was so, the celebrities were also on the 'inside' of collective identities; inside a soccer team, inside a music genre, and inside communities and cultural formations. Here, it was evident that competitive team sport was a 'site' of masculinity construction and positioning. This site was an intersection of discourses about sport as movement, physicality, health and versions of masculine success. There was no indication in participants' accounts of girls/women being involved with sport, with the emphasis being on soccer as a hegemonic ideal and practice. Sport appeared to be a symbolic and performative space for the boys, and it was stated and implied in the interviews that soccer was an exclusively male activity. Admiration for celebrities suggested personal identifications and there appeared to be a collective assumption that each boy would or should have an admired 'role model'. There were contrasts between identifications with sporting performance (skillful play and scoring goals) and sport as a 'vehicle' for wealth, influence and status, or in some instances, soccer stars who were role models of social responsibility. This suggested that there were multiple meanings and associations of sport as a context for masculinity construction. Discussion of soccer was accompanied by emotions of enthusiasm and identification, and this suggested that soccer was seen as a marker of hegemonic masculinity. But there were also moments of poignancy around the limitations of soccer participation in the context of a medical condition. The relevance of soccer for township young masculinity was interpretively important because 'soccer stars' were seen to not only have a sudden rise to fame through exceptional sporting performance, but also because there was a challenge to the narrative that masculine acceptability could be accomplished gradually through effort and education, which was central to the aspirational young masculinity as a 'rival' hegemonic form. The boys did not appear to associate team sport with any kind of toughness but rather with a skillful and fast performance, this being the nature of soccer as a game. It seemed that this was also because the sense of acceleration and fast positioning was more significant of

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soccer as a narrative of overcoming adversity through risk-taking, competition and performance. This representation suggested that rising above the material deprivation and limited opportunities of township living required something exceptional, and that perhaps most young men faced the likelihood of falling short of accomplishing stardom as a marker of hegemonic masculinity. This was in contrast with the aspirational young masculinity, where consistent effort and responsibility would attain markers of success through a different kind of performance (educational and career success). The identification with exemplary role models had the emotional tone of admiration, although this was sometimes tinged with doubt as to whether a particular soccer player was admirable because of his skillful performance or because of his celebrity status as an influential role model.

Interviewer S:	okay, who is your role model? A person that when you see them you think I want to be like that person when I'm older (.) when I'm a man (.) who do you want to be like?
Bheki:	like Arthur Zwane
Interviewer S:	Arthur Zwane (.) what does Arthur Zwane do?
Bheki:	he plays soccer
Interviewer S:	what else does he do as a soccer player that makes you admire him? Do you admire his ball dribbling skills or his lifestyle?
Bheki:	I admire (.) the way he plays (.) soccer
Interviewer S:	how does he play?
Bheki:	he plays really well: and he also the striker
Interviewer S:	what team does he play for?
Bheki:	(Kaizer Chiefs)
Interviewer S:	does he play for the squad ((national soccer team))? (2) he doesn't (.) okay (.) because I don't know him (.) do you play soccer? (3) do you play at school? Are you on the school team?
Bheki:	I don't play for the school team

Extract 5: Bheki (initial semi-structured interview)

From the researcher's perspective, Interviewer S often presented a 'collective voice' in his interviewing (see reflexivity section further on). As can be seen in the above extract, Interviewer S set up an 'either-or' to which Bheki then replied that his admiration/identification with the sporting hero was based on the hero's performance rather than character. Interpretively, it appeared that within the interview interaction there was an implicit rejection of the perceived lifestyle of the soccer star but an acceptance of his performance as an acceptable man on the sports field. This suggested a positioning in which some aspects of a hegemonic masculinity were appropriated and others were rejected. The interviewer may have silenced alternative solutions, and in so doing shutting down the ambivalence that Bheki may well have felt towards his identification. A 'pivot' in the account occurred in the contrast of the soccer star belonging to (or 'inside') a team and Bheki not belonging to any team, implying that Bheki was marginalised or on the 'outside'. The interview conversation created a perspective in which both interviewer and interviewee were taking a similarly 'distanced' perspective of the soccer star, not in actuality but in imagination. The soccer star did not appear in the photographs but there was a comparison of perspectives about the soccer star as an exemplary role model (Bheki) or a questionable role model (Interviewer S).

As with the car image, sporting images and accounts presented 'inside-outside' dynamics which suggested 'barriers' between the boys' positions and hegemonic standards. As noted, there were no images of any sports games in action, although the boys consistently identified sport as a marker of masculinity. This identification could be seen in Jabulani's biographical drawing. At one point Jabulani had missed school for a year because of his epileptic seizures but at the time of the study this was medically managed and he had returned to school. Yet, his drawing included a depiction of a soccer game.

Jabulani's biographical drawing had several compelling aspects of the 'inside' and 'outside' as an interpretive 'gateway'. Jabulani depicted a soccer game in this drawing but indicated in the interview that he had been unable to play soccer at one point because of the epilepsy. In his drawing, the representation of the soccer game was of other boys playing soccer. Jabulani depicted himself horizontally lying in the school corridor and marginalised from the soccer

game. Interpreting further, there appeared to be a contrast between the school and the house. The classrooms were closed and there were no other people but Jabulani's representation of himself on the outside of the school building, whereas the house had an interior and exterior. Jabulani lived with his uncles as his mother and father were both deceased. Jabulani represented his deceased father in the drawing, not unsurprisingly from an African cultural perspective in which the deceased were considered active participants in the lives of family members. Jabulani's father had died in a motor vehicle accident when Jabulani was 13 years old and his mother had died from HIV-related illness.
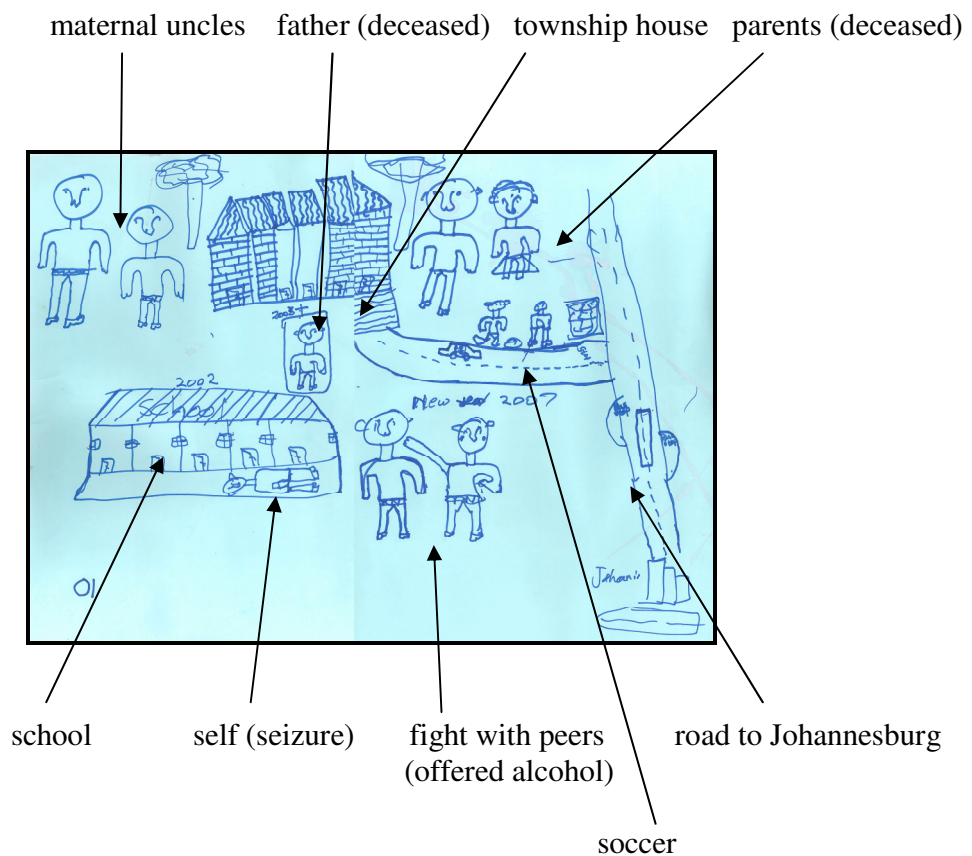
Biographical drawing: Jabulani

In the foreground of the drawing (and in the interview), Jabulani depicted a fight that he had encountered with other boys who had pressurised him to drink alcohol. It appeared here that he had resisted the hegemonic imperative to drink alcohol (risk-taking) but had accomplished this through aggressive behaviour and physical toughness.

Interviewer M:	(tell me) about your life story
Jabulani	okay eh ( ) my father (died) by car (.) it means in 2003 my mother
	passed away then my father went to stay in Johannesburg (.)
	left in ( ) 2002 (.) I/I/I was still at school (.) still at
	school (.) it means I had a conflict with some guys because they
	wanted to force me to drink we then argued and had a fight

Extract 6: Jabulani (biographical interview)

Jabulani put himself 'outside' the hegemonic norm of drinking but he accomplished this distance by basing his actions on another hegemonic norm, that of toughness and invulnerability. It appeared that he formed a 'coalition' in which he resolved an ambivalence between being on the 'outside' of hegemonic masculinity ('young men are supposed to drink and be tough') and an 'inside' position ('I cannot drink and am vulnerable because of my health'). His resolution for this conflict appeared to be a 'coalitional position' in which he combined these contradictions to produce a new position ('I can refuse to drink by being tough and aggressive'). This created a space in which Jabulani could be 'outside' the hegemonic imperative to drink but still remain 'inside' hegemonic masculinity by being tough, or perhaps even exceptionally tough or 'hypermasculine'. Therefore, 'on the inside', Jabulani was able to perceive himself to be paradoxically both tough and vulnerable. He could manage to be tough because he could aggressively resist the imperative to drink yet also maintain an awareness of his health vulnerability. This positioning had the quality of a 'fragile hegemonic solution', in which there were both public alignments and private identifications with hegemonic masculinity (Lindegger & Blackbeard, 2010; Lindegger & Quayle, 2010). These identifications were however 'threatened' positions as the identifications could be easily destabilised (Lindegger & Blackbeard, 2010; Lindegger & Quayle, 2010). Jabulani's coalitional positioning had an ambivalence and felt unresolved, and it also had the sense of being an isolated individual position without a connection to a collective voice. Jabulani 'admitted' further in the interview that his 'resistance' to peer imperatives to use alcohol had failed on several occasions (meaning that he succumbed to the pressure to drink alcohol). This 'admission' indicated that his

coalitional solution was 'fragile' because it was so easily destabilised by peer group hegemonic imperatives. The fragility or 'brittleness' of this solution may have been because the coalitional positioning produced an isolated I-position which was not supported by collective positions.

4.4.4. Internal and external families.

In all of the biographical drawings there were depictions of deceased family members, parents or in Sandile's case, his step-mother. Stories of lost loved ones were also included in the individual interviews but this was most present in the biographical interviews, which were the most personal conversations. Lost loved ones were internalised 'others' within the self-system and in the interview narratives. In Jabulani's drawing for example, the depiction of his deceased father within the drawing suggested that his father was 'inside' or 'included in' his lived experience. Sandile also represented his lost step-mother in a very similar way. Lost parents were also depicted in Nkosinathi's drawing and in his biographical interview, Nkosinathi narrated a conversation with his father and mother who had passed away when he was much younger suggesting that internalised 'others' were able to 'speak' as voiced positions within the self.

| Interviewer S: | ehh you start from the beginning the way you can up until now maybe you/you/ehh according to what you have drawn here in your picture |
| Nkosinathi: | ya ehm ( ) when I was small (.) when I was still small that/my father used to call me every time [hmm] he used to call me to him to hold me as he had not been with me but at work [hmm] then after that I used to hear my mother calling me [hmm] she would say Nkosinathi come eat then I would say yes I am coming (.) mother then she started (to become ill) and father worked and worked and worked until he bought a car |

Extract 7: Nkosinathi (biographical interview)

Interpretively, this suggested that voiced positions of self and other were located 'inside' the personal subjectivity and that these positions were externalised as visual representations. In the biographical interviews, these positions were 'voiced' in the internal-external dynamic of the interview itself. It appeared that the emotional and practical burden of losing loved ones to HIV was a very significant part of the boys' life experiences. Life 'on the inside' of such experiences may have been significant obstacles in meeting the imperatives of township peer hegemonic masculinity for a number of reasons – limited social and material resources, lack of free time and going through processes of grieving.

Most of the boys lived 'inside' families that had been disrupted through illness or relocation from a rural to urban area. For Sandile, family disruption through relocation and the loss of his step-mother meant that he had only his father to rely on for support, and his father was frequently absent, both physically and emotionally. Sandile's only other apparent source of family support was a step-sister who he was able to phone when needed. Sandile related the difficult experience of a burglary in which he had to cope on his own. Counter to the hegemonic expectations of township peers 'outside' of his family context, Sandile was motivated to make his parents proud of him through educational and career success, which was poignant in that his parents were often absent from his everyday experience.

Themba was living with his extended family and in this family context he performed non-hegemonic household tasks. It was not explained why Themba performed these tasks as part of living with an extended family but perhaps this was a part of the familial conditions and being a foster child. Jabulani was also living with the extended family – his difficult situation being that he lived with 'uncles' who were often intoxicated with alcohol and drugs. Nkosinathi also lived in a family situation that had been altered and affected by loss. After his parents died, Nkosinathi lived with his aunt and grandmother, and he experienced his life on the 'inside' of these family relationships in ambivalent ways. Nkosinathi's dominant I-position was one of gratitude towards his relatives for supporting him in many ways but there was a less present voiced position that expressed Nkosinathi's loss and yearning for a life where he was free of

constraints and loss.   Although he felt supported or at least said that he was, he also felt constrained at a level that was less apparent and 'voiced'.

Interviewer S:	okay can you maybe tell us about the things that maybe that have been challenging in your life while you were still growing up?
Nkosinathi:	the things that have been challenging it's like when my mother and my father passed away I was so hurt but I let it go because anyway they were not going to come back I was not going to see them anywhere
Interviewer S:	hhm okay did your mother die at the same time as your father or did they follow each other or ( )
Nkosinathi:	my father died first then my mother followed in a car accident
Interviewer S:	okay she died in a car accident and your father did he get sick?
Nkosinathi:	my father got sick
Interviewer S:	okay I see (.) so what in your life maybe that you can still think of and say that was a nice moment of your life the most enjoyable times in your life what are they?
Nkosinathi:	the time that I enjoyed most in my life was when I was sick and I found out I was sick and I found out that I was sick and my aunt and my grandmother made me a birthday party I enjoyed that day
Interviewer S:	okay that was your good your best time of your life while they were doing birthday for you so was it in hospital or at home?
Nkosinathi:	at home
Interviewer S:	say they are the most eh important people in your life? at home okay so in your life who would you say eh that you can say they are the most eh important people in your life?
Nkosinathi	it's my eh it's mother's aunt (and) my aunt [okay] it's like they are the same as a mother and father

Extract 8: Nkosinathi (biographical interview)

Nkosinathi's narratives of his relatives' support for him during his illness had a theme of gratitude and he identified maternal great-aunt and aunt as his 'parents'. He also identified his deceased biological parents as his parents, something not unexpected in an African cultural context. As narrated in his biographical interview, Nkosinathi had lost both of his parents (his father from HIV-related illness) and he described his aunt and great-aunts as being both 'father' and 'mother' to him. Nkosinathi revealed his emotional experience of the loss ('I was so hurt') but from the tone of the audio recording and the transcript, it seemed that he spoke of these events in a very matter-of-fact way, switching very quickly from the loss experience to the enjoyment/gratitude narrative. Most significantly, Nkosinathi's narratives described his life as being very different from hegemonic standards as he revealed that he was dependent upon his relatives and he expressed a sense of vulnerability.

It appeared that Interviewer S was not neutral in this interview as his questions were also very direct and unemotional. This perhaps suggested something about how he managed experiences of grief either personally or as a facilitator of the support group. It appeared that grief was 'shut down', with the interviewer prompting a factual report rather than emotional experience. Unlike the interviewee, at times he identified more with a hegemonic ideal of emotional control and invulnerability. Nkosinathi spoke in a very subdued way in all of his individual interviews, which made the conversation feel intensely private and vulnerable, again suggesting that he did not identify with hegemonic standards and was cautious in revealing this non-identification.

The contrasts in tone and volume of voices were helpful 'gateways' into the interview transcripts. Contrasts gave a sense of what was 'inside' and what was 'outside'. In the group interviews, Jabulani and Sandile were the most verbal and assertive voices, but in general the boys were more animated and defined in the focus groups. This suggested that there were collective identifications or alignments with certain versions of masculinity. Other than Sandile, the other boys spoke very quietly and softly in the individual interviews. Sandile seemed to be equally assertive in presenting his very clear views in all interview contexts, articulating a definite identification and alignment with 'aspirant young masculinity'.

Although the contrast between the focus groups and individual interviews may have been at least partly because of the conversational contexts themselves, the quiet and private tones of the individual interviews were very marked. Interviewer S and M maintained a very direct and almost confrontational approach despite the fact that there had been a full discussion in the interviewing team around the intention and approach of the interviews. The dual role of the interviewers as support group facilitators may have accounted for the discrepancy between the interviewer training and what actually happened in the interviews.

4.4.5. 'Inside' and 'outside' HIV positivity.

A key objective of this research was to identify how being a member of an HIV support group and being HIV positive related to masculinity positioning. The main finding that emerged was that there were several configurations of self-positioning which were sometimes used interchangeably or in differing ways according to the context. It appeared that being HIV positive influenced masculine self-construction and one of the ways in which self-construction occurred at the HIV-masculinity intersection was through coalitional positioning. This was 'walled solution' where the individual and collective positions were 'modified' in relation to hegemonic masculinity because of the constraints of being HIV positive. It seemed that living within the 'protective walls' of HIV positivity necessitated performing in ways that were non-hegemonic, such as being dependent on others and admitting some level of vulnerability.

The 'walled solution' appeared to be a way in which the discrepancies of 'inside' and 'outside' created opportunities for revised or modified constructions of masculinity. Membership of an HIV support group was one of the most evident 'walled spaces' in which modifications to hegemonic masculinity could be actualised. Being HIV positive in itself was also a 'walled space'. Living with HIV meant that an adolescent boy was 'different' and perhaps separated from other boys/men in various ways.

The tone and volume of voices on the audio-recordings was a subtle quality of the data that suggested the 'walled space' of living with HIV. It was perplexing why the interviewers had

been so 'direct', expressing biases and imposing leading questions. In response, the boys had responded in a subdued way, and sometimes there appeared to be 'soft' resistances to the 'expected' responses that the interviewers were attempting to elicit. Here, it was as if the interviewers were imposing 'walls' around the interview. The dominant and 'guiding' voices of the interviewers were almost prompting responses that 'contained' the interview and in some ways controlled the interviewee.

Interviewer S: umh but as a/as a/what am I going to say/as a young man a
                        teenager living with HIV when you think about your life and see
                        others of your age that do not have HIV what are the challenges do
                        you see that maybe you would say your status has limited you here
                        or else has given you chances in this (.) do you see what I mean?
Nkosinathi: it can stop me from alcohol and drugs (.) it does stop you from
                        doing those things because you are not allowed to drink alcohol
Interviewer S: so is it a challenge not to drink or smoke drugs? because I
                        think it is a right thing not to
Nkosinathi: yes

Extract 9: Nkosinathi (biographical interview)

Two types of positioning were apparent in this short extract. The first was the 'walled solution', which was prompted by the interviewer and then stated by the interviewee, as has been discussed. Interviewer S introduced the idea that living with HIV meant having both 'chances' and 'challenges' as an adolescent boy. He prompted the idea that living with HIV gave young men a different perspective and he located this in a scenario of an HIV positive young man looking at his peers who were not HIV positive. The interviewee's response was an agreement and development of the idea of 'chances' with the idea that being HIV positive meant not drinking or using drugs. A subtlety was that Nkosinathi strengthened the 'wall' of HIV as a means restraining or stopping an individual from conforming to hegemonic imperatives. In contrast, Interviewer S presented HIV as offering an opportunity 'to' the individual. This could

be interpreted as an 'externalisation' of HIV as agentive. HIV appeared to be something outside of the person that constrained, limited, protected or offered opportunities. There was a nuanced difference in how this was taken up by the interviewer versus the interviewee. Interviewer S took an interpretation of HIV as a threat and opportunity whereas Nkosinathi modified this by portraying HIV as a protective 'buffer' that stopped a young man from meeting the hegemonic imperative. HIV acted as a voice of 'prohibition' at this point ('you are not allowed to drink'). At that moment, the interviewer introduced an alternative by framing 'challenge' in a different way. It was not the challenge of being HIV positive that he had first mentioned but the challenge of meeting a hegemonic imperative of drinking or using drugs. Interviewer S then attempted to elicit an agreement from the interviewee that a resistance to hegemonic imperatives was on the basis of principle ('I think it is not a right thing to do'). The interviewer presented a 'principled solution' and offered it to the interviewee who appeared to accept it although with a subdued agreement. This illustration from the data suggested two quite different ways of resisting hegemonic norms. The first was one was the construction of HIV as a prohibitive voice or 'walled space'. The second was a resistance against hegemonic masculinity imperatives on the basis of principles or what can be termed a 'principled solution'. The 'principled solution' was one of the available strategies for the boys to resist hegemonic imperatives. It appeared that this was not a solution that was taken up very much by the boys despite the somewhat persuasive attempts of Interviewer S to encourage the principled approach.

The discrepancies between the vocal qualities in the audio-recordings supported the idea of the 'walled solution'. When the boys were being interviewed, the interviewers sometimes spoke from dominant voiced positions as counsellors/facilitators. This was signified in the vocal tone, the imbalance of questions and answers and what was almost an 'imposition' of leading questions. Here, the dominance of their voices formed a 'wall' around the individual interview, and the interviewee responded with 'weaker' and muted 'ventriloquations' of the interviewer's questions. Sometimes there were also modifications of the interviewers' impositions. These contradictions may have seemed to be invalidating of the data, but it made apparent the workings of the 'walled solution' as the interviewees managed the 'barrier' of interviewer assumptions. When the boys were in the focus groups, voiced positions became more animated and assertive,

suggesting that the boys were forming the 'wall' themselves. A version of masculinity was produced within a socially formed space which the boys themselves seemed to create around shared identifications. In various instances, the 'wall' was constructed by the dominance of the interviewers' voices, the solidarity of a collective voice or a dialogue between these two voices. Across the various instances, it appeared that the 'solution' was similar – that living with HIV allowed the boys to behave in non-hegemonic ways yet with a capacity to retain a sense of masculine acceptability as an HIV positive young man. Identifying with HIV positivity (or being constrained within its social 'walls') meant it was impossible to conform to the usual expectations of hegemonic masculinity. This 'zooming out' perspective is developed further on with more substantiation from the data analysis.

4.4.6. Conclusions relevant to the research question.

The constraints, opportunities, necessities and threats of being HIV positive created a 'walled space'. The 'walled solution' produced a modified masculinity through coalitional positioning. The walled solution prevailed as a stable resolution to the difficulties of being HIV positive. Being HIV positive meant that the boys perceived that they were less able to conform to hegemonic standards than 'normal' boys. Being HIV positive was a 'marginalised' position in relation to hegemonic masculinity, with the boys being definably 'different' from other boys. 'Normal' boys were perceived as being better able to conform to hegemonic standards. Ironically though, hegemonic masculinity (by definition) functions as an unattainable ideal. The boys sometimes constructed peers as threats to a protected identity. Being HIV positive was constructed or perceived to be a protected space. This protected space was experienced quite ambivalently (for example, by Nkosinathi). The interviewers themselves appeared to construct 'protective walls' through the interview questions. It seemed that the interviewers expected responses which reinforced the idea that HIV was an opportunity for not conforming to masculinity imperatives. These imperatives included alcohol use, not performing household tasks assigned to girls/women and individual autonomy.

A 'principled solution' was also apparent in which values formed a basis for alternatives. This principled solution was not taken up strongly by the boys despite promptings from the interviewers, especially Interviewer S who appeared himself to identify with this solution. 'Commodity masculinity' was an important reference point for aspirational young masculinity. Aspirational young masculinity was identified with adult men and was based on the combination of 'affluence' and 'influence'. Aspirational young masculinity was an alignment with commodity masculinity which followed a narrative of individual achievement. Individual achievements were seen as the pathway to a legitate and acceptable 'commodity masculinity'.

A 'fragile hegemonic solution' was apparent in Jabulani's attempt to establish individual coalitions to defend against peer group imperatives to use alcohol. Jabulani's individual use of coalitional positioning appeared to be less sustainable than in the 'walled solution'. In contrast with an individual I-position, the 'walled solution' offered more stable collective positions where the coalitions were made available in a situation that necessitated non-hegemonic practices. The collective alignments and identifications of the 'walled solution' appeared to strengthen this solution further.

4.5. Masculine self extended in space and time

There were visible and less visible 'construction sites' for masculine self and identity. These 'sites' were located spatially and in time. The sites were 'located' in varying 'compositions' of spaces and times which were real, imagined or remembered. It appeared that 'voiced' and 'unvoiced' I-positions were situated at these spatio-temporal 'sites'. Various positions for masculine self and identity were identified, some individual and others collective (We-positions). The inside-outside theme was a gateway from which were visible contrasts and similarities in the data in various spaces and times. Spatially, relationally and temporally, sites were 'inside' and 'outside'. Identifying the spatial and temporal sites of masculine self-construction highlighted how voiced positions were located and actualised in contexts. This finding emerged with an analysis of the 'dialogue' between the 'inside' and 'outside' of positioning sites.

4.5.1. The 'cheese boys' and the 'streetwise boys'.

Positioning in relation to hegemonic masculinity was evident in the ways in which boys envisioned the immediate future. Positioning also occurred in narratives of a 'longer vision' of the future as an adult man. The extended self of the future had an individual quality and in some instances was also apparent in collective voiced positions. Aspirant hegemonic masculinity and township peer hegemonic masculinity were voiced, spatialised and articulated in relation to the future as a domain for masculine self/social-construction.

The term 'cheese boy' was identified as applying to the boys who were strongly identified with education and future careers as sites for accomplishing a commodity masculinity. The 'cheese boy' referred to boys who attended better schools and had relative affluence compared with others in the township. The term was a slightly derogatory and was imposed by boys who did not identify themselves as 'cheese boys'. The term may have been 'appropriated' from a broader narrative presented in township youth culture although its gendered aspect was implicit. The 'cheese boy' identity seemed to be actively marginalised by boys such as Jabulani who most aligned themselves with hegemonic forms of township masculinity and also at moments of 'alignment' among the boys who did not predominantly align themselves with the township identity.

From the definitions offered by others, Sandile, Dumisani, Nkosinathi and Themba appeared to be most representative of the 'cheese boy' identity. This did not mean that they actually lived in the suburbs and attended very affluent schools as exemplars of this identity might but that in relative terms (and by the standards of others) they were identified with this version of masculine identity. The drawings and photographs by these boys showed relatively better housing conditions than the others but the objective conditions for this identity were perhaps less important than the subjectivities that constructed meanings around the term 'cheese boy'.

In contrast to the 'cheese boys', the 'streetwise boy' identity was represented by Jabulani, Mondli and Bheki. The 'streetwise boy' identity was spatially located in the township and on the

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city streets. From the visual data it appeared that Mondli and Jabulani lived in poorer housing although the 'materiality' of this identity was perhaps less important than perceptions. Both the 'streetwise boys' and the 'cheese boys' relied on masculinity 'markers' of performance and instrumentality. It appeared that most of the boys were not exclusively identified with either of these although Jabulani was most at the extreme of 'streetwise' and Sandile was the exemplar of a 'cheese boy'. Sandile did not self-identify with the term but that it was implicitly identified with him in interview dialogue by Jabulani in particular. The identities were 'performative', in that they were signified by ideal enactments, could be demonstrated though visible means and peer-validated. Although ostensibly 'visible, the identities may or may not have been actually enacted. For example, ideal performances of the 'streetwise boy' included visible risk-taking, alcohol, drug use and irregular school attendance. In direct contrast, the ideal performances of the 'cheese boy' included school attendance, educational achievement, and actively avoiding alcohol and drug use. Both identities were 'instrumental', in that they involved objectifying and non-relational interactions with self, body and others. The 'streetwise boy' was expected to be tough through 'instrumental' risk-taking, soccer performance or aggressive behaviour. The 'streetwise boy' had the expectation of being able to have 'instrumental' control in non-relational interactions with girls as potential or actual objects of sexual pleasure. The 'instrumentality' of the 'cheese boy' was somewhat different from the 'streetwise boy'. Instrumentality was about contractuality and commodity, in the sense of contractual interactions ('buying' girls/women or 'financially providing' for future wife and family) and through the aspirational ownership of signifying commodities such as luxury cars, cell phones, clothing brands.

These contrasting versions were not mutually exclusive although from various 'speaking positions' they were sometimes polarised. They seemed to be were more or less apparent for individual boys. This was crucial for the findings as it suggested that the two versions of masculinity were voiced in one boy. There was a rhetorical dynamic in giving voice to these positions suggesting shifts between these two versions ('aspirational' and 'township'). These shifts had locations in space and time. For example, although he expressed a strong identification with the 'streetwise boy' identity at most times, Jabulani also at times identified with the aspirational markers of the 'cheese boy' – the expensive cars, watches and clothing and

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other signifiers of commodity masculinity. One of the 'anchors' of the 'cheese boy' identity was an orientation towards expectations of parents and a perceived obligation to reciprocate parents for supporting a trajectory of individual success. This was most boldly articulated by Sandile where the word 'having' was repeated. The repeated word suggested that masculinity was constructed through ownership.

Interviewer D:	what are do your parents expect of you?
Sandile:	oh (.) my parents expect me/expect great things from me (.) like eh good results in school and (.) good achievements
Interviewer D:	go on
Sandile:	having nice goals (.) eh good achievements ja (.) good achievements such as (.) having the job that I dreamed to have (.) having my own house (.) having my own car (.) having my own family (.) that I can support (.) if you have ( ) my family under that family I can be able to support my parents family too

Extract 10: Sandile (reflective writing interview)

Sandile's narrative related to doing (education, achievements, career), having ('owning' car, house, wife, children) and providing for family. There was a sense of the narrative as 'expansive' with Sandile creating scenarios of achievement and success.

Photograph 5: Living conditions (Themba)

Bheki, Mondli and Jabulani had some personal identifications with a tough, risk-taking township masculinity as revealed in the individual interviews. Jabulani had the most voiced identification to the extent that he almost seemed to 'over-identify' with this version. The location of 'streetwise boy' was in the present and immediate future. In contrast, the 'cheese boy' was an orientation towards a more distant future of an achievement-based masculinity. There was a sense of the future being almost a bit too distant, almost unattainable in a way. The accomplishment of 'affluence and influence' was in a future where being financially independent allowed the capacity to 'buy' and 'control' signifiers of masculinity.

At a closer view, there appeared to be two 'versions' of the 'cheese boy' identity as an aspirational young masculinity. The two versions were a 'provider/possessor' masculinity and a 'player/possessor' masculinity. Both of these versions followed the narrative of material affluence and influence through education, business skills and/or career but with a somewhat different outcome.

Envisaging owning a house in the future was emblematic of becoming a successful man defined by financial independence and the capacity to own and/or provide. Sandile and Themba both wanted to own a house, primarily for a future wife and children. This defined masculine success primarily as being a property owner – including the 'ownship' of a wife and children. Slightly differently from Sandile and Themba, Dumisani saw himself as building (rather than buying) a house for his entire extended family, a nuance that positioned Dumisani in a more active way. A similarity between Themba and Sandile was that they each saw themselves as owning or having a house in the future through accomplishement in education and career. Across the narratives, the idea of 'ownership' portrayed the ideal man as being defined by what he possessed.

Interviewer M:	what are you planning for your future (.) do you have any pla:ns already?
Sandile:	really huge plans
Interviewer M:	li:ke:?
Sandile:	like I wish one day to have my own house
Interviewer M:	ja
Sandile:	my own accessories [mm] ja:: a big huge car a sports car [mm] my own family [ja] (.) my wife my childrens living all together as a happy family (1) ((break in tape)) career (.) I would like to see myself in the health department working for the government career (.) I would like to see myself in the health department working for the government

Extract 11: Sandile (initial semi-structured interview)

Sandile's use of the word 'accessories' suggested that all signifiers of his successful masculine self were commodities, including his wife and his children. However, the hint of another position was voiced in the phrase 'living all together as a happy family'. The meaning of this became clearer in the biographical interview when Sandile commented on his sadness at being separated from family members and living alone with a largely absent father in the city.

Although presenting a softer, more vulnerable self-position, this sadness was also linked to a more dominant narrative of individual triumph over adversity.

Sandile did not identify with any celebrities and in the individual interviews. Unlike some of the others, the outcome of his success was not to help his community but to make his parents proud and 'repay' them for what they had done for him. In the focus group, this narrative appeared to be modified. In the group, Jabulani had initiated talk about manhood as a biological sex drive with the idea of being able to 'stand on his own' as a young man. Jabulani's narrative depicted an individual resistance to peers who would try to force the individual to use drugs and alcohol. Sandile changed the direction of the conversation and urged others in the group to focus on education as a 'cure for the future'. The emphasis shifted from a 'possessor narrative' (owning a house, car, wife and children as 'accessories', repaying parents) to a 'provider narrative' (contributing to the community and supporting parents). The possessor and provider versions each had the theme of commodities as markers of ideal masculinity. As with the previous extract from Sandile's interview (Extract 10), the interview with Themba also repeated the refrain 'have'. In Themba's interview the idea of ownership was introduced by the interviewer, suggesting that she also identified commodities as a marker of masculinity. It was interesting that the interviewer was a woman yet also identified with commodities as signifying of acceptable masculinity.

Interviewer M:	what things do you think make a man? Things that a person must have so that they are a man
Themba:	to be a man
Interviewer M:	yes
Themba:	to have a girlfriend and to have money
Interviewer M:	okay
Themba:	and to have a house

Extract 12: Themba (initial semi-structured interview)

The difference here was that unlike Sandile, who was going to have a wife as an 'accessory', Themba was going to have a girlfriend and money, with the house in the 'background'. Themba took photographs of moving cars. This seemed unusual at first but made sense with the interviewes where he described future aspirations as a 'possessor'. His version of the possessor narrative included the refrain living the 'fast life', which perhaps had the same connotation of mobility as the images of cars he had produced. Themba's future self was the most identified with a 'player' identity as an ideal of overtly displayed material wealth. These included cell phones, luxury cars and multiple, and being able to 'buy' relationships with women. This can be seen in the Appendix 2 Scape Model for Themba[11].

Photograph 6: Car in motion on township road (Themba)

Interviewer M:	explain why you (decided to choose this photo)
Themba:	it's a photo of ( ) teachers (c. I chose it because I also want to be like these people in the future (.) who are/ who are ( )
Interviewer M:	yes

[11] The Appendix 2 Scape Models attempt to organise the data from each participant into a schematic of the self in dialogue following Hermans and Hermans-Konopka (2010, p. 61).

Themba: I'll be/ I also want to drive a car (.) I want to have a car (.) like
                          these people

Extract 13: Themba (photo-elicitation interview)

The apparent contradiction was that, much like Sandile, Themba valued education. Unlike
Sandile, Themba's goal was ostensibly different from Sandile's gradual accomplishment of
providing. Themba envisioned a 'fast' lifestyle with girlfriends and cars whereas Sandile
depicted a future of providing for a wife and family, noting that Sandile also wanted to 'own' a
wife and family. The question was whether these were related aspects of a future masculinity
based on a dynamic interaction of providing, possessing and protecting.

Dumisani presented a variation of narratives of the future although with some of the trademarks
of the 'cheese boy' identity. It seemed that Dumisani's future self was far more tentative and
contingent upon his 'power'. 'Power' ambiguously suggested both physical health and personal
agency.

Interviewer S:	how do you see your future?
Dumisani:	my future I see my future clearly
Interviewer S:	mm
Dumisani:	I am going the way it should if I get disturbed somewhere eish that will mean it's that I do not see myself losing power because I still have a long way to go that's coming
Interviewer S:	okay you see your future in a right way (.) what are your future plans?
Dumisani:	to study yeh to study get a job go to college and do all sorts

Extract 14: Dumisani (biographical interview)

The 'switch' in this extract was from an initial certainty to a tentative future that was contingent upon health or 'power'. There was a potential disruption to the trajectory of how Dumisani's life 'should' go (towards study and work). The idea that a young man could 'lose power' combined both the potential loss of physical health and a sense of agency. Here, the potential loss threatened the capacity to establish an acceptable masculine self in the future. An HIV positive condition meant potentially losing the agency ('power') to conform to hegemonic ideals and standards. These standards were also about power ('influence' and 'affluence').

This extract (Extract 14) was from the biographical interview where prompting questions on HIV were part of the semi-structured interview schedule. In general, the lack of spontaneity in the interviews may have been at least partly related to a diminished sense of personal agency because of HIV as a condition which limited possibilities and capabilities. Dumisani's uncertainties here were dissimilar from earlier interviews in which he had presented himself as moving confidently towards goals. Where boys spoke of their futures, narratives foregrounded a masculine identity rather than an identity as an HIV positive person. In some parts of the data futures were far less certain than these bolder versions. As with Dumisani's voicing of a more uncertain I-position ('I might become ill and not be able to reach my goals'), Sandile constructed an 'either-or' of success versus failure. This 'either-or' implied the equal possibility of failure to attain acceptable masculinity.

Interviewer S:	what are you planning for your future (.) do you have any pla:ns already?
Sandile:	really huge plans
Interviewer S:	okay (.) that's your parents (.) eh:: if you are talking about friends
Sandile:	<u>friends</u> can, (3) eh (4) friends can expect some delays in your life eh: such as they expecting (.) eh to have some failure (.) ( ) say failure, that I don't achieve some other thing (.) such as (1) hmmmm (.) such as (. 2) I don't go to school sometimes or (.) I'll bunk classes ja such things like that

Extract 15: Sandile (initial semi-structured interview)

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It is suggested that the 'long distance view' of the future was less apparent with Bheki, Nkosinathi and Jabulani. Here, Sandile portrayed peers as threats or almost physical obstacles in his trajectory towards an achievement-based commodity masculinity ('provider/possessor'). Threats to attaining the desired commodity masculinity were what Sandile called 'delays' in achieving the capacity to purchase commodity markers of masculinity. The possibility of 'delays' suggested a 'race against time', and perhaps the possibility of delayed progress in educational attainment, a likelihood in the context of a chronic health condition. The 'race against time' also may have implied that being HIV positive limited the time available to attain hegemonic masculinity as a set of commodified ideals and practices. The potential of a 'failed masculinity' was evident here as in other boys' narrative. A trajectory of achievement or failure was a crucial 'all or nothing' in attaining an affluence/influence hegemonic masculinity.

Among the interviewees, Bheki appeared to 'foreground' his personal subjectivity the least. The interviews consisted of very brief replies to the interviewer's prompts. Bheki spoke entirely about present experience and the very immediate future and there was far less said from a position of personal subjectivity. The interviews read in a detached way with very little emotion and the few signposts that he gave about the future were about having a luxury car and being a lawyer, without detailed description. It appeared that Bheki presented a hegemonic position that was very guarded and perhaps quite 'threatened' by his identity as an HIV positive person. To maintain his identification with hegemonic masculinity it seemed that Bheki had to detach or defend against anxieties about his invulnerability and autonomous agency – both key aspects of hegemonic masculinity. Bheki's voice seemed to be very 'constrained' or subdued. The I-postion was situated in a time without a past or a defined future which perhaps implied that a focussed present was one of the ways he could avoid anxiety about his health. A focus on the present perhaps also defended against any doubts he had regarding his capacity for attaining a hegemonic masculinity in the future.

Nkosinathi's narratives had a much more apparent orientation towards the past than many of the other interviewee narratives. Initial interviews were located in the present whereas his

biographical interview was strongly located in the past and the present. It was only in response to a question right at the end of the interview that Nkosinathi said something about his future.

Interviewer: maybe how do you see your future?

Nkosinathi: aa I do see my future because I love cricket

Interviewer: mm

Nkosinathi: I see myself playing cricket for different countries

Interviewer: okay

Extract 16: Nkosinathi (biographical interview)

Playing cricket had deep personal meaning for Nkosinathi because he had only recently been able to start playing cricket again after a long period of illness. Corroborating previous interviews a depiction of a cricket game appeared as a significant focus of his biographical drawing. It was clear here that masculine identity was positioned around sport as a signifier, as elsewhere in the narratives of most of the other boys (Sandile being the exception here). In replying 'I do see my future', it appeared that Nkosinathi perceived it to be unusual or exceptional to have a vision for his future. The context of the extract was talk about HIV and it suggested that Nkosinathi's sole depiction of his future (as a fantasy ideal) was a deeply meaningful statement of overcoming adversities. It appeared that for a brief moment, he imagined a future that 'reclaimed' his deep losses, as he reminisced about when he was much younger he had played cricket in the garden – before his parents had died.

Unlike the' cheese boys' who were at least superficially invested in a narrative of education, career and markers of a successful future, Jabulani focused more on how he defined himself in the present as a young man resisting hegemonic imperatives to use alcohol, drugs and 'out of control'. Sandile, Themba and Dumisani 'used' the future as a way to position a 'distance' from these same hegemonic norms with the idea that having a 'longer vision' prevented acting upon hegemonic imperatives of risk-taking and sexual activity. Having a longer vision created an justification for not living out these imperatives, although it seemed that sometimes this longer

vision was so ambitious as to seem unattainable. Jabulani mentioned that having 'goals' in life was important for making decisions but this positioning strategy that was less elaborated than the cheese boys 'use' of the future to justify the present. It appeared here to be a 'slippage' in which Jabulani let his guard down from his strong identification with the 'streetwise' boy.

One of the main ways that Jabulani resisted hegemonic imperatives was through developing 'coalitional positions'. He formed coalitions of 'agreements' between hegemonic ideals so that he could justify protecting his health by remaining identified and aligned with township hegemonic masculinity. For example, he invoked the hegemonic ideal of 'toughness' as a way that he could resist the imperative to use alcohol. Ironically, this practice was also related to an ideal of masculine invulnerability. Jabulani recounted that when he had been pressured to drink he had resisted with physical aggression. In apparent contradiction, in another interview he portrayed physical aggression as a part of the 'thug' identity which he actively rejected. In facing pressure to have a tough 'reputation' as a 'thug' he told himself that 'real' toughness was a stance of independence – being a young man who could 'stand on his own'. Additionally, in resisting the pressure for impulsive risk-taking, Jabulani formed a coalition with the hegemonic imperative that a man should have control, and in this way used a kind of toughness' to resist the pressure to drink.

Interviewer S:	what makes you not take drugs when you know that they are going to say you are stupid but you decide not to take drugs?
Jabulani:	no if ( ) you think first before you do something (.) you sit and think about the consequences of the outcome of what you are doing

Extract 17: Jabulani (initial semi-structured interview)

Here, Jabulani used the meta-perspective of a future I-position as a 'brake' for not acting impulsively upon hegemonic imperatives. Unlike the 'cheese boys', the consequences of impulsive behaviour were more relevant to immediate conditions of living than the long term

goals of the 'cheese boy' identity. Further on in the same interview, Jabulani gave an example of coalitional positioning in which he reframed non-conformity to hegemonic imperatives as an independent resistance, with this autonomous toughness being a coalitional marker of masculinity.

Interviewer S:	(reflecting) in other words when people say you are not cool (.) eh you are stupid and gay (.) what do you do about that (.) when people talk?
Jabulani:	well I just tell them, that I do not care
Interviewer S:	oh you just ignore them
Jabulani:	yes (.) no matter what they say

Extract 18: Jabulani (initial semi-structured interview)

Here, Jabulani evoked a hegemonic norm of emotional toughness and self-sufficiency ('I do not care') to resist another hegemonic norm (impulsive risk-taking). Jabulani's solution was an unstable one in which he created coalitions on an individual level, relying on a hegemonic norm of self-sufficiency and toughness.

Future positioning was closely identified with hegemonic masculinity signified as visible heterosexuality, objectification of women and being an independent provider. These hegemonic ideals (for the future) were set against masculinity imperatives of risk-taking and invulnerability (in the present). The 'cheese boys' accrued 'benefits' of patriarchy in an envisioned future. The narrative of a fantasised future supported norms of male control of women in various forms – 'players', 'providers', 'possessors' or combinations of these. Each of these interrelated 'enactments' amounted to an objectification of women. Variations were the objectification of women as entertainment ('player'), controlled dependent ('provider') or commodity ('possessor'). For all three of these versions (or emphases) the future self-positions were consistently associated with the luxury motor car as a primary signifier.

Photograph 7: Photograph of luxury car (Jabulani)

Mondli's narratives presented coalitional positioning in a very similar way to Sandile, with a similar identity narrative as a 'cheese-boy'. Mondli was the only interviewee to introduce sexual-risk-taking as a hegemonic norm in the context of future 'life-scenarios'. He contrasted his position as alternative to the young men who aspired to the 'fast life'. Mondli justified this as thinking about his future (see Appendix 2 Scape Model). Mondli expressed that he took an alternative position because of the immediate consequence of sexual-risk-taking as unplanned parenthood. There was a silence around other consequences of sexual risk-taking – HIV infection, health related issues or social consequences. By prioritising his future, Mondli constructed a coalitional position in which he maintained an identification with hegemonic ideals without conforming (or completely conforming) to hegemonic expectations. The coalitional position was created through a time sequence. He would first gain the economic means to be an independent provider/possessor before he could conform to hegemonic ideals of 'sexual conquest'. This narrative was in keeping with Mondli's perception that girls/women 'only wanted money' and that the only way to have a girlfriend was to 'buy' her. He seemed uninterested in becoming a' provider/possessor' like Sandile but aspired to being a 'player/possessor', as was Themba. Mondli's 'roadmap' to the player-possesor identity was somewhat different from Themba's narrative, however. He was more like Jabulani in this

regard, saying that he would attain immediate wealth as a soccer 'star'. Mondli set up a 'counter-hegemonic dichotomy'. Mondli defined the boys who wanted to live the 'fast life' as 'mommies' boys' who should stay at home watching television. This ironic 'inversion' of a hegemonic norm evoked laughter in the focus group yet appeared to be an interesting counter-resistance.

As stated, Sandile perceived that peers expected 'failure' and 'delays'. The reason for this was suggested by the demographic data in addition to Bheki's photographs and Jabulani's biographical interview. From the school grades recorded in the demographic data[12], it was clear that most of the boys had repeated at least one or more years of schooling. Jabulani was the only boy who said that he had repeated a year of school because of his medical condition but it was apparent from demographic data that the others had repeated grades or missed years of schooling (with the exception of Sandile). Bheki was in Grade 6 at and at an age when he would have been in Grade 8. His photographs of much younger school learners at the primary school he attended indicated this quite markedly (see Photograph 5). Lost' years of schooling highlighted the obstacles that these boys were likely facing in progressing through the education system and in striving for an acceptable masculinity. The 'standard' for attaining a future based on educational progress appeared to be markedly higher for these boys. The 'higher standard' could be further interpreted as creating a widening gap between the boys' current experience and goals of accomplishing an acceptable masculine self and identity in the future. 'Delays' implied that the attainment of educational success as a means to being a provider/possessor or player/possessor was a 'fight against time'.

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[12] For purposes of anonymity, demographic data was limited.

Photograph 8: Primary school (Bheki)

4.5.2. Sport as a spatial domain for masculinity.

It was clear across the data that sport was constructed as a spatialised 'site' or domain for masculinity. At this 'construction site', sport was associated with an embodied enactment of hegemonic ideals, the 'regulation' of masculinity through competition, contestation, 'exceptional performance' and conformity to the rules and norms of a sport. Soccer was the 'hegemonic sport' and appeared to be a collective identification where masculinity was regulated in a context where exceptional performance would be visible and the site clearly associated with masculine identity.

Soccer was the exclusive focus with the exception of Nkosinathi who also mentioned cricket. Strikingly, Sandile did not mention sport at all. This suggested that as most representative 'cheese boy', Sandile positioned sport as unimportant. This was contextual to Sandile's educational attainment as the only boy who was in Grade 10[13] and his emphasis on education as a 'cure' for his future. In contrast, at the extreme end of the 'streetwise' identity, Jabulani most foregrounded the idea of becoming a soccer star in the future. A context for this may have been that Jabulani was older than Sandile but was in a lower school grade. As suggested in the

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[13] Grades are numbered according to years of successful progress in school.

interviews, Sandile had relatively better material resources than Jabulani had. This also appeared to be so for the other 'cheese boys' Themba and Dumisani.

There was a sense of 'distance' between the boys' lived experience and sport as a site for positioning of a masculine self and identity. The photographs of sport were located exclusively indoors and were 'representations' (for example, posters of sporting celebrities and shoes in a sports shop). Although sport was definably identified as an outdoor activity, the representations were located indoors. All of the boys appeared to identify with soccer as a marker of masculinity. This took the form of a general statement that young men should or do play soccer and in the collective and individual admiration for soccer players, coaches and teams. However, it was only Dumisani and Nkosinathi who mentioned that they actually played soccer themselves whereas others spoke in very general terms or identified themselves as 'soccer supporters'. Interpretively, this suggested 'positional' differences. To play soccer was to be 'inside' whereas to support or admire soccer was to identify but to be relatively 'outside' of the performative 'site'. In dialogical terms and speculatively, perhaps the 'movement' of the hegemonic masculine self and identity was away from the 'centre' to a peripheral domain whereas non-hegemonic positions were a movement towards a 'centre'. The possible 'inversion' was that the' outside' domain of sport was represented in the indoors. This finding contrasted with previous research in which photographs of sport were outdoors (Blackbeard, 2005).

The absence of sporting activity in the outdoors may well have been a reflection of subjectivity and health constraints. But it should not be excluded that it may also have been a reflection on wider contextual conditions such as the lack of facilities for sport or the material circumstances in which purchasing sports kit was not possible for these boys.

Photograph 9: Poster of Kaizer Chiefs Soccer team (Themba)

Dumisani was the only boy to define an actual physical location for playing sport.

Interviewer M:	what do think is nice about being a young man?
Dumisani:	what's nice is that you get to play with other young people (.) who are your age (.) you can play and have fun (.) it's nice to be young
Interviewer M:	like what? what kind of games do you play?
Dumisani:	what games?
Interviewer M:	yes
Dumisani:	sometimes we walk, sometimes we ( ) and sometimes we just relax sometimes we play soccer on the soccer grounds near our homes
Interviewer M:	yes
Dumisani:	sometimes we dance (that is what we do)
Interviewer M:	so those are the things that you like the most about being a young man?
Dumisani:	yes

Extract 19: Dumisani (initial semi-structured interview)

As a tentative interpretation, an apparent 'disruption' in this text was the tone of surprise or hesitation when asking 'what games?' This was perhaps because Dumisani did not expect that the interviewer (who was also a support group facilitator) to ask this because he perceived that the expectation was that as an HIV positive young man he was not 'supposed' to play sport. He appeared to strengthen his position by referring to a collective, thereby taking a We-position. This may have been the belief that he had to present himself as being physically vulnerable, especially to a support group facilitator whose role was to maintain a 'protective wall' around the group. This exemplified the 'walled solution'. The boys were positioned as in need of 'protection', and in this space were able to accomplish distances from the hegemonic norms without 'losing face'.

The 'distance' between the boys and the embodied enactment of sport was apparent in Jabulani's photograph of sports shoes in a shop. Noteworthy here was that Jabulani's photographs were all of 'objects' – cars, clothes, computers (in the clinic) and a magazine advertisement for an expensive watch. This suggested a commodity masculinity in which hegemonic masculinity was defined by visible objects as signifiers. Jabulani's photographs and biographical drawing suggested a material reality of deprivation and poor housing conditions, interpretively there was a greater 'distance' between lived material reality and a commodified hegemonic masculinity.

Photograph 10: Sports shoes in a shop (Jabulani)

Sport came with a price tag, and owning a pair of trainers or soccer boots was probably very distant from the boys' material realities.

As a 'representation of a representation' the photograph placed an image of a celebrity standing on a grassless soccer pitch with goal posts in the background. Themba had represented sport as a domain for masculinity by taking a photograph of another photograph (the poster). The material context for this representation was the housing and living conditions of Themba's life in the township. The absence of other objects further suggested constrained economic resources. The outdoor spatial domain of sport was represented here and was on the 'inside'. This was unexpected, given previous research in which young men from a rural township had taken the cameras outdoors and photographed young men playing soccer or in peer social groups (Blackbeard, 2005).

Photograph 11: A representation within a representation (Themba)

Hall (2005) notes that historically, competitive team sport developed as a masculine space, a site at which a naturalised association is made between sporting performance and norms of toughness, competition, aggression and perhaps most importantly, a marginalisation of women. Certainly, in this present study, soccer was a key representation of masculine acceptability and

had the quality of a 'collective' voice of the peer group. It was likely but not completely evidenced that the boys managed an appearance of playing soccer or perhaps even that the 'collective' voice of the group maintained an illusion that the boys played soccer. Sandile's perception of peers was that they either encouraged him in what he termed a 'carry-on success' or that they were discouraging about 'expected delays'. Soccer was notably absent from Sandile's interviews and visual data, yet in the focus groups Sandile did position sport as protective of risks to a successful masculine identity.

Interviewer D:	(following on) how do you manage to not do the bad influences or join with those friends who say you must drink or smoke?
Sandile:	mina I can say uthi it's something that you focus on (.) that you not give you a <u>time</u> (.) to (.) maybe to have <u>time</u> to (.) to stick around with friends (.) that you will be <u>able</u> to <u>focus</u> on (.) like (.) playing <u>soccer</u> (.) you know <u>that</u> (.) after school you'll be in the gym (.) at about four and then come back at seven o'clock afternoon (.) and then at seven o'clock you come home (.) you <u>bath</u> and then you have some readings on your books (.) and then you sleep at about nine (.) and then on weekends you have a match somewhere else
Interviewer D:	so it sounds like being/taking part in sports is helping a young man a lot
Sandile:	not sports only [mmm] but in some <u>other</u> kinds of activities ( ) and studying <u>your</u> books

Extract 20: Sandile (focus group)

A possible interpretation was that Sandile constructed a defence against hegemonic masculinity, located in the townships, perceived similarly to those depicted in Jabulani's narratives. His positioning strategy was to keep a highly controlled routine with a linear 'trajectory' that pointed ultimately to the goal of being a possessor/provider through education and career. This had the

quality of a modified masculinity in which imperatives for masculinity were modified in ways that were less obviously identified with hegemonic masculinity. The mention of soccer was inconsistent with Sandile's narratives from the interviews, reflective writing and visual data. There was a 'disruption' to the text which suggested a breach or gap in the otherwise very defined narrative of Sandile accomplishing a commodified possessor/provider masculinity in the future.

In the focus group, soccer appeared as a way to mitigate against risk but still maintain some identification with hegemonic ideals and practices. After mentioning soccer almost as if it were compulsory to do so, Sandile returned to the narrative of himself as an achievement-orientated young man. This was a hint of ambivalence that was unusual in Sandile's narratives. Sandile mostly used a coalitional positioning that was strongly associated with an achievement narrative. For example, the contradictions of 'a real man takes risks' and 'a real man is an independent provider' was resolved in a coalition of 'I take a risk by being a non-conforming individual who focuses on my future success'.

The fragility of Sandile's coalition was present in the 'rigidity' of his over-controlled, sequenced activities, which could perhaps be easily destabilised. In relation to positioning, this had the character of a 'subtle hegemonic solution'. Sandile presented a public disidentification with hegemonic masculinity, specifically the township risk-taking version, but maintained a private identification with the hegemonic ideals of 'affluence' and 'influence' thereby producing a 'subtle hegemonic solution'. As evident in his description of a 'disciplined routine', Sandile's control over himself was 'instrumental', almost mechanistic, as if he was treating himself as an object and in non-relational ways. Returning to sport as a site for masculinity construction, there was not much to suggest that Sandile actually played soccer although the collective 'voice' seemed to disrupt Sandile at this point. It appeared that Sandile had set up a dichotomy between an individual 'successful' masculine self and a collective 'failed' masculine self. Sandile's masculine self and identity were located as living for the future as opposed to living in the present. This forward-moving I-position was teleogically driven by goals, fantasies and

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aspirations. The movement culminated in a 'modified' identification with a hegemonic ideal of autonomous self-sufficiency, control over women, financial independence and personal agency.

The boys' identification with soccer emphasised the performances of individuals as leading goal-scorers and star players. The emphasis was on how being a soccer star was based on exceptional and competitive performance. Exceptional and competitive performance brought financial gain and desirability culminating in masculine acceptability.

Interviewer M:	when do you feel confident that you are a real young man? (.) where you feel like a real man? (.) is there a specific time?
Dumisani:	maybe when I'm playing soccer and I scored many goals (.) more than the rest

Extract 21: Dumisani (initial semi-structured interview)

An interesting connection was made by Mondli, who described girls as liking 'clean' young men who had money. He then said that the way to obtain money was through soccer stardom. Star players were usually described as being young, rich and having girlfriends. Unlike the provider/possessor masculinity, the soccer star masculinity was more immediately 'available' because soccer stars were young 'players' with a swift rise to a hegemonic status and an unrestrained life.

Interviewer D:	and how is it for a young man to play soccer?
Themba:	it's good
Interviewer D:	why is it good?
Themba:	because you can be a soccer player when you grow up (.) and you (.) could go by (.) those big teams (.) ja like England and Germany ja you end up there (.) as a star (.) like Benny McCarthy
Interviewer D:	mm who is your role model as a young man?

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Themba:	he's a <u>young</u> <u>boy</u> who plays for Pirates (.) he plays soccer very well (.) ja
Interviewer D:	and why do you admire him?
Themba:	(.) he plays soccer very well (.) ja
Interviewer D:	and why do you admire him?
Themba:	(.) because he's still a young man (.) he can do whatever he wants

Extract 22: Themba (initial semi-structured interview)

It appeared that the soccer star image was a masculinity ideal that could be attained much more quickly than the achievement of an provider/possessor identity with a sudden rise to fame. The player/possessor protagonist was younger and more 'mobile' than the provider/possessor who had obtained hegemonic status through gradual achievement. Although the boys were close in age to the soccer stars they admired, becoming a star was highly exceptional and the leap far greater than the gradual rise of the 'cheese boys'. However, the function of the hegemonic soccer star masculinity was not its empirical reality but in its representation as an ideal reinforced by it unattainability. Read in this way, the soccer star masculinity was a 'set up for failure' from the start, as the hegemonic standard was seldom accomplished other than by the exceptional few. This suggested that there were boys/men who attained all the external markers of a hegemonic masculinity at a certain point. However, it could be argued that because hegemonic masculinity is about 'double-binds' and 'moving the goalposts', there is never certainty about whether an individual has ever actually attained it. In contrast with the narrative of becoming a father, provider and owner, the soccer star ideal made available the possibility of actualising a hegemonic standard as a man but still being a 'young boy'. The term 'young boy' was used by Themba and represented a different set of ideals as a youthful player/possessor rather than a provider/possessor.

4.5.3. The township as a spatial domain for masculinity.

The boys generally described life in the townships as challenging, risky and at times very unsafe. Male peer groups in the townships were perceived to be threatening and perpetrators of criminal activities. Jabulani described the need for a young man to be 'known' for something, having a 'unique' notoriety perhaps, in order to gain 'respect' from other young men in the township. According to Jabulani, reputations among peers were built on being 'out of control' individuals, risk-taking, using drugs, alcohol and engaging in illegal activities. Jabulani distanced himself from these young men through a coalition of positions. Faced with a contradiction between the hegemonic ideal that 'a young man takes risks' (out of control, drug using, drinking, stealing) and the position that 'I-as-an-HIV-positive-young-man have to take care of my health', Jabulani used a coalitional position of 'I can control myself'. This utilised the hegemonic standard of independence and toughness that maintained a private identification with hegemonic masculinity. However, this was done without risk to health that conforming to expectations might involve Jabulani returned several times to the event when he had resisted being offered alcohol in explaining how he had taken his own stand.

Jabulani:	my friend offered me a drink/I was able to not listen to them not to be someone who does things because of friendships [mm]
Interviewer:	mhm
Jabulani:	'yilokho okungajabulusile' that is what made me happy
Interviewer:	'ukuthi sewuyakwazi ukuthi uzenzelkel izinto' that you can do your own things?
Jabulani:	'ngizicontrole' I control myself

Extract 23: Jabulani (biographical interview)

There were two versions of this story. In this version, Jabulani constructed his resistance to the hegemonic ideal (risk-taking) with the juxtaposition of another hegemonic ideal (self-sufficient toughness). In another version, Jabulani constructed his resistance as physical aggression and depicted this in the biographical drawing. Here, he acted upon the same ideal (self-sufficient toughness) but with a loss of control, suggesting that his individual coalitional positioning was conflicted. It appeared that he attempted with some tension and ambivalence to maintain a hegemonic identification without the associated risks.

Jabulani: I/I/I was still at school (.) still at school (.) it means I had a conflict with some guys because they wanted to force me to drink we then argued and had a fight ( )

Extract 24: Jabulani (biographical interview)

Between these two versions, the issue of 'control' was central. The narrative portrayed peers as trying to control the protagonist (Jabulani) by forcing him to drink. Jabulani's resistance was primarily through being in control of himself or, somewhat in contradiction, losing control and acting aggressively. In the spatial domain of the township streets, Jabulani relied on himself in resisting the pressure to conform to a hegemonic norm yet seemed to accomplish this by relying on another hegemonic norm, that of self-sufficient toughness. The likely reason why Jabulani had to resist the hegemonic imperative to drink alcohol was because he was HIV positive and he seemed to be very aware that he had to protect his health. In controlling himself, he was treating himself as an object that needed restraint, a process that related to hegemonic norms of control over others and the idea that boys/men have drives that need to be controlled. It is suggested that coalitional positioning can be both collective and individual. Jabulani's use of the I-statement 'ngizicontrole' seemed to be a more tenuous resistance than had it been from a collective We-position. Relying on himself only, Jabulani had difficulty maintaining a consistent resistance to hegemonic imperatives. In contrast with Jabulani's use of coalitioning to establish an individual I-position, the boys using the 'walled solution' relied quite largely on making collective coalitions (We-positions) between the constraints of living with HIV and hegemonic imperatives.

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Jabulani's conflicts and dilemmas illustrate the challenges for masculinity positioning at the intersection with HIV as a condition and identity.

Jabulani's individual coalitional positioning was easily destabilised, and his attempts to 'stand on his own' failed (see Appendix 2 Scape Model). In another part of Jabulani's narrative, the fighting became a We-statement which suggested that Jabulani's I-position (I-coalition) and failed and that a collective hegemonic position that permitted aggression 'took over'. This evidenced the power of hegemonic collective positions in contrast with isolated I-positions. This implied that counter-hegemonic (or alternative) masculinity may also be supported better through collective positions and identifications.

Sandile also used 'control' as a means to sustain a distance from hegemonic norms of the township masculinity which he associated with peers who would miss school, go to the township taverns and commit theft. In contrast with Jabulani's 'reactive' use of control, Sandile's used control 'preventatively' by living in a very controlled, 'structured' and future-directed way. In contrast with Jabulani's stance as a self-sustaining individual, Sandile referred to friends who 'helped' him to make good choices. Although the end-goal for Sandile was also a hegemonic ideal of commodity masculinity, there appeared to be collective positions that supported his personal hegemonic ideals. Perhaps this meant that Sandile benefited from his HIV positive identity by being able to receive support and that this gave him a collective position from which he could 'prove' masculinity through exceptional achievement. Sandile maintained a further distance from the township masculinity than Jabulani did, and was less likely to 'give in' to this version of hegemonic masculinity through his strong identification with aspirational young masculinity. Jabulani's coalitional positioning seemed to be more 'individual' than Sandile and was more about immediate consequences than future goals, as he mostly portrayed himself as a resolute individual taking a stand against (certain) hegemonic practices. At times, Sandile's coalition of positions was also very individual and appeared to lack any form of collective positioning. At other points, he 'anchored' his coalitional positions outside of the dominant I-position ('I can choose to be a successful man in the future'). The risk of the former was an

over-reliance on the voiced I-positions whereas the latter allowed for metapositioning as explained below.

Interviewer D:	what (.) do you like <u>best</u> about being a young man?
Sandile:	it's that you <u>choose</u> your own way to live or the way that you handle other kinds of circumstances (2)
Interviewer D:	what makes you happy about being a young man?
Sandile:	it's that I'm now able to make my <u>own</u> choices and decisions and how to <u>control</u> my life as it is (.) making sure how to live the kind of life I like to live (.) in (the) future

Extract 25: Sandile (initial semi-structured interview)

This interview was prompted by the reflective writing task which perhaps emphasised individual positioning. The reflective writing task was an individual activity that took place outside the clinic. Had the boys done the reflective writing at the research site, the writing may have been more closely identified with the collective positions at this site. As suggested previously, Sandile had formed a fairly 'strong' coalition where he identified with aspirational young masculinity. This coalitional position was also somewhat vulnerable because of his polarised views on success and failure, good friends and bad friends, progress and delays. In the initial interview, Sandile presented the same coalitional position but added processes of metapositioning (gaining the perspective of older people or talking to a counsellor) as a means of sustaining positions that differed from township young masculinity.

| Interviewer S: | (following on) how can you prevent yourself not to take those (.) eh eh alcohol and kind of thing. (.) how can you prevent yourself (.) to do such a thing? what will keep you from doing this? |
| Sandile: | it's not considerate if some/other drinkers (.) like (.) people who abuse alcohol, who smoke dagga a lot because that can cause you to say please give me some |

Interviewer S:	okay
Sandile:	I want to smoke, I want to drink
Interviewer S:	okay
Sandile:	and that can (complicate) your life
Interviewer S:	okay
Sandile:	if you (.) sit next to people: who drink a lot it can be challenge
Interviewer S:	oh (.) to prevent it you are/ you don't have to be involved with people who are involved (with drinking) ( ) as far as I understand you can choose who you want to live with
Sandile:	yes
Interviewer S:	so you need to choose right people.
Sandile:	it's your life/it's your choice

Extract 26: Sandile (initial semi-structured interview)

It was evident that there was 'as much' of Interviewer S as Sandile in this dialogue. This could be seen as a 'convergence' around a collective voice (rather than what seemed more obviously an imposition of the interviewer's perception). It looked as if both Sandile and the Interviewer were speaking from a collective position and it seemed likely that this was a narrative that was taken up in the support group (choosing the right friends, making healthy decisions). It was notable that this was Interviewer S, who seemed to 'ventriloquate' the collective and perhaps 'centralised' voice of the support group. This was further confirmed by the 'collective' voice of the support group, in which Mondli's contributions appeared to be quite representative. In the groups, Mondli voiced the position that rejected the 'fast life' by arguing that young men should think before taking risks, that they should focus on their future and that peers could get him 'into trouble'. An interesting discrepancy however, was that in individual interviews, Mondli voiced a contradictory position, that young men who were fashionable and had money could 'buy' girlfriends. Speculatively, the focus group provided a context of metapositioning whereas in the individual interview, Mondli reverted to less stable I-positions that matched the player/possessor

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version. This discrepancy also suggested that there were multiple positions of masculinity and that these were articulated within the self-system as multiple speaking positions.

In the spatial domain of the township (as a site for masculinity construction), the word 'respect' was central. Themba used 'respect' to define how the soccer-playing boys related to each other, and that he earned 'respect' from his male peers by playing soccer. Although there was a performative aspect to this, it was slightly unusual in the data for soccer to be represented in this way as a relational activity.

'Respect' was a relational term which was unusual in that the masculine selves and identity were mostly constructed instrumentally and performatively rather than through relationship. Jabulani used parallel contexts for the word 'respect' and in the reframing a stronger coalition than the others he had used emerged. Firstly, he perceived the 'out of control' boys to have respect among peers but this was reframed as' reputation', a young man must be 'known for something' to have a reputation. Secondly, he framed 'respect' as the respect of others in the community, the adults and the children. With regard to this second meaning of respect, Jabulani managed two motivations, one was to gain the reciprocal benefits of respecting others (that his parents would buy him nice clothes) and the other that he valued respect. Together, these bolstered his intention to be a young man who respected and was respected. Valuing respect also had a possibility as a solution for hegemonic masculinity that was based on principles and values (the 'principled solution') rather than necessity and constraint (the 'walled solution').

Jabulani used 'respect' to identify with a commodity masculinity in which a young man was defined by what he owned. In Jabulani's identification, commodity masculinity had the clearly problematic implications of financial control over women, treating women and family as 'things' to be possessed. Again, this construction of gender relations was based on instrumentality and not on relationship.

Interviewer S: what are the ways that you can be respected without using drugs?

Jabulani:	maybe with grown ups, you must respect them and not be a rude child (.) and also/ maybe they don't see you everyday sitting with boys that smoke/ you see (.) (and when you sit with them you think that smoking is nice.) if you don't take drugs (.) you don't drink and smoke
Interviewer S:	(.) so you can become respected without taking drugs: especially to the older people they respect you ( )?
Jabulani:	and young children, if they see that I don't have a job but I'm smoking (.) if maybe a little kid goes to the shop to buy a (straw) and asks for a rand ( )

Extract 27: Jabulani (initial semi-structured interview)

In this initial interview it was evident (as elsewhere in the data), that the interviewers were already revealing their own positions. Here the revealed position was Interviewer S's principled solution of valuing respect in the township communities as part of acceptable masculinity. Interviewer S's use of the plural 'communities' may have prompted the interviewees to think in terms of differences and this in a way that revealed his own position. In several instances, Interviewer S revealed a position that avoiding HIV risks meant taking a stand on the basis of principles and values, and he also articulated a very similar principled stand in relation to the imperatives of hegemonic masculinity.

At this point in the interviewing, it appeared that Jabulani positioned himself as a 'child' rather than a 'young man' when he referred to the respect from the 'grown ups' and the 'children'. This could be interpreted as a 'child I-position' that was evident for example in the statement that if he behaved respectfully, his parents would buy him nice clothes. In the biographical interview, Jabulani revealed that his parents were deceased, a discrepancy which was poignant and clearly meaningful for interpreting the data. Living in an emotionally unprotected environment with uncles, Jabulani's experience of the community was as a 'parental' influence. This had the suggestion of an unconscious process as he did not appear to make that association

himself but it emerged from the dialogue. Jabulani spoke from a 'child I-position' when describing his experience as a child who had lost his father in a motor vehicle accident at age 11 and his mother from HIV-related illness at age 12.

'Child I-positions' could be identified elsewhere in the data and appeared to be a way of positioning against hegemonic masculinity in a context of vulnerability, in the sense not only of physical health but the social and emotional aspects of living with HIV. This positioning' (or 'coping') was present elsewhere in the data and whether this was meant as coping with the demands of masculinity or living with HIV (or both) was an issue for interpretation. There were other examples of 'child I- positions' in the spatial context of the township. Nkosinathi situated the word 'respect' in his relationships with his grandmother and aunt. As with Jabulani, both of Nkosinathi's parents were deceased, and his descriptions of grandmother, aunt and family had the impression of a 'protective circle' around him where he was able to voice a child-position and be reliant on his family members. Such dependence was likely to conflict with hegemonic ideals that young men should be independent and invulnerable. The loss of parents may have emphasised to the young men the critical importance of maintaining their health. Nkosinathi also emphasised his distance from the townships boys much as Sandile did. Like Jabulani, he spoke about parents even though he knew he no longer had his biological parents. This is illuatrated in the reflective writing interview below.

Interviewer D:	is there anything else that you wrote?
Nkosinathi:	I chose parent because parents can help me with my <u>particular</u> problems
Interviewer D:	mm (.) tell me about your parents how they help you?
Nkosinathi:	they help me (.) they help me with <u>studies</u> at school and (.) they help me (.) they help me to make a <u>right</u> <u>choice</u>

Extract 28: Nkosinathi (reflective writing interview)

It could be seen that the township was a spatial domain in which masculinity ideals and practices that put the boys at risk for being victims of crime were the same as those that enabled boys to be perpetrators. For example, Dumisani was mugged when he was being a provider (buying paraffin for his mother with money from his business) and the boys who stole his money were also accomplishing material means to autonomy. Jabulani's aggressive response to coercion highlighted the convergence of norms in producing risk of being both a victim and perpetrator of crime

4.5.4. Commodities as signifiers of masculinity.

Following on from the interpretation of the township as a spatial 'site', commodities were signifiers of masculinity positioning for both township peer hegemonic masculinity. For township peer masculinity, commodities were signifiers of a sudden rise to success in the near future. In aspirational hegemonic masculinity, commodities were signifiers of a financially independent future. The collective masculine identities voiced or implied in the interviews located commodity masculinities as significant markers of a 'successful' masculine self and identity. For example, in one of the focus groups there was reference to having branded clothing in contrast with clothing from retail franchises. The significance of these commodity masculinities was that positioning involved material realities and the actual availability of financial resources to purchase 'branded' masculinity and not only perceptions. There was a 'collision' between hegemonic masculinity defined by visible consumption and the material realities in which these hegemonic ideals were not fully unattainable, or at least perceived to be unattainable in the present. For the 'streetwise boy', the route to commodity masculinity was exceptional performance (the soccer star) and for the 'cheese boy' it was through a consistent striving for educational accomplishment leading to a good career. A commonality of each of these was that the hegemonic masculinity was accomplished instrumentally and not relationally.

As previously mentioned, Jabulani's photographs were focused on commodities (clothes, watch, cars, computers in the clinic) and there was coalitional positioning in which becoming financially agentive was the means of 'purchasing' a successful, hegemonic masculinity. In Jabulani's

narratives around resisting risk-taking imperatives, 'consequences' figured prominently as immediate barriers to making his health a priority. In focus group discussion, Jabulani located being able to provide for parents rather than a future wife and children. In Jabulani's 'player/possessor' narrative becoming financially independent was obtainable through dramatic success as a soccer player or celebrity.

Themba located risk-taking sexual behaviours as having an immediate consequence that impeded becoming a successful, financially 'able' man in the future. Themba's narrative was very similar to Sandile's narrative of success through education. In contrast with Jabulani, Sandile added 'responsibility' to the idea that negative consequences of risk behaviours would lead to a 'failed' masculinity. Sandile's notion of responsibility was primarily associated with responsibility for himself and to his parents. Sandile's perceived responsibility was that he should 'repay' his parents for supporting him through his education. However, this suggested a contractual relationship with parents consistent with his general narrative of becoming an independent provider. This 'contractual' relationship differed somewhat from Sandile's representation of his parents in the biographical interview where the relationship was described with emotional depth. Sandile lived alone with his father, who was away a lot of the time. His mother and the rest of the family lived far away in a rural area – a situation he described as very difficult for him at an emotional level. Instead of the narrative of 'repayment', Sandile expressed his distress that he had so little personal support and that he missed being part of a larger family context.

Interviewer M:	who passed away? your stepmother?
Sandile:	my stepmother
Interviewer M:	o:kay: (.) when was that?
Sandile:	mm in two thousand and two (1) ((break in tape))
	in ninety ninety ei:ght: (.) and at school I'm doing well ja fine
	[mm] but <u>now</u> (.) I live with my fa:ther (.) and myself <u>only</u> but
	that's a bit challenging cause if you are not living with like both
	parents (.) it's a real big challenge for me
Interview M:	in what way ((break in recording))

Sandile: like when you are having some sort of problems you don't have a
                            person to talk to because as my father does not <u>full</u> <u>time</u> live
                            with me (.) I sometimes get problems like when I'm having a
                            problem ( ) somebody to talk to [mm:] I am not able to talk to my
                            father (.) because he's away: he's working

Extract 29: Sandile (biographical interview)

In this extract, there appeared to be two versions of Sandile's narratives, one as an 'independent young man' and the other as an 'isolated young man'. These were not necessarily unrelated because in his current situation Sandile had little support and had to 'rely' on himself a great deal. Yet, it appeared that Sandile portrayed these two identities as very separate. At times however, there emerged a 'third position' from the tension between 'I as a young man am self-reliant' and 'I as a young man who is HIV positive need support'. The 'third position' was the I-position of 'I as an HIV positive young man can rely on my culture to protect me'. This third position placed 'rely' in a traditional ethnically based context where the word appeared to have a legitimate place, in contrast with the ideal of self-sufficiency characteristic of both township young masculinity and apirational hegemonic masculinity. While it was true that the boys were focused on educational success as a key to the future, with becoming the hegemonic provider as the objective, it also seemed that more generally for many of the boys the only means of escape from deprived material conditions was through education. It was not only the 'cheese boys' who believed that education would create opportunities to actualise a commodified masculinity among other things, although it was among the 'cheese boys' Dumisani, Sandile and Themba that this narrative was most central.

It was not surprising therefore that Jabulani had taken photographs of cars, watches, sports shoes and cell phones, given that these items were 'markers' of a commodity-based masculinity. These markers would possibly be very difficult for him to obtain, and perhaps there was a perceived resentment towards the 'cheese boys' who had at least some access to these signifiers. As with other narratives, there was also a sense of unattainability. The reality that Bheki and Nkosinathi

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had repeated more than a year of schooling made the prospect of attaining a consumer masculinity through education very unlikely. The end objective was to become an independent provider who would attain manhood through the material means to provide and possess women or alternatively become a consumer 'player' who had access to multiple girlfriends. As discussed, the 'player' and 'provider' were not unrelated (both involved objectifying and contractuality in relationships) and some of the boys were ambivalent about which direction they wanted to take.

Photograph 12: Commodified and material realities (Jabulani)

Jabulani's photograph of displayed clothing suggested a distance between the aspirations to a commodity masculinity and his reality of limited material resources. It was quite striking that the boys photographed clothes instead of having photographs of wearing the clothes. This suggested an 'objectification' that gave the clothing an intrinsic value outside of any other function that clothing might have, for example, as a means of self-expression, an expression of a youth identity. Perhaps the clothes were without any individual meaning or embodiment as their existence outside of any personal context was sufficient to define a hegemonic position.

Photograph 13: Commodities representing masculinity (Themba)

The similarity between shoes and cars as emblematic of a certain version was that each represented mobility and status, although this association may lack sufficient grounding in the data. Whether a clothing brand or a make of motor car, branded commodities represented a hegemonic masculinity based in competition and comparison. For boys without material means to own or drive a car in the near future, branded shoes may have represented an aspirational mobility associated with status or power.

4.5.5. Schools as spatialised domains for masculinity.

Schools were represented in three of the four biographical drawings and schools were depicted in photographs by two of the participants and mentioned by all of the participants. It is significant that the drawings and most of the photographs were produced outside of the clinic, suggesting that schools were significant domains of masculine self-construction.

As has been mentioned, a 'speaking silence' in the interview data was that most of the boys were a year or more below their school grades. Jabulani and Nkosinathi did mention that they had missed a year of school but there was not much exploration of what this meant for them in relation to young masculinity. Several of the boys identified education as very significant for accomplishing success in the future and that focusing on studies would mitigate against the

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demands for conformity to the risk-taking township masculinity. This was a dominant collective voice in the focus group discussions, largely voiced by Sandile but also echoed by others. Interviewer S also appeared to strongly identify with the narrative of education as a means towards a better life, sometimes prompting interviewees to produce this narrative. Sandile gave an education a spatialised position by referring to studying as 'keeping close to his books'.

Interviewer S:	(paraphrasing Sandile) okay (2) a person who thinks for the future is the person who <u>keeps</u> close to his or her books
Interviewer D:	keeps close to his education (.) <u>why</u> is this?
Sandile:	because it's ( ) I thinks it's a <u>thing</u> of a slogan that says education's the cure for success or education's the cure of your future (.) as Nkosinathi says you can be able to <u>do</u> everything you like when you are <u>educated</u>

Extract 30: Sandile (focus group)

Sandile's 'ventriloquation' of this collective position was further actualised by the invocation of a slogan. The use of the word 'cure' in the slogan raised the question of whether this was a 'cure' for the challenges of HIV living or was addressed to a broader township youth culture of fatalism. The trajectory of the 'education-as-the-cure' narrative, most defined in Sandile's narratives, involved an inversion of limitation and freedom. Sandile constructed education as a route to freedom in which he had to live within regulated limits.

At a point in Jabulani's initial interview he voiced a 'regressed' I-position in relation to the adults in the community where he was not a young man but a child, protected by community norms of respect. Returning to this idea, Bheki's explanations of his school photographs suggest the voicing of this 'younger' I-position.

Interviewer M :	yes
Bheki:	this is my school's name (.) (2) another one?

Interviewer M :	no you can carry on with that one if there is more that you want to tell me about the photo ( )
Bheki:	( ) well it's just my school, (.) here it's my teacher teaching me
Interviewer M:	what does your teacher mean to you as a young man?
Bheki :	here?
Interviewer M:	yes. (4) why is it important to you?
Bheki:	it's important in many ways.
Interviewer M:	in what ways?
Bheki:	because she is a mother at school/ she is a mother when she is at school
Interviewer M:	and what else?
Bheki:	and she also teaches us nicely, (.) she does not shout at us

Extract 31: Bheki (photo-elicitation interview)

Photograph 14:'she is a mother when she is at school'(Bheki)

Bheki's perception of the teacher as a mother had similarity with the others in the relationship of a child I-position with a parental position. Cultural meanings of 'mother' are of course important as a context for interpreting this narrative. Bheki voiced an individual position of feeling safe as

a child with a mother but then made efforts to emphasise that she was a 'mother when ... at school'. The words written on the board in the photograph were 'financial manager, production, purchasing and public' and although this may not have been the point of the photograph, business terminology would have been very relevant to Bheki as money was quite central for him (discussed further on). An interesting contrast was that in the focus group discussion, Bheki had depicted another version of a relationship with mothers. Here, he devalued the 'fast life' boys who took sexual risks without thinking first, those trying to live the 'fast life' were in fact (quite ironically) the 'mommies' boys'.

Interviewer S: (paraphrasing) they end up being a father or mother at a young age and/ they end up being a father or a mother at a young age and eh/ not completing school

Interviewer D: the guys who don't think a lot (.) what are those guys like (.) those that don't think too much?

Bheki: they are mommies' boys ( ) they always watching TV
((laughter from the group))

Extract 32: Bheki (focus group)

The 'inversion' was that boys who conformed to hegemonic masculinity with sexual risk-taking were defined as less masculine 'mommies' boys', dependent in some way and unable to think for themselves. The laughter from the group suggested that this was a fairly valued collective position. This was an interesting contrast because Bheki cast the young men who behaved more hegemonically (the 'fast life' boys) as actually being unmasculine whereas he identified with young men who could think for themselves. Bheki's construction framed responsibility as a kind of autonomy. There was an emotional complexity here, and it was uncertain just how ambivalent the boys felt about mothers, given that most of the boys had experienced the loss of a parent. At least some of the boys may have been infected through mother-to-child transmission although this data was not collected for various reasons, primarily to maintain anonymity.

There seemed to be a similar process to Jabulani's construction of respect in the community in what could be called Nkosinathi's 'protective circle'. Jabulani had fleetingly suggested that an alternative to positioning at an intra-individual level was that he could distance himself from risk-taking peers through respecting his community and being respected by his community. Jabulani's subjective community was almost as a protective circle or family. In this 'circle', he wanted to earn the respect of parental adults and be an example for younger children. This suggested something of a 'principled solution' as described elsewhere. Perceiving the community as a protective space, the potential was that Jabulani would no longer have to manage distances in the autonomous ways that he had mentioned and appeared to have been his main strategy. In both Dumisani's and Sandile's biographical drawings schools were depicted and in both of these there was spatialised 'movement' towards the school. This 'movement' suggested that these boys valued education and that there was a linear trajectory leading to the school as depicted in the drawings. In contrast, Jabulani's depicted school from the outside with himself lying horizontally because of epileptic seizures. There was a similarity between the depiction of himself and in spaces that were enclosed and located in time.

Detail 1: Vulnerability (Jabulani)   Detail 2: Toughness (Jabulani)
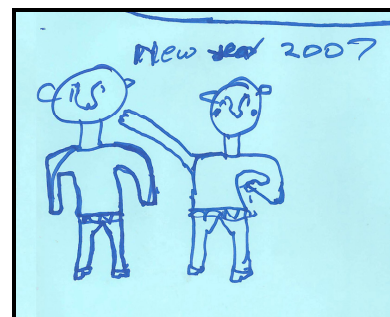
It is suggested that at an unconscious level, the horizontal figure was not only a depiction of the event but also a suggestion of a fear and powerlessness that was below the surface of Jabulani's tough and autonomous self-presentation. Comparison between Detail 1 and Detail 2 from Jabulani's drawing suggested a contrast between a 'tough and autonomous' position and a vulnerabile position experienced with anxiety. These details alongside the other data again suggested that one of Jabulani's solutions was a 'fragile hegemonic solution' maintained through

coalitional positioning. Jabulani dialogued two contradictory I-positions, finding a way for them to 'cooperate' with one another. Agreement was created between 'I as an HIV positive young man and vulnerable' and 'I as a tough and independent young man'. Jabulani's 'coalition' was to reconcile being vulnerable with being tough and independent. He did this performatively by behaving in tough and independent ways to vigorously protect his health.
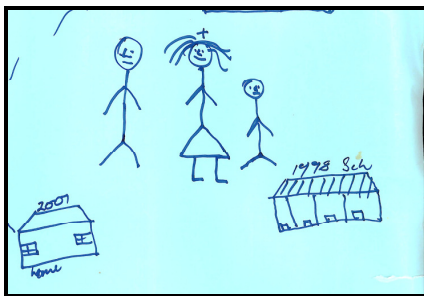
Detail 3: School (Sandile)   Detail 4: School (Dumisani)
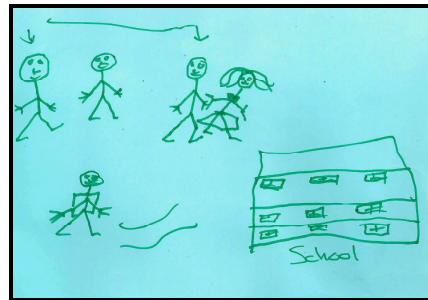
These coalitions could not always be sustained it appeared and at times the public and private identifications with individual toughness and autonomy could not be reconciled with very real vulnerabilities and anxieties. Coalitional positioning did not always maintain a distance from the harsh realities that Jabulani experienced as a young man with chronic medical conditions, multiple losses and difficult living conditions. At the intersection of being HIV positive and being a young man, identifications and alignments with hegemonic masculinity were managed, dialogued and modified, but these were also contextual within social and material conditions.

Detail 3 from Sandile's drawing was quite similar to Jabulani's and depicted the house in the township, his father, stepmother (deceased) and himself, and the school. As with Jabulani's father, the cross indicated that Sandile's stepmother had died. The representation and inclusion of lost loved ones should not be understood outside of cultural meanings. The inclusion of deceased loved ones suggested the importance of internalised significant others in the self-system and perhaps more broadly in cultural and spiritual terms. The dates above clearly indicated locations in time and perhaps there was relevance in the date above the school, given that Sandile valued his educational attainment despite the fact that there were friends who expected 'delays' and 'failure'.

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Dumisani's depiction of school was located closely in the drawing with a depiction of moving into a relationship with a girlfriend. The direction of 'movement' was both towards the school and towards an intimate relationship. Dumisani had drawn three figures to represent himself, himself as a young man without a girlfriend, as a young man with a girlfriend and as a school learner moving towards the school. In all four biographical drawings there were several figures representing self-positions located in different spaces and times. This had important implications for interpretations, given that if the self consisted of relatively autonomous multiple speaking positions, each version of the self depicted in the drawings or in various interview narratives showed quite clearly that individuals experienced and expressed multiple, coherently linked I-positions. This would account for the ways in which individuals appeared to have different, sometimes contradictory positions in relation to hegemonic masculinity. These multiple positions could present concurrently in the self-system although they may have been located differently in spatio-temporal and interactional contexts.

During the course of the data collection there was a national educators strike and schooling had been disrupted. Bheki perceived that the strike had been a problem and Themba said that he had stopped attending school during the strike. Themba and Mondli identified with wanting to become teachers. Themba wanted to become a teacher so that he could earn enough to buy a car. In a focus group, Mondli said that he found it very difficult to go to school because he was very tired (which was most likely linked with medical conditions) and that he generated income by selling sweets at his school. This highlighted how the HIV condition could be an obstacle for the embodiment of masculinity ideals and practices.

As a spatial domain for masculine self and identity, the school was a site for the recurrent narrative of education creating opportunities for successful masculinity. A major challenge for these boys was non-attendance at school or repeating grades in the context of health problems. This presented a barrier to accomplishing masculinity ideals via the education narrative, particularly for the boys who identified strongly with aspirational young masculinity. As in Bheki's narrative, educators could be 'social parents' and could assist in consolidating positions

outside of hegemonic imperatives of both township masculinity and a related context of a fatalistic youth culture. At various levels, educational attainment was valued as a means for masculine acceptability at a site that was 'outside' the township site, where young masculinity was constructed around risk-taking, alcohol and drug abuse, crime and violence.

4.5.6. Tradition and culture in the construction of masculinity.

Appeals to tradition as a means to justify hegemonic norms was not as apparent or obvious as had been expected. Masculinity ideals, practices and imperatives might be easily justified with appeals to tradition but the participants did not appear to do this. Instead masculine identities were positioned within consumer culture, township youth culture and aspirations for a commodity masculinity. Hegemonic tropes such as 'a man provides for his family', 'girls do the domestic work' and 'a young man should be tough' could have easily drawn on a tradition narrative but this was not the case. Ethnic identities were hardly mentioned with the only exception being in a focus group when Sandile argued that ethnically-based culture was a guideline for how a young man should live. On the basis of other research, it was anticipated that the boys would make more use of traditional narratives than they did to support hegemonic positions. This may have been because the boys were of a younger generation than other studies and the context was urban.

> Interviewer S: (translating) what is good for us as black people of South Africa (.) is we have our cultural beliefs that sustain us from doing anything wrong because if you rely on cultures you can see that in our country there is crime and everything but our cultures doesn't allow us to go to those kind of things so if you ( ) if you rely on your culture it will keep you safe from doing all those kinds of thing ( )
>
> Interviewer D: what are some things in cultural beliefs that help you to stay safe (.) or help your friends to stay safe?

Sandile:	it teaches (.) or it gives more knowledge (.) about the <u>consequences</u> of living in this country (.) or of being a young man (.) to be a <u>growing</u> young man (.) <u>how</u> to live your life (.) how to sustain (.) how to make a <u>better</u> future (.) for your life (.) or for your family (.) or to <u>anybody</u> around you

Extract 33: Sandile (focus group)

This part of an initial interview was very difficult to interpret. Interviewer S revealed his own position by enthusiastically endorsing Sandile's view in his translation and this was very apparent in the audio-recording, and this made it difficult to separate what was Sandile's content from that introduced by the interviewer. Sandile's appeal to culture was interesting in relation to other aspects of the data as culture was externalised. Sandile portrayed culture as 'something' that could prevent and protect. This was much the same as the way several participants (including Sandile) had externalised and personified HIV as protective. Sandile's culture narrative had similarity with the 'walled solution' in that a collective position (in this case culture) created an alternative space that was defended against certain hegemonic masculinities. Just as being HIV positive enabled a legitimate 'exit' from hegemonic standards of risk-taking, so here an articulation of 'culture' created leverage to distance I-positions from hegemonic imperatives. Sandile's rendition of culture was an externalised collective position that had a protective and parental quality not unlike some of the portrayals of HIV as a condition or 'voice' of limitation that both constrained and protected.

Sandile's biographical drawing depicted the distance between his 'two lives'. The first was his life with his mother and family in the rural area and his second life was living with his father and stepmother in the urban township. Sandile portrayed himself as a young child at the rural home, then as an older child with his father and stepmother (who was deceased and indicated with a cross). Sandile then depicted his current self as an isolated individual with a music system. This suggested that there were multiple I-positions available to Sandile which included both representations of self and of others. It is suggested that Sandile's appeal to traditional

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masculinity was located in the rural home (and in past nostalgia) whereas his identifications with a commodity masculinity was located in his present situation of harsh social conditions.

house in rural area road father first township house younger self

youngest self family in rural area current self smaller school
(skateboard) (mother, grandmother, cousins) (with music) township
house

step-mother
(deceased)
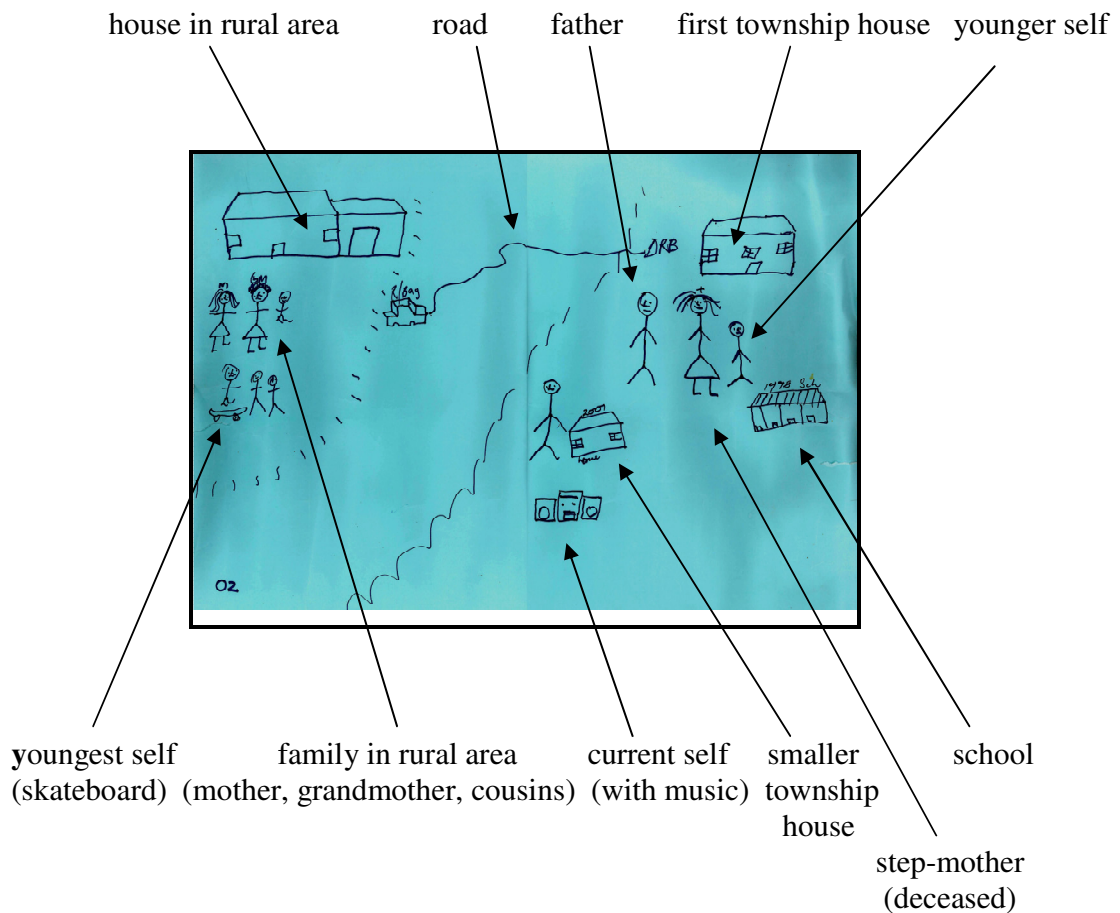
Biographical drawing: Sandile

Interviewer M :	okay tell me about ( ) <u>good</u> times (.) good times that you ha:ve
Sandile:	good times I have erm (.) mostly I have good times when I used to live at [Place Name] (1) because at [Place Name] I used to live with my: brothers my cousins and if you live with your o:ther relatives [mm] it's when you have lot of good times but when you're not living with your re:latives or somebody who's closer to you [mm] you don't have a <u>quality</u> good time
Interviewer M:	okay: ay (1) so who are the most important people in your life?

Sandile:	(.) I can say ay: my family (.) I can not <u>elaborate</u> who and who
Interviewer M:	eh::
Sandile:	but it's my <u>family</u>
Interviewer M:	is most important to you:: mm

Extract 34: Sandile (biographical interview)

Sandile's identification with commodity masculinity was different from this narrative in which he presented a 'relational' depiction of his lived experience. Much of Sandile's narratives had been identified with an aspirational young masculinity, for example 'I am mostly a young man when I exercise choice'. The dominant narrative was a trajectory of education, career and becoming an independent provider who 'owned' a wife, family, car and house. In contrast, this voiced position was about relationship and appeared to be connected spatially and symbolically with his narratives of tradition as an external guide.

4.6. Constructions of girls/women and the HIV context

There were similarities across all of the interviews in how girls were represented. Some level of ambivalence towards girls was apparent in most of the boys' narratives with very few exceptions. As a general pattern, this ambivalence was often accompanied by a dichotomous description of girls as falling into two categories. These categories could be as 'respectful' and 'disrespectful' girls, 'trustworthy' or 'untrustworthy' girls, or girls who were 'good influences' and girls who were 'bad influences'. The most apparent contrast in the data was between the individual interviews and the focus groups. In the focus groups, boys presented more disparaging views of girls than in the individual interviews which suggested that girls were marginalised as different ('othered'). In both focus groups and individual interviews the tendency was to put girls into polarised categories and this 'splitting' appeared to be a way to manage ambivalence towards girls. In contrast with discussions of girls in the focus groups, more vulnerable and complex perceptions were apparent in the individual interviews. These points are developed further with examples from the data.

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Themba, Dumisani and Nkosinathi each represented girls as being in one of two categories. A nuance in the data was whether or not there were divisions between which category represented 'some' girls and which were 'most' girls. Themba divided girls into 'cherries' and 'responsible girls' with 'cherries' being in the majority. A subtlety was that Themba voiced that the 'cherries' were the minority but it was implicit rather than stated that the 'responsible girls' were the majority. The dichotomous categories were also partially present in Themba label 'cherries'. The label had been partially prompted by the interviewer although other boys also 'categorised' girls without prompting from the interviewer.
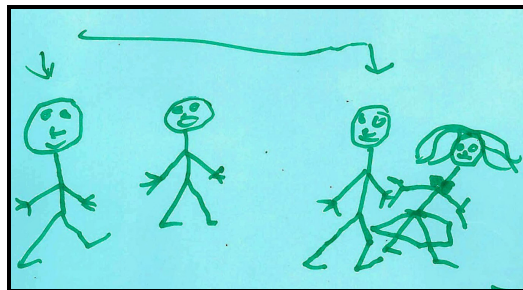
Detail 5: Relationships and movement (Dumisani)

Dumisani's drawing (see Detail 5) suggested the movement towards a heterosexual interest or perhaps a current relationship. Themba's version of girls/women being in two categories can be represented as lists of contrasting lists.

'Cherries'	'Responsible girls'
Laugh at me/us	Make 'good choices'
Make bad choices (implied)	Like boys who 'look good'
Tease me/us	Are 'respectful'
Want or need money	Are 'patient'
Cannot be trusted	Like 'patient' boys

Table 5: Two 'kinds' of girls (Themba – individual interviews)

Themba's categories of girls (see also Appendix 2 Scape Model) revealed that girls were perceived to position boys as admired, weak, laughable or respected, and that as with other boys, girls had a perceived power to define masculine acceptability and desirability.

Interviewer D:	okay (.) right we're going to finish now (.) um can we just mm (talk about why) you face a <u>problem</u> with the girls?
Themba:	the girls when I meet with the girl cherries and (.)
Interviewer D:	mm (.) what is the problem?
Themba:	the problem is they are teasing me (.) they teasing when they meet (.) and they laugh at you (.) and they need some <u>money</u> (.) and that's all
Interviewer D:	okay are all the girls like that (.) or are some girls not like that? ( )
Themba:	some girls (.)
Interviewer D:	and what are the other girls like?
Themba:	they like (.) they like when you look <u>good</u> when you patient (.) patient boy (.) mm

Interviewer D::	so that's another kind of girl?
Themba:	yeh
Interviewer D :	what kind of girls do you like?
Themba:	I like this girl that can be respect (and) (.) I like that kind
	of girl that's <u>patient</u>

Extract 35: Themba (reflective writing interview)

Across the interview data, there were several occasions in which the boys used words with ambiguous meanings (Sandile's use of the phrase 'living positively' which is discussed in the next section). The use of the word 'patient' was perhaps both as a personal quality and as a 'type of girl' who did not live the 'fast life'. Tentatively 'patient' may also have had a link to the meaning in medical terms, perhaps this was so as the adolescent support group consisted of patients at the clinic. The word 'respect' also had at least two potential meanings, namely to respect boys as equals or to respect boys as superior. The word 'respect' occurred in various contexts across the data such as the versions of respect discussed by Jabulani (community versus peers) or the respect for and by family (Nkosinathi).

The categories were not uncomplicated. The idea that the 'responsible girls' liked boys who looked good could be interpreted as an objectification in which masculinity depended on the admiration of the girls. Girls were viewed as being 'mirrors' for the boys. In the focus group setting, Dumisani and Mondli both said that girls liked boys who had a certain fashion style, hair style and earrings. An interesting contrast was that in individual interviews, the evaluation 'criteria' changed for each of these boys, and the individually voiced 'criteria' shifted from appearance (how a boy looks) to relationship (girls as friends). In the initial semi-structured interview, Dumisani differentiated the girls he dated 'for fun' and the kind of girl he would want to marry in the future. The kind of girl he wanted to marry would be someone he could trust in a relationship of mutual help.

Interviewer M:	what do you think (then) do people expect from you as a young man?
Dumisani:	they expect me to go to school, go to school then get a job, have a house and get married
Interviewer M:	do you want to get married one day?
Dumisani:	yes
Interviewer M:	what kind of person do you want to marry?
Dumisani:	what kind of person?
Interviewer M:	describe what kind of woman you would like to marry
Dumisani:	someone that I can trust and will trust me (.) we must trust each other and we can help each other in our problems (.) things like that

Extract 35: Dumisani (initial semi-structured interviews)

The idea of a reciprocal relationship was quite different from the hegemonic perception that a wife was an 'accessory' or object to be owned as voiced by Sandile (discussed earlier). There appeared to be a discrepancy between how Mondli represented girls in the focus groups versus the representation of girls in individual interviews. In the focus groups, Mondli portrayed girls as evaluating young men in terms of their fashion style and money. Contrastingly, in an individual interview, Mondli described girls as 'really' wanting a boy who was 'clean'. Although 'clean' may have been an appearance criterion (personal grooming and a fashion style) this word may have also had an ambiguity in its implication of physical health. A further difference was that the surface description (money, fashion) involved the girls moving towards the young men that they liked whereas the criteria of 'clean' was associated with girls moving away from the young men who were not 'clean'. Here, girls would 'run away' from the boys who were not 'clean'. Mondli appeared to shift his position which suggested conflicts and ambivalences, but also that his perceptions came from various voiced positions.

Somewhat differently from the others, in the focus group, Nkosinathi talked about the non-hegemonic boys as being attractive to girls. In the individual interviews Nkosinathi's portrayal of girls appeared to be from a hegemonic position. In the focus group, he described girls as liking responsible young men who were decent and trustworthy, yet in the individual interviews he emphasised gender differences and that some girls just wanted money. In the individual interviews he divided the girls into those who were 'untrustworthy' and those who were 'respectful'. Nkosinathi publically identified with a non-hegemonic position in relation to girls but privately he revealed a hegemonic position that naturalised power differentials. The hegemonic portrayals were very basic and quite stark. This suggested a particular voiced position that was quite incongruent with articulations elsewhere which had conceptual and emotional depth.

Nkosinathi:	(A boy has a lot of things he can do)
Interviewer M:	like what?
Nkosinathi:	you play soccer ( )
Interviewer M:	what do girls do then?
Nkosinathi:	they stay at home and cook and clean

Extract 37: Nkosinathi (initial semi-structured interview)

Being sexually active was identified as a marker of hegemonic masculinity, although this was more at an implicit than explicit level. The implicit level of the conversation suggested that sexual relationships were areas of anxiety and tension. In all of the interview contexts, none of the boys said that they were in relationships with girls or had ever been sexually active. This was surprising as it was expected that the boys would present themselves as sexually active even if they were not. This suggested that this group of young men were positioned quite differently from what might be an expected standard for masculinity. They did not appear to give much indication that sexual activity was identified with hegemonic masculinity as it applied to themselves personally.

In his biographical drawing, Dumisani represented a boy and a girl together but this prompted only general discussion about relationships rather than the narration of any personal experience. This absence suggested that being in intimate relationships with girls was a very significant difficulty for the HIV positive boys, presumably more so than other similar boys from the townships.

Although several other boys had also expressed a view that girls only 'want money', Mondli developed this further by suggesting that girls only liked the boys who had money and that it was not possible to have a girlfriend without having money first. In the focus groups, there appeared to be a collective perspective that having a girlfriend was completely or at least partially contractual, although there were also modified versions in which it was only a category of girls who wanted money. There appeared to be two collective voiced positions, and it appeared that one was the voiced position of peers outside the support group and the other the 'collective voice' of the boys inside the support group.

The 'collective voice' of township young masculinity appeared to be that girls were untrustworthy, sent mixed messages, wanted money, and were objects that defined young men as masculine only through sexual activity. The ideal girl was hard to define it seemed. The 'collective voice' of the focus groups defined the attractive girls as the ones with the most power to demand money and to define or deride a boy's masculinity. The 'collective voice' also defined the way that girls 'should be' – submissive, working indoors, 'respectful' of male superiority, financially dependent. The 'inside voice' was that boys and girls could be in mutual relationships of respect, support and trust, and could also be gentle and trusting with each other. The 'inside collective voice' also presented aspects that were like the hegemonic 'outside voice' but were 'modified'. Here, it seemed that girls still retained the power to judge the value of a young man, not by his money or status but by how 'decent' or 'patient' he was (Nkosinathi), having a 'clean' appearance (Mondli), if he could be trusted (Sandile) or was 'brave' enough to propose a relationship (Mondli).

'Trust' was the most important word for the boys' discussion of girls both in the individual and group discussion. In the individual interviews, trust was expressed with fears that girls could be harmful. This contrasted with discussion in the focus groups, where the idea that girls were 'untrustworthy' was emphasised in a way that devalued girls as superficial, blameworthy and irresponsible. The most significant challenge that these boys faced was in 'achieving' sexual activity with girls. Firstly, none of the boys mentioned in personal terms that they had been or were sexually active however it seemed that in the focus group discussions there was a general assumption that relationships with girls worked in a certain way and that girls behaved in certain ways towards boys. In an individual interview, Mondli said that boys without girlfriends were laughed at by other boys but that many boys 'lied' about having girlfriends.

Interviewer M:	Are there different types of girls?
Mondli:	you do get those that laugh at you (.) there are different types
Interviewer M:	the ones that laugh at you (.) what do you do?
Mondli:	I just laugh at them because they are idiots
Interviewer M:	you also just laugh at them (.) (1) How are they idiots?
Mondli:	they are idiots because they laughing at you because you don't have a girlfriend.
Interviewer M:	but it does happen that they laugh at you?
Mondli:	yes
Interviewer M:	do they have girlfriends?
Mondli:	them?
Interviewer M:	yes
Mondli:	some of them do and others don't and they are just lying

Extract 38: Mondli (initial semi-structured interview)

Laughter was occurred in the discussion of relationships between girls and boys. There was shared laughter in the focus groups and the discussion of how boys and girls laughed at boys who did not have girlfriends. An instance of this was a discussion of a television soap opera in a

focus group. The discussion centred around a character who allowed his wife to 'dominate' him and this elicited derision from the boys. Nkosinathi defined the character as 'sidlamlilo', a man who was aggressive towards other men because he allowed his wife to dominate him. In these examples, there were perceptions that girls/women were able to position boys/men as inferior or unmasculine.

Returning to the core dilemma of having sexual relationships with girls, the recurrent theme of relationships suggested that this was probably one of the most crucial 'barriers' that these boys faced in accomplishing the presumed hegemonic ideal that a 'man is a man only if he is sexually active'. For HIV positive boys, it was likely that having sexual relationships was particularly difficult for a number of reasons – the possibility of infecting a partner, the problems of revealing an HIV status to a partner and the raised possibility of rejection by a girl. The boys appeared to have a variety of ways of positioning themselves in the context of sexual relationships as young men living with HIV. A bold but defensive approach 'deflected' away from the difficulty and the view that girls wanted money was privileged above the vulnerable I-position of 'I will be rejected if I disclose my HIV status'.

Interviewer S:	(following on from what Bheki said about girls liking money) what do you do if you have no money (.) and because girls like money so much (.) is that not hard? Do you encounter those hardships?
Bheki:	I tell her that I don't have money
Interviewer S:	you just: tell them you don't have money? Then you won't have a girlfriend?
Bheki:	you give I give to them once (.) and if they want more the again (.) you tell them <u>no</u> and say that you are not a money making machine ((laughter from the group))
Interviewer S:	you give them money once and then if they / ask the second time just tell them that you're not a/ you're not a ATM ((laughter from the group))

Extract 39: Bheki (focus group)

The laughter from the group suggested markedly that this positioning was a collective (and hegemonic) voice. Perhaps this process was to defend against facing rejection or the potentially worse rejection once disclosing an HIV status. The coalitional positioning was to invoke the hegemonic norms of being tough and controlling girls to circumvent the sense of failure that the rejection would produce and appeared to be very tenuous. The interviewer's own positioning was revealed in the joke which had an implicit misogyny. This was unusual as Interviewer S generally appeared to endorse and sometimes prompt the collective 'inside' voice of the support group in which equality between boys and girls was endorsed.

Talking about their lives as HIV positive young men developed mostly towards the end of the data collection process. This is in itself significant and is a point discussed further on. Because being HIV positive was such a core difficulty for these boys, it was only in the more personal biographical interviews that HIV was discussed and because at this point the theme of HIV was more directly introduced into the discussion by the interviewers. Most representative of the link made between the difficulties of disclosure with girlfriends and the problem of symbolic stigma in the township was Dumisani's biographical interview.

Interviewer S:	you were a teenager you have just told me that you date girls (.) so as someone who is HIV positive what happens there?
Dumisani:	you make sure that you do not take the girls into the bedroom there's/there's no need because you are sick (.) you date just for fun all that only date for fun not to take into bedrooms
Interviewer S:	don't you tell yourself you have a problem?
Dumisani:	no
Interviewer S:	let's say/let's say here she comes to visit you she just comes for a visit what do you do?
Dumisani	what do I do?
Interviewer S:	yes
Dumisani:	I would sit and watch TV chat yes oh no not in the bedroom in whose bedroom no any idiot goes in there
Interviewer S:	is there anyone who goes in there?

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Dumisani:	only the person who does the cleaning
Interviewer S:	maybe being pushed into a corner where she is going to push you till it's clear that something must happen or else if not tell her why not have you ever thought of something like that?
Dumisani:	well I can tell her that it is not the time yet it's still a long way (.) and I'm still very young (.) that's the last thing in my mind (.) eyy pushed into a corner (.) but I can tell her that ( ) that can be a problem
Interviewer S:	how can it be a problem?
Dumisani:	girls are not trustworthy (.) you/you can then start seeing people laughing at you knowing exactly what is happening in your life then you will start getting sick ( ) the challenges ahhm there are challenges even if they are talking about this disease you like keep quiet for a while and think of when are we going to get a cure for it [yes] that thing when because we are in a hurry of taking girls into the bedrooms but then there is no time for that because ey the situation is bad

Extract 40: Dumisani (biographical interview)

The interviewer's biases were very obvious in this extract and there was no doubt that his line of questioning (almost an 'interrogation') was an attempt to persuade Dumisani that he should avoid any situation in which he could be alone with girls. The interviewer positioned Dumisani as the potential 'victim' of his own sex drive and of being alone with a seductive girl. Dumisani however positioned himself as having a different kind of relationship from the (collective, public) hegemonic position that girls were sexual objects for male gratification. Following the interviewer's persuasive attempts, Dumisani appeared shift to a modified' hegemonic version that was similar to the support group boys' collective voice. This was closely identified if not represented by the interviewer's revealed position and was a 'subtle hegemonic solution'. Dumisani's 'reversal' then cast the girls as 'untrustworthy'. By this he was saying that

disclosing his HIV status to a girl might not only result in rejection but that she would be harmful to him by telling others ('people') about his status.   These spatialised scenarios were located in various spaces and times – the house (inside), bedroom (inside), people in the community (outside), and a hypothetical 'what if' time.   In these contexts envisaged a collective voice of ridicule and stigma that resulted in rejection from many other people, not just the girl to whom he had revealed his HIV positive status.

Across interviews, girls were portrayed as having power to position boys as laughable or desirable. This was an ambivalent and voiced position with the former located more in the individual interviews and the latter appearing in two different versions (1) in the individual interviews the ridicule was voiced with vulnerability and insecurity and (2) in the focus groups the ridicule was used to portray and devalue girls as the 'opposition'. Around these ambivalent positions the boys used other positions to manage these conflicts within the self. One way was to divide girls into two categories; the 'bad' girls (teasing, seductive, can be 'bought', untrustworthy, promiscuous) and the 'good' girls ('respectful', responsible, trustworthy). Another way was to construct relationships in other ways, as for example Dumisani modified relationships with girls as 'dating for fun' and Sandile constructed girls as 'friends' who would boost him on in his 'golden career path' (see Appendix 2 Scape Model). Sandile's position was also quite ambivalent in the division he made between categories of girls. Sandile appeared to imply that the girls who could be friends with boys were an exception to the norm. This also defined him as 'exceptional' in his fantasy (or goal) of an education, career and attaining the 'accessories' that defined him as a successful man in the future.

Interviewer D:	what makes you happy about being a young man?
Sandile:	it's that I'm now able to make my <u>own</u> choices and decisions and how to <u>control</u> my life as it is (.) making sure how to live the kind of life I like to live (.) in (the) future
Interviewer D:	what do other people <u>expect</u> of you as a young man?
Sandile:	(2) parents expect only <u>great</u> things for me and (.) they will guide me to <u>go</u> for a <u>right</u> direction (1) friends (1) can be a

<u>bad</u> influence and others can lead to a good influence of my
life (.) giving good advice (.) girlfriends (1) others will
expect every kind of a situation (.) which comes with (.)
which I come with to tell her (1) or others will give me a
<u>golden career path</u> of what I want to <u>achieve</u> in life that's all

Extract 41: Sandile (reflective writing interview)

Here in a way, girls were 'instrumental' in impelling Sandile towards his goal of becoming a
provider/possessor. In the focus group, Sandile represented a contradictory version in which
some girls were constructed as untrustworthy and promiscuous. This more 'collective' voice
may have been used because the interviewer constructed a collective audience with the word 'us'
and because of the presence of other boys.

Interviewer D:	can you tell us a story about that (.) yourself or a friend?
Sandile:	it's a friend of mine <u>actually</u> (.) who had this girlfriend (.) and then he decided to make an intercourse (.) and then what they did is that they did not agree on the <u>same</u> position (.) of maybe when the girl gets pregnant what will they do
Interviewer D:	so Sandile can you tell me what (.) has helped you to understand the consequences of things like this (.) how have you come to understand consequences?
Sandile:	it's good to understand you know that you must (.) have your <u>own</u> partner (2) because you get an you get lots of different issues (.) like this one that I have said (.) you can have a <u>girlfriend</u> (.) you can say that you are having a girlfriend (.) but there <u>is</u> somebody <u>else</u> who is cheating with (her) and then I can say it is better to have one person

Extract 42: Sandile (focus group)

In the second question, the interviewer perhaps unconsciously shifted the subjective 'audience' from a collective 'us' to an individual 'me', adding in Sandile's name. In response, Sandile shifted from an I-position to a You-position, suggesting that he was taking a more distanced perspective. It was possible that the changes in the 'addressivity' (Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010) was significant. Addressing the collective audience, Sandile described the consequence of unplanned pregnancy if a boy and girl did not agree about the nature of the relationship. In addressing an individual audience with a collective 'backdrop', Sandile shifted to the narrative that girls were untrustworthy, perhaps revealing his more hegemonic private identifications. The first part was interesting as another version of positioning in response to the dilemma of being HIV positive and wanting a sexual relationship. This might be expected for any adolescent but also in meeting a masculinity imperative to be sexually active. Sandile's positioning was about agreeing to have safe sex in order to prevent pregnancy and not necessarily to prevent HIV infection. In this scenario, Sandile would be able to have protected sex with a girl without disclosing his HIV status. A possible link may also have been that having protected sex might enable Sandile to find out if his girlfriend had another partner if she became pregnant. These examples foregrounded the intersection of being HIV positive with masculinity positioning as a context in which identifications and alignments with hegemonic masculinity were made available and were necessitated. Being HIV positive meant having to 'manage' a masculine identity that was publically desirable yet had some private coherence and continuity.

In the focus groups especially, the young men defined relationships in terms of conquest, contractuality and expectations of how girls should behave. This was a way of constructing masculinity by defining girls/women as 'objects' to be controlled, used and bought. It appeared that this was perceived to be a collective norm for boys/men in general but within the support group collective norms these were modified but with unresolved ambivalences. For example, one of Sandile's voiced positions was that he wanted to be in control of a relationship even if it was with a 'good' responsible girl. This implied that even the 'good' responsible girls could not be completely trusted. This was somewhat at odds with Sandile's other narratives which mostly foregrounded individual 'choice' and not 'control'. This was unlike Jabulani for whom 'control'

was central. It is suggested that the difference between 'choice' and 'control' here was that 'choice' involved less anxiety and was more volitional. It seemed that as much as Sandile's dominant position was that of being an individual goal-driven person, in real or potential relationships with girls, the element of 'control' appeared. This suggested that 'choice' and 'control' were articulated from differing voiced positions in the self-system. This finding suggested that boys/men would not be able to construct viable alternatives to masculinity without also 'constructing' girls/women and gender relations in alternative ways.

The expectation to be sexually active was most strongly endorsed in the 'outside' broader context for young masculinity whereas there was a carefully managed ambivalence in the dominant collective voice of the support group boys. As 'audiences', girls were positioned as powerful in approving or rejecting the young men. Girls were also positioned as 'objects' to be used, bought and controlled. The 'hurry' to get into bed with girls (Dumisani) suggested an urgency to the hegemonic injunction for young men to prove masculinity by being sexually active yet this was a difficulty for these boys because of the real or perceived risks of disclosing an HIV positive diagnosis to a girl. Sandile stated that a way to circumvent this problem was for boys to initiate protected sex with the justification that this was to avoid unplanned pregnancy rather than to prevent HIV infection.

A final consideration was where the dilemmas faced by the boys were about peer norms in general or about masculinity ideals and practices. For example, it might be a peer norm for both boys and girls to view sexual activity as a way to define maturity, whereas in terms of masculinity construction, compulsory and visible heterosexuality was a valued ideal.

4.7.   The intersection of masculinity and HIV

The formulation of the 'walled solution' developed through a compositional perspective on the data that emerged from the descriptive exploration through thematic and content analysis alongside fine-grained readings. Although there had been ambiguous hints that HIV was an issue (experience or identity) that was relevant to masculine self and identity, only one of the

participants (Bheki) shared spontaneously about HIV. Bheki had produced photographs of a mural which depicted aspects of HIV treatment and support. When the interviewer prompted conversation about these photographs, Bheki referred to HIV in a very general way and as applying to people in general rather than himself personally, the other participants or the support group. This 'silence' could be interpreted as a way of positioning a self and identity that was not defined by being HIV positive. It was possible that Bheki did not position himself or his peers as defined by an HIV positive identity but foregrounded other identities (young man, youth identity).

Interviewer M:	so in this photo, or this one, you can describe whichever photo you feel like describing first
Bheki:	eh: it is important not to lose hope
Interviewer M:	when?
Bheki:	maybe/ when you did not do well, and then you say you want to give up (.) you have to have hope (.) believe that you will do it.
Interviewer M:	and then this symbol?
Bheki:	it represents HIV
Interviewer M:	what does HIV/what what how much does HIV affect you (.) as a young man?
Bheki:	it's horrible
Interviewer M:	in what way?
Bheki:	( ) I am afraid of HIV
Interviewer M:	you are afraid of it?
Bheki:	yes (.) I do not want to get killed by it
Interviewer M:	you do not want to get killed by it?
Bheki:	yes
Interviewer M:	so what things do you do so that you do not get killed by HIV?
Bheki:	you must look after yourself (.) do not touch other peoples blood because you do not know what diseases they may have

Extract 43: Bheki (photo-elicitation interview)

The interviewer prompted discussion about HIV in relation to being a young man but this was not directly answered by Bheki. Here, it seemed that Bheki positioned HIV as an external and annihilating threat, revealing vulnerable emotions. This was the opposite of the hegemonic ideal that a young man should be tough, invulnerable and in control. As with several others, Bheki had defined masculinity acceptability as being independent and tough enough to resist the perceived expectations of girls. There had been a bravado in which Bheki had described himself as telling girls that he was not a 'money making machine' [14]. The 'linkage' here was in the idea of young men being brave. In the context of being HIV positive, it appeared that the boys were 'protected' by the support group or a broader system of 'protection' such as the clinic or family members. In this 'walled space', it was possible to be 'brave' in ways that were different from the hegemonic standards and expectations. In the focus group discussion, Bheki had made the interesting reframing of boys who take risks of unsafe sex as being the' mommies' boys' and who could not think for themselves. Within the 'walled space' of being HIV positive, it was possible for the young men to take up masculinity positions that were made available in an 'incapsulated' situation. Being HIV positive meant being very cautious about risking health in any way, and which probably included the need for strict medication 'adherence' necessary in ARV treatment. Although this was not discussed by the participants it was established that the support group was for HIV positive adolescents who were already on ARV treatment or were going to be on ARV treatment in the future. Being infected with a life-threatening medical condition, the young men were in a situation in which health had to be protected with urgency and vigilance, and this meant that conforming to hegemonic ideals and practices was not possible if this meant putting health at risk.

Being HIV positive was an experience of ambivalence, fear and uncertainty. Most of the explicit discussion about HIV was in the biographical interviews but there was a common thread in the data of being both threatened and protected in various ways. This was best articulated by Nkosinathi whose individual interviews converged around the theme of being 'protected' by the clinic, the support group and by his aunt and grandmother. Nkosinathi had been very ill and had been hospitalised when he was younger and his parents had both died. As with Sandile,

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[14] The transcript here was of poor quality so selective quotes and paraphrasing is used.

Nkosinathi communicated in implicit and explicit ways that the support group was a space of support in which he felt comfortable. Nkosinathi communicated a contradiction about his experience of being HIV positive as a young man.

As with the excerpt from Bheki's interview before this, and as discussed earlier, Nkosinathi positioned HIV as something active and external that could 'do' things. Unexpectedly, Nkosinathi identified HIV as 'protecting' him from complying with peer group hegemonic expectations to use alcohol and drugs. Being HIV positive had meant being in a very vulnerable position in hospital, yet had become a means of protecting him from having to 'live up' to hegemonic ideals as a township young man. This sense of being 'inside' a protective space was rendered in his biographical drawing in which the wall and gate suggested that the family was a 'protective' spatial domain much as the clinic/support group was also a protective space. Within the 'walled space' of HIV positivity, a 'modified' version of masculinity was legitimated. The young men were able to legimately distance themselves from hegemonic standards without being 'failed' young men.
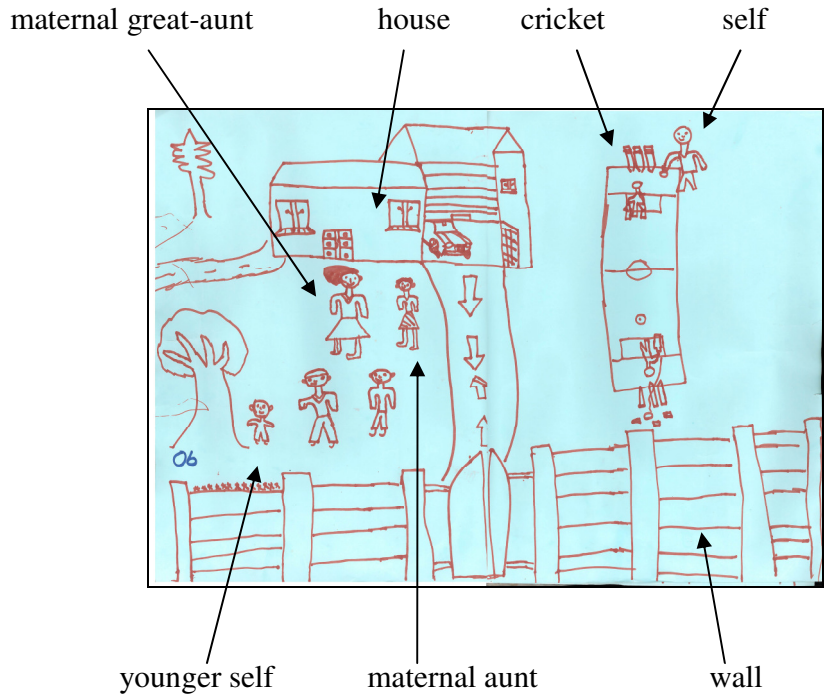
Biographical drawing: Nkosinathi

Nkosinathi's drawing was that it depicted his life before his parents had died and he had been well enough to play cricket. Nkosinathi represented himself in two figures, one as a much younger child playing by the tree and then as an older child playing cricket. Nkosinathi's biological parents were deceased and he identified his great-aunt and aunt as parental figures. By representing his biological parents in the drawing, Nkosinathi was identifying their influence in his current life, in dialogical terms they were an internal 'audience' in the self-system. The drawing depicted a 'landscape' of the self in which life behind a wall was a symbolic and literal 'space' of protection. In the biographical interview, Nkosinathi described a typical conversation between himself and his parents when he was younger and most notably described having had a 'usual boy childhood' (see Appendix 2 Scape Model). In the scenario he described he had been climbing a tree and his parents had called him, suggesting that he had 'internalised' his parents as a protective influence.

Photograph 15: Family members with ARVs, a protected space (Mondli)

Sandile voiced two parallel positions regarding maintaining a distance from hegemonic imperatives for risk-taking, substance use and not attending school. The first 'independence' position emphasised his right to choose and make his own decisions, and had some resonance with Jabulani's version of 'standing on his own' or Bheki's view that a real young man should be able to think for himself. This appeared to be one way of being non-hegemonic and relied upon

individual I-positioning (independent choice) and coalitional positioning (countering hegemonic imperatives for risk-taking with enacting a hegemonic ideal of independent self-sufficiency).

The second version focused on the support Sandile gained through talking to others in the support group, to counsellors or facilitators and his father or step-sister. This second version was located in an alternative space (the support group) and with different 'audiences' (family and support group members). The metapositioning made available in these spaces enabled or new I-positions in which it was desirable for a young man to seek support or perhaps be defined differently in an alternative social context.

Interviewer D:	(1) you say that um there's times when you're with others you you talking about things men face in their real life um who are those other people that you talk to about those real life things?
Sandile:	well (.) other boys (.) talking <u>positively</u> about those situations that men faces [mm]
Interviewer D:	can you talk like that with any boys (.) or are there a special group that you can talk to?
Sandile:	ja there are other people ( ) who you can talk to but here you can talk to <u>everybody</u> [mm] ja

Extract 45: Sandile (reflective writing interview)

Clearly, the interviewer was prompting a response that Sandile would position his support within the group but Sandile's response was somewhat modified from the interviewer's expectations. Sandile's response suggested that within the support group there was no need to carefully choose who to talk to whereas he implied (and confirmed elsewhere in the data) that outside the support group he had to be careful about who he chose to speak to about any problems. Here also, was a version of relating to girls/women that was different from objectifying or sexualising of girls/women that was a part of hegemonic constructions located outside of the support group.

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'Protection' from these hegemonic imperatives and associate practices was not only at the level of masculinity outside of the group. This revealed that alternative ideals and practices could be made available at the intersection of being HIV positive and young masculinity.

Of the boys, Jabulani appeared to be least identified with a 'walled solution', relying rather on coalitional positioning by which he resisted the hegemonic masculinity of the township as an individual. As previously discussed, Jabulani could support his position by aligning himself with community norms of 'respect'. Jabulani maintained a counter-hegemonic position by identifying with hegemonic masculinity ideals (toughness, independence, risk-taking) but using or modifying them in ways that protected his health. This was a 'solution' in which Jabulani maintained some identification with hegemonic masculinity (township young masculinity) but without risking his health. Jabulani's rejection of hegemonic ideals of risk-taking seemed tenuous and his ambivalence suggested the 'fragility' of this solution.

An alternative way that Jabulani had available for alternative positions was through metapositioning. Jabulani's 'religious' grandfather was an alternative metaposition that provided cultural resources for resisting hegemonic masculinity in the township. Although Jabulani separated his own perspective from his grandfather's voice of 'religion', it seemed that having this alternative position from another generation was helpful to him. Much of Jabulani's stance was an active and forceful resistance as an individual. When he used metapositioning however, he was able to be far more accepting that he was different from his peers in the townships and he was released from the imperative of having to conform. It is suggested that for several of the young men, family members enabled metapositioning through which alternative forms of masculinity could be developed.

4.8. Reflexivity in the research findings

Reflexivity practices were fundamental to the research process for a number of reasons. Identifying how the young men positioned themselves in relation to hegemonic masculinity involved an awareness of how the positions of the interviewers and researcher could influence

the research process. It was also important for the researcher to identify what the young men considered to be hegemonic forms of masculinity. Reflexively, this meant to maintain an awareness of what was emerging from the data rather than what might be imposed through the interviewers' or researcher's own views. Because a key focus of the research was the mutual influence of being HIV positive and the positioning of masculine self and identity, it was helpful to have multiple levels of reflexive practice for a comprehensive view on this 'intersection'.

A way to conceptualise the reflexivity process was as a number of levels that ran parallel to the data collection and the data analysis (see Table 6). Discussions between the interviewers and the researcher were an important part of the research process. Some of these were the dedicated debriefing discussions at the end of meetings with participants and others were informal conversations as the research developed. Process notes were made in the debriefing discussions and some of these discussions were audio-recorded as 'reflexive data'. The processes and positions of the interviewers were apparent in the analysis of interview texts, and the post-interview discussion gave a further basis for considering the expectations, beliefs and positions of the interviewers and the influence of these in the interviewing.

Reflexivity contexts	Reflexivity practice	Data gathering	Data analysis
Stage 5			
Supervision meetings	Disseminate findings		Full data analysis
PhD seminars	Peer validation		Critical narrative
Clinic committee	Progress reports		Thematic analysis
Conferences	Research journal		Content analysis
Journal article			(qualitative)
Stage 4			
Interviewer meetings	Present emerging findings	Biographical	Familiarisation
Supervision meetings	Debriefing discussion	drawings	(thematic analysis)
PhD seminars	Research journal	Biographical	Content analysis
		interviews	(quantitative)
			Transcription
Stage 3			
Interviewer meetings	Debriefing discussion	Reflective writing	Familiarisation
Supervision meetings	Research journal	Photo-elicitation	(thematic analysis)
Stage 2			
Interviewer meetings	Research journal	Issue cameras	
Supervision meetings	Process notes	Focus group	
	Interviewer training	Semi-structured	
	Enlist participants	interviews	
Stage 1			
Clinic committee	Meet with support group		
Support group	Meet with facilitators		
	Ethical clearance		

Table 6: Reflexivity levels

Process notes were taken during the data collection and were most useful at the initial stages of the data analysis and as a reflexivity practice. The researcher's journal included notes from meetings, conference presentations and postgraduate student seminars. One of the most important reflexivity practices were the discussions between the researcher and individual interviewers. Some of these discussions were audio-recorded and transcribed as additional 'reflexivity data'. The 'reflexivity findings' from discussions with each interviewer is presented below. The focus on the interviewers here is because the collaborative role of the interviewers with the researcher.

4.8.1. Interviewer S.

The role of Interviewer S as both interviewer and support group facilitator influenced the research process. When he was interviewing or facilitating a focus group, his own positions and perspectives were very definite and dominating. This can be interpreted as Interviewer S articulating a dominant voice that was located in the support group and related to his role as facilitator and HIV counsellor. Interviewer S prompted questions that revealed his position and conveyed a perspective, especially when he elaborated beyond the interview schedule. This process was evident in the extract from the biographical interview with Sandile.

Interviewer S:	okay mm:: okay ( ) what do you think are the <u>challenges</u> facing people living with HIV especially young <u>men</u>:?
Sandile:	(2) what I can say is it's a <u>behaviour</u> (1) people have different <u>behaviours</u> (.) others they are selfish and (.) when they've heard or they have <u>discovered</u> their status [mm] they like to pass it through <u>through</u> to others [mm] and that's it ( ) not good
Interviewer S:	do you think some of the boys in the group: who do know they are HIV po:sitive sometimes they don't use protection they just pass it on to other people <u>knowing</u> that they are infected?
Sandile:	(1) I can say/I cannot say <u>exactly</u> but I do think that (.) maybe two or three (.) they know that what they are doing is <u>wrong</u> when

they are not using protection but others know a lot that what
they are doing they are not supposed to do and they will stop doing
it

Extract 45: Sandile (biographical interview)

Here, Interviewer S started with a question from the interview schedule ('what are the challenges you face as a young man living with HIV?') but then modified the question, prompted a general rather than personal response from Sandile. Sandile then responded in general terms, and this gave a sense of him verbalising a collective position based on moral principles. In the question that followed, Interviewer S introduced suspicion that some of the boys in the group who knew that they were infected practiced unsafe sex. This question was incongruous because it was known by all (interviewers, researcher and participants) that all of the boys were HIV positive. Sandile's answer was from a more defined I-position and shifted from his first response of a 'principled' I-position ('they are selfish') that prevented sexual risk-taking towards a 'prohibitive' I-position ('they know they are not supposed to do it'). It is suggested that the first position was introduced by the interviewer, as a position against a hegemonic imperative on the basis of morals and principles (a 'principled solution') whereas the second position was that HIV boys were breaking rules if they practiced sexual risk-taking as a behaviour associated with hegemonic masculinity outside of the group (a 'walled solution').

In further interviews, there were variances of what might be understood here as a collective voice of the support group, either as articulated by the boys or in somewhat varied ways by the interviewers as support group facilitators and HIV counsellors. Interviewer S presented at least three collective positions that created alternatives or modifications to the imperatives of township hegemonic masculinity. These alternatives were a 'prohibitive' stance (that hegemonic behaviours were against the rules for HIV positive young men), a 'principled' position (that there was a moral or value basis for deviating from hegemonic imperatives) and 'protective' situation (that HIV created an 'protected space' for masculinity that was not based on the practices, ideals and imperatives of township 'streetwise' masculinity).

In the interview with Sandile (Extract 45), Interviewer S seemed to be prompting what he thought were the 'right answers', almost as if he was trying to get Sandile to 'repeat' the positions implied in his questions. This recurred across several other interviews with various participants but was most apparent in interviews with Sandile, where there seemed to be an expectation from Interviewer S, that Sandile would give voice to an 'ideal' answer. The dialogue between interviewer and interviewee made visible the intersection of the HIV context and masculinity. It was apparent that while the boys took up the prohibitive and protective narratives, they did not present with the 'principled' approach that Interviewer S appeared to be trying to elicit. This indicated that the boys did not take up the 'principled solution' that Interviewer S was trying to elicit but that they used other means of positioning a masculine self and identity.

Interviewer S seemed to endorse narratives of self-responsibility and the goal of becoming an independent provider in the future. He expressed a defined view that it was the support group which created opportunities for young men to develop responsibility and respect towards each other and other generations. Towards the end of the research process, there was discussion between the researcher and Interviewer S about where the boys would find support in dealing with difficulties (at the intersection of HIV living and hegemonic masculinity). Interviewer S was very definite that the answer lay in peer support but that the boys looked for support elsewhere. Interviewer S felt that the best support that they would find would be with each other. This was not quite the same as the impression created through the process of gaining 'access' to the participants, where the 'vulnerability of the boys had been emphasised (rather than their personal agency in seeking support within the group).

> Interviewer S: the second <u>one</u> [Dumisani] it seems he doesn't have any <u>challenges</u>
> according to what he said ((laughs)) (.) I can't remember any<u>thing</u>
> that I can call it was a challenge in my life (.) so everything is fine
> I've got my friends (.) er I've got my parents I've got <u>every</u>body
> that I <u>need</u> <u>around</u> me (.) <u>but</u> when I was asking him about <u>HIV</u>
> that is where he said <u>okay</u> (.) er the only thing that happened when

you are HIV positive is that even if you can have a (boy) a
girlfriend ((laughs)) you <u>cannot</u> have sex with that <u>girlfriend</u>
because you need to protect her while it is <u>even harder</u> to tell her
about <u>your</u> status because you don't know what she's going to do
maybe he can <u>go</u> and tell everybody that so-and-so is <u>HIV positive</u>
so (.) that is where she (.) that is where he <u>pointed</u> some challenge
that there's the challenge (.) because as a young man you grow up
(.) you <u>propose</u> some girls but there is a hindrance there because
there is something that you cannot go beyond

Extract 46: Interviewer S

Here, Interviewer S pointed out the contradiction that Dumisani was unable to identify any
challenges but that had also indicated that he did have challenges in 'living up' to the hegemonic
standard of compulsory and visible heterosexuality. Interviewer S was very committed to his
work as an HIV counsellor and facilitator of the support group. It appeared that he had a good
rapport with the participants, although it appeared that the participants did not always completely
agree with his position. At times there was a 'contest' between interviewer and interviewee
around dominant identity. For example, in the above extract Iterviewer S attempted to
foreground Dumisani's identity as an HIV positive young man in the support group whereas
Dumisani foregrounded his masculine identity.

4.8.2. Interviewer M.

The perspective of Interviewer M was that the boys had deliberately avoided talking about HIV
and she appeared to be annoyed that they had not foregrounded HIV in the interviews. As with
Interviewer S, Interviewer M wanted the boys to foreground their identities as HIV positive
young men in the support group. Her perception seemed to be that they were 'ducking around'
the main point of talking about HIV and that the researchers were 'just topping it' by not asking
the boys directly about their HIV status. Interviewer M questioned why they did not 'talk about

it', especially as she was a facilitator in a group in which it was known that all were HIV-positive. This suggested a struggle in disclosing HIV status in various relational contexts (peers, the community and in the interview).

Interviewer M: it shows that as much as they've been <u>disclosed</u> to they still
                   have <u>issues</u> [mm]with their <u>status</u> (.)
Interviewer D: so how do you understand it?
Interviewer M: so it could go <u>deep down</u> that they've been/ how they've
                   been infected about <u>HIV/AIDS</u> maybe they still have issues with
                   their parents that they got infected through <u>them</u>

Extract 47: Interviewer M

Interviewer M put forward various explanations as to why the boys were not talking about HIV such as whether the boys were angry with adults in general or because they had been infected by from their parents. She also considered her gender affected the boys' apparent reluctance to talk about HIV. It appeared that Interviewer M's frustrations were based on an assumption that the boys should have been foregrounding HIV and that by not doing so were being deliberately evasive. The researcher also experienced some disappointment that the visual research method had not led in the direction of more talk about HIV, although HIV had been referred to by at least three of the seven participants. Therefore it seemed that despite attempts by the interviewer to get the boys to foreground their HIV positive identity, the boys themselves did not view themselves as primarily defined by this identity.

In discussion with the research supervisor, the idea of moving to an alternative setting for the final round of interviews would free up the interviewees to talk more openly about HIV. Interviewer M suggested that a more 'direct approach' would facilitate a more 'open' discussion of being a young man living with HIV.

Interviewer M: I think they've had so many issues concerning HIV/AIDS and

	they know how to <u>duck around</u> with this they know (.) how to
	to stay away from answering such questions so (.) ja it
	could be though <u>experience</u> (.) what they've experienced in the
	past
Interviewer D:	so what would you say we should do (.) in the next interviews?
Interviewer M:	I think we should just be <u>direct</u> when we speak to them ( )
	like in a way that we <u>know</u> they are <u>HIV positive</u> (.) how does it
	<u>feel</u> to be a young <u>man</u> living with HIV (.) so in that sense he
	wouldn't say I'm not (.) HIV negative he wouldn't say that
	because we know that cause like I'm part of the support group so
	he wouldn't say no I'm not HIV negative everybody in the support
	group is someone who's been disclosed to (.) so after that I
	think they will be able to say more and more I don't know whether
	it will be the right way (.) but you can think about it

Extract 48: Interviewer M

This interaction brought into question the assumption that the boys would foreground HIV in accounting for their experiences (and identities) as young men, but it appeared that the relative 'silence' around HIV was a surprise for the research team, setting up an us/them contestation between the participants and researchers/interviewers. This was a question for reflexivity, given that qualitative research is idiographic (Babbie & Mouton, 2005), with 'the unexpected' having relevance. The value of the unexpected is that it can uncover the assumptions of those involved in the research process, what the 'right way' to elicit findings is and the context of articulating meanings.

4.9. Conclusions

The analysis suggested that there were a variety of ways in which boys were positioned in relation to hegemonic masculinity. The boys were sometimes positioned by collective positions (or 'narratives') or hegemonic imperatives. Positions were also influenced by alternative perspectives, for example, the 'metapositioning' made available though Jabulani's relationship with his 'religious' grandfather. Changes in relational contexts made positions available or constrained positions, for example, Themba becoming the 'man of the house' in his father's absence or Sandile feeling 'boosted' when his father was encouraging him to focus on his education. The boys were active in positioning themselves in relation to hegemonic imperatives, ideals and practices, for example, Sandile and Jabulani (each in quite different ways) presenting an autonomous I-position in resistance to hegemonic imperatives to use alcohol and drugs. Some of the individual positioning was unstable and unanchored in contexts or collective voiced positions that could strengthen the counter-hegemonic position. For example, Jabulani's coalitional positions in which he resolved self-conflicts towards hegemonic imperatives to use alcohol did not always act as a sufficient 'brake' from performing hegemonic practices.

Masculinities were situated both spatially and in time, at various 'construction sites' such as school, home, township streets and the sports field. In addition to these, the HIV support group was a space for identity construction, perhaps not confined to masculinity but also for a generational youth identity. Masculinities were developed in opposition to constructions of girls/women, and it was here that anxieties and emotional experiences were most evident. Girls/women were perceived or experienced as being able to 'unsettle' the boys and to define their acceptability as young men. Girls/women were represented in very ambivalent ways, and the anxieties of the boys were centrally about the hegemonic imperative to be or at least appear to be, heterosexually active. Girls/women were portrayed in ambivalent and contrasting ways, 'objectified' as signifiers of masculinity, with some girls feared or blamed as being untrustworthy and unpredictable while others were responsible, patient and kind. Departing from hegemonic norms in performing household tasks was an area that exemplified conflicts

between the situations in which the boys lived, hegemonic imperatives and ways that the boys attempted to maintain some identification with aspects of hegemonic masculinity.

The analysis revealed the collective and individual tensions, contradictions and uncertainties with which the boys appropriated or rejected masculine self and identity positions. The 'walled solution' was a positional 'configuration'. It was a quality of the group's collective voiced position and had a relative stability within the protective space of the support group but also applied to families, the clinic and the symbolic walls of HIV – the constraints and limitations of HIV positivity constructed as 'protective' or 'prohibitive'. Within the physical, social and symbolic limitations of living with HIV, the boys established the 'normality' of their experience as young men living with HIV. They considered themselves to be normal young men, as indicated in some of the biographical interviews (Sandile and Nkosinathi) and also in the way in which an HIV positive identity was not foregrounded but rather a masculine identity.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION

5.1. Revisiting the research aim, questions and objectives

The aim of this research was to identify the constructions of masculinity among HIV positive young men at both group and individual levels. The research was situated at the 'intersection' of HIV positive identity and 'young masculinity'. In identifying masculinity constructions, attention was given to hegemonic masculinity as a set of ideals, practices and imperatives that were valued and legitimated gender relations. The ways in which the young men were positioned in relation to hegemonic masculinity at the interface with being HIV positive was the focus.

The research question centred on how being HIV positive influenced young masculinity positioning at the level of the self and identity, and conversely, how masculinity constructions (at the level of self and identity) influenced being HIV positive, possibly as an identity or personal narrative. The term 'self and identity' was based in DST (Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010). 'Self and identity' referred to the self extended in time and space, and how the extended self was defined and embodied in social narratives. Integral was how the young men were positioned towards, against or in relation to hegemonic masculinity as identified by the young men at group and individual levels. Objectives were then to identify hegemonic masculinity as perceived by the young men and what positioning 'strategies' were used by the young men in relation to hegemonic standards.

5.1.1. Individual and group constructions of masculinity.

The findings indicated that the boys identified certain practices, ideals and imperatives as forms of masculinity. From the findings it appeared that there were at least two dominant versions of masculinity each of which were defined in spatio-temporal and material contexts, and that some

boys were more identified and aligned with one or the other version than with others. It was also evident that there were active individual and group 'processes' of appropriating, modifying and rejecting ideals, practices and imperatives of specific hegemonic masculinities. There were two hegemonic 'configurations' of young masculinity which were 'township young masculinity' (the 'streetwise boy' of risk-taking, alcohol and drug use, school absenteeism, criminal activities with a dream to be a soccer or celebrity 'star') and 'aspirational young masculinity' (the future-focused 'cheese boy' who aimed at being financially independent and influential through educational performance, business and career success). There were variants of these two forms, and in many ways they represented two ends of a continuum along which the young men varied their positions, sometimes holding both positions simultaneously. In terms of DST, this suggested multiple I-positions or 'compositional' patterns of I-positions (Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010). Generally, the characteristic of the two positions are listed in Table 7.

Township young masculinity	Aspirational young masculinity
Having 'respect' and 'reputation'	Goals of 'affluence' and 'influence'
Smoking, drinking and using drugs	Future-orientated
Aggressive acts	Identified with commodity masculinity
Located on the township streets	Exceptional achievements
Exceptional sporting performance	Education and career
Becoming a soccer star or celebrity	Becoming a 'provider' or 'player'
Visible risk-taking	Being able to possess
Physical toughness	Independent focus on goals and aspirations
Identified with fatalistic youth culture	Hegemonic status through 'having'

Table7: Contrasts between hegemonic masculinities

In the groups, it was evident that alignments with hegemonic masculinities were more visibly positioned and contested, whereas in the individual contexts, the young men revealed more complexity in the identifications and alignments with hegemonic masculinities. This supported the conclusions of other studies where it has been noted that young men present themselves as more hegemonic in group settings (Blackbeard & Lindegger, 2007; Joseph & Lindegger, 2007; Frosh, Phoenix, & Pattman, 2002; Frosh, Phoenix, & Pattman, 2003a).

What can be termed 'commodity masculinity' was a 'background' identity for various versions of hegemonic masculinity. Aspirational young masculinity was a hegemonic form with a dominant narrative of achieving a commodity masculinity in the future. It is argued that the photographs of luxury cars signified a generational identity of young Black South Africans who had attained the financial resources to actualise a commodity-based self and identity. This identity could be termed the post-1994 'Coca Cola kids' (Stevens & Lockhat, 1997) who at the time of this study were young men in their twenties. The 'Coca Cola kids' of the 1990s had developed as a generational identity for an emerging black middle class and made available new versions of masculinity. In the preceding generation, black masculine identity had been influenced strongly by the struggle for political freedom in South Africa (Epstein, 1998; Morrell, 1998b). One of these struggle identities was a narrative that young men could reclaim masculinity through political liberation (Oxlund, 2008). With fathers who had lived through and been part of the anti-apartheid struggle, the 'Coca-Cola' kids had grown up and commodity-based 'player' masculinity appeared to be a hegemonic masculinity of new middle-income black South Africans.

5.1.2. Positioning in relation to hegemonic masculinities.

There were differences and contrasts in how young men portrayed the two hegemonic young masculinities (the 'aspirational young masculinity' and the 'township young masculinity'). These contrasts were evident as contrasts between individual and collective positions including the group of young men (the sample) but also collective or contextual positions such as cultural sources, commodity identities and the HIV support group. There were indications that some

individual masculine identifications and alignments with forms of masculinity were more 'fixed' whereas others were more 'fluid'. Using DST, this can be seen as the difficulty of developing a masculine self/identity in the face of multiple positions that are taken up, distanced or rejected. For some boys there were more 'stable' or 'anchored' configurations of masculine self and identity. The 'anchored' positions were those with some identification with collective metapositions, for example, a collective 'voice' of the support group as part of a 'walled solution' for masculinity positioning (Lindegger & Blackbeard, 2010; Lindegger & Quayle, 2010). Another relatively stable configuration was to establish strong 'coalitions' between voiced I-positions, for example, combining a self-narrative of 'I as a future independent provider' with a responsibility self-narrative of 'I as an individual achiever'. Not all boys had access to the same coalitions, for instance, poor health had affected school attendance and the energy needed for educational progress. Less stable, weaker positions relied on I-positions without supporting collective narratives, for example, Jabulani's resisted performances of a 'typical streetwise boy' identity by relying on a tenuous coalition between 'I as a tough young man' with 'I as a young man with health vulnerabilities'.

The young men appeared to have several formulations for positioning a masculine self/identity based on the availability of various masculine positions. Most evident were the modified versions of masculine identity, effectively made available by being HIV positive, or the 'walled solution'. Individual boys articulated variations of the 'walled solution' masculinity around themes of prevention, prohibition and protection. Although the themes of prevention, prohibition and protection are concepts around HIV, they can effectively become ways of negotiating the intersection of being HIV positive and masculinity identity. The theme of 'prevention' was developed as a coalitional position, meaning that it was necessary that the young men prevent health difficulties relating to HIV and that conversely, being HIV positive prevented the young men from acting upon hegemonic imperatives for risk-taking (associated with township young masculinity). The concept of 'coalitional positioning' was grounded in the positioning concepts of DST (Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010), where the conflict between two competing or contradictory I-positions could be resolved by developing a 'cooperation' between these positions. The theme of 'prohibition' was used to arrive at a walled solution by

'externalising' HIV as an influence that policed acting upon hegemonic imperatives for risk-taking, invulnerability and perhaps also compulsory heterosexuality. It was not possible to completely conform to hegemonic masculinity/ies and at the same time stay healthy, especially in the context of a life-threatening illness where compliance with treatment was essential to staying alive. 'Prohibition' used HIV as an externalised, agentive voiced position that 'stopped' or 'did not allow' behaviours that conformed to hegemonic imperatives. This meant that for some of the young men an identity had to be 'managed' in order to appear to be hegemonic for peer audiences (the group or other young men in the township). This could be interpreted as 'visibility management' (Lasser & Thoringer, 2003). As a juxtaposition, the externalised 'voice' of HIV was stronger than the 'voice' of hegemonic masculinity and in this instance the voiced position of HIV as an agentive entity was dominant over the hegemonic masculinity as a voiced position (or configuration of positions) in the self-system (Hermans, 2004).

The 'protection' theme portrayed HIV as an external presence which was 'insulating' and at times almost 'parental'. Nkosinathi's moving descriptions of family relationships suggested a further level, that in some ways HIV gave 'permission' to be a very 'different' kind of young man from non-HIV infected young men. Of all the boys, Nkosinathi most entered this last theme, and it seemed that his identity as an HIV positive young man was almost completely a part of himself and his life narrative.

5.1.3. Revisiting hegemonic masculinity.

In masculinity studies there have been various ways to conceptualise and name 'prevailing' or 'powerful' masculinities. Kenyan researchers, Izugbura and Undie (2008) define masculinity as ideology, scripts or norms that endorse patriarchal practices and gender relations. Several researchers define masculinity as a set of norms with 'dominant masculinity' as the prevailing and powerful set of norms (Eaton, Flisher, & Aaro, 2003; Macphail, 2003; Ragnarrson, Townsend, Ekstrom, Chopra, & Thorson, 2010). Others define prevailing masculinity as the most frequent set of beliefs and values held by men which can be empirically measured (Harrison, O'Sullivan, Hoffman, Dolezal, & Morrell, 2006). Oxlund (2008) discards the concept

of hegemonic masculinity as structurally defined hierarchy in favour of hegemonic masculinity as an intersection discourses and meanings which influence social actors. Holmgren and Hearn (2009) define masculinity as a set of norms leading to embodied practices which are then utilised to sustain the power of men over women. Hearn (2004) argues that hegemonic masculinity has been defined as a cultural ideal, and that this has had limited usefulness in describing what men do as a social category. Some researchers have used 'dominant' and 'hegemonic' masculinity as culturally ideal norms interchangeably (Blackbeard, 2005; Ragnarrson et al., 2010). In the present study, the concept of 'hegemonic masculinity' was retained and defined as a set of ideals, imperatives, embodied performances and practices constructed as the most dominant or legitimated versions of masculine self and identity. The term 'imperatives' was appropriated from Korobov and Bamberg (2004) and described expectations for the embodied practices of hegemonic masculinity. In the present study, 'dominant masculinity' was used minimally and referred to masculinity that was influential but had not acquired the full influence of hegemonic masculinity to legitimate gendered power.

5.1.4. Comparisons with other studies.

Overall, the data suggest that the boys positioned themselves and were positioned in relation to one of two hegemonic masculinities, namely the township young masculinity ('streetwise boy') and the aspirational young masculinity ('cheese boy'). The identification of the two hegemonic versions of young masculinity was also noted by Langa (2008) in his study of young men in townships. A difference between this study and Langa's study was whether to consider the hegemonic versions to be a quality of two distinct groups of boys/men (Langa, 2008) or as an identity based on ideals that may or may not have been translated into practices (this study).

Walker (2005) also identified two versions of masculinity that were apparent among young township men (three to five years older than the adolescent boys in this study). The first was the 'cheese boys' or 'isithipa' who were 'non-violent, monogamous, modern, responsible and built on respect (for themselves and of others for them). The second version was the 'macho' or 'ingagara' men who were associated with fashionable clothes, multiple girlfriends and expensive

cars (p. 175). As does Langa (2008), Walker equates hegemonic masculinity with dominant groups, whereas the findings of the present study suggested that the boys identified themselves with two sets of hegemonic ideals and imperatives. This could perhaps be conceptualised not so much as separate categories but as a continuum between two extremes.

The use of the word 'imperatives' throughout this study is from Korobov and Bamberg (2004) and is used to describe how hegemonic masculinity imposes expectations on boys/men regarding how they should act or embody ideals. Although hegemonic imperatives were partially identifiable with different groups or 'audiences' (township peers, HIV positive young men, 'types' of girls) it was more salient that hegemonic masculinity operated as ideals which functioned to maintain gendered power relations and the benefits accrued through it. It was hard to see how the boys were gaining the gendered advantages or 'patriarchal dividend'(Connell, 1995; 2002) in their situations and circumstances of limited opportunities, resources and choices. For instance, actualising a hegemonic 'commodified masculinity' was out of reach for these boys, as visibly evidenced in the meagre clothing displays photographed by Themba and Jabulani. There was no opportunity to purchase a 'branded masculinity' (Beynon, 2002) that would be available to young men living in relative affluence. This appeared to somewhat contradict Connell's (1995) argument that all boys/men implicitly benefit from patriarchy, although it may have been in the sense of assumed superiority that the young men accrued some benefits from the hegemonic masculinities. 'Aspirational young masculinity' was orientated towards 'patriarchal dividends' being made possible in the future through a narrative of becoming a provider/possessor through educational advancement.

5.1.5. The 'patriarchal dividend'.

Economic power was clearly not the main patriarchal dividend for the boys, at least in their current material realities, and there was resentment that the girls saw them as 'ATMs' (automatic teller machines). Perhaps some of the advantages accrued were a means of control by gaining respect that could be secured by being male, even if this was as a 'man of the house' performing non-hegemonic household tasks (an ironic inversion), being able to control a reputation among

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other boys or in the community, or being in control of self by controlling girls/women. An example of the control theme was the term 'sidlamlilo', describing a man who could not control himself and was aggressive to other men because he allowed his wife or partner to control him. It appeared that the boys did not have access to many forms of authority or influence, safety, access to resources or many of the other patriarchal dividends identified by Connell (2002).

Connell (2002) argues that not all boys/men accrue as much or the same patriarchal dividends. Connell argues that the existence of hegemonic masculinities keeps various forms of power and privilege in the hands of boys/men, with an accumulative power that creates a gendered advantage. It is suggested that aspirational young masculinity was directed towards obtaining financial resources as a 'passport' to other forms of gendered power, entitlement and control over women, with affluence conferring 'influence' (sexual decision-making, being less vulnerable than other men to unemployment, poverty or other social problems). The boys' HIV positive identity was unwanted and unchosen, and the acquisition of power through education and career had the added possibility of overcoming the constraints of being HIV positive.

Morrell (2007b) argues that it is far more difficult for most township young men to escape from living a life of economic constraint and joining the global labour market than for young men from new middle-income households. The findings suggested that some of the boys were identified by others as being aligned with the 'cheese boy' identity although it appeared that their material realities were not those of boys from suburban middle-income households. That the other boys identified them as such meant that they were performatively identified with this set of ideals, norms and practices even though they lacked the means to embody this identity. The function that the 'cheese boy' identity served was more as a means for other boys to manage a distance from the anxiety-provoking possibility that they would not be able to achieve a commodity masculinity because of the limitations associated with having HIV. It is suggested that these township 'cheese boys' who identified with aspirational young masculinity were not identical with the suburban 'cheese boys'. The suburban 'cheese boys' it is speculated might be identified with an 'affluent young masculinity'. This term is used to suggest that suburban boys already had the material means to attain the 'markers' of a commodity masculinity. This

extrapolation was not part of the findings but is suggested on the basis of other research (Blackbeard, 2005; Davies & Eagle, 2007) for the purposes of discussion. The 'affluent young masculinity' was an interpretation of what might be another version of hegemonic masculinity that applied to black suburban boys from middle-income families, such as the 'Super C' boys (and girls) who attended formerly 'whites-only' state-funded high schools (Blackbeard, 2005) or the boys attending a private school in a wealthy suburb (Davies & Eagle, 2007). Such boys would conceivably have access to the 'commodity masculinities' as described by Eagle and Hayes (2007), whereas the boys in the present study had limited access to ways of 'commodified' versions of masculine self and identity.

Langa (2008) described other township boys as resenting 'cheese boys' or the 'amabhujwa' for having the material means to 'access girls', such as being able to drive their parents' cars. The 'cheese boys' of Langa's study were older than those of this study, and it appeared that the 'cheese boys' in this study had not yet engaged in some of the practices described by Langa (2008), although it was likely from the findings that these practices were part of the aspirational young masculinity. A tension in the construction of aspirational young masculinity was whether the outcome would be to become a 'player' or 'provider', each of which was based on a commodity identity, 'players' having the means to 'purchase' hegemonic heterosexuality or the 'providers' having the means to match a hegemonic ideal of being an independent and controlling father. In each case, there was the element of being able to 'have' (possess) the signifiers of a commodity-based masculinity. There was some ambivalence among the boys whether they wanted to be 'provider/possessors' or 'player/possessors' the former being more like the 'cheese boys' described by Walker (2005) and the second being more like the 'cheese boys' described by Langa (2008). In both cases, control over women was enabled through attaining economic power and its signifiers, most emblematically, the luxury car. Although similar to the young men in Langa's study, a difference may have been that Sandile, Themba and Dumisani lived in family contexts that had been dramatically altered through illness, loss and bereavements and did not have access to material resources. There was some sense of ambivalent resentments, for example, the disparagement of the 'mommies' boys' who stayed

home and were 'protected' which was contrasted with the narrative of HIV as a 'protective' entity or condition.

5.2.   Discussion of multiple masculinities

In this section, the constructions and 'solutions' for masculine self and identity is discussed in relation to the findings.

5.2.1. Aspects of 'township young masculinity'.

As a configuration of ideals and embodied practices, township young masculinity was characterised by risk-taking such as alcohol and drug use and having a 'reputation' among peers. The social 'site' for this masculinity was peer groups in the urban townships where there were peer imperatives to conform to hegemonic practices such as substance use and absence from school. The physical location for this masculinity appeared to be outside on the urban and township streets. Risk-taking meant the performative ideals such as using drugs and alcohol, criminal activities, being in a gang, not attending school and being 'out of control'. Although township young masculinity was identified as dangerous and threatening, there was some indication that there were more positive and attractive elements to township young masculinity. Playing soccer was a substitute for risky ways of gaining a 'reputation', 'respect' and the freedom of being in an 'unprotected' environment of the township. 'Protected' environments are potentially stifling, and being in the township 'risk-zone' also had positive challenges for a young man. For example, he had to 'think for himself' in an unprotected space where he could not risk being impulsive.

In masculinity studies, risk-taking aspects of young masculinity have been identified as being performed in varying ways across contexts (Shefer, Ratele, Strebel, Shabalala, & Buikema, 2007; Shefer, Bowman, & Duncan, 2008). Risk-taking could include risks of physical injury, sexual risk-taking and other behaviours and appears from several studies to be the central marker of young and specifically adolescent masculinity (Blackbeard & Lindegger, 2007). This last

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point is evidenced in Korobov and Bamberg's study (2004) which noted that there was a physical risk-taking as a dominant ideal for younger adolescent boys whereas visible heterosexuality was a defining 'marker' for older adolescents, suggesting that risk-taking (or certain types of risk-taking) are located as 'younger' masculinity. Risk-taking was a form of independent agency, a key component of being acceptably masculine as an adolescent boy (Joseph & Lindegger, 2007). Most parallel to the findings of the present study were those of Langa (2008) who also described a township hegemonic masculinity based on the norms and practices of risk-taking.

> 'In this study, a "real boy" was seen as one who engages with in risk-taking behaviours such as smoking, drinking and having sex with multiple partners. These boys interpret academic achievers' heterosexual inexperience as illustrating immaturity. Terms like kgope or ekgwala (a boy without a single girlfriend) or ibhari (a boy who is too scared to talk to girls) are used to ridicule academic achievers in local African and South African contexts.' (p. 7)

This description had some overlap with the township young masculinity but what was notable is the relative 'silence' in the interviews around heterosexuality as a way in which township boys proved masculinity. Being HIV positive meant being unable to perform (or fully perform) according to the hegemonic ideals listed by Langa (2008). What Hermans and Hermans-Konopka (2010) call a 'speaking silence' was present in the data as the boys who aligned themselves with township young masculinity did not include sexual risk-taking as an available means for accomplishing a masculinity based on risk-taking and did not seem from their accounts that the boys were sexually active. It appeared that other kinds of risk-taking were at the forefront of attaining key components of this masculine identity, even if this was a coalitional position that allowed only a partial identification with township young masculinity. This can be explained in terms of the intersection with HIV status, as several of the hegemonic ideals and practices were not possible for the young men.

That sexual risk-taking was attributed to other boys but was not manifested in the dilemmas faced by the boys themselves suggests the 'unavailability' of 'visible' sexual performance as a means to prove masculinity. The findings showed that risk-taking was part of the hegemonic township young masculinity (as perceived by the boys), but the masculinity of an adolescent boy was measured by physical risk-taking and toughness rather than sexual activity. This may have indicated that township young masculinity was a version in which sexual activity was not a key marker, on the assumption that visible sexual activity was more easily accomplished by affluent boys/men (and because these young men were HIV positive).

This paralleled findings from several other studies. For example, Frosh, Phoenix, and Pattman (2003b) document that along with other discursive strategies, some adolescent boys used an 'obsession with football' as a means to prove masculinity to avoid having to prove masculinity through sexual activity, although these boys retained a 'macho' objectification of girls (p. 46). Similarly, the boys maintained a 'distanced' perspective that girls were sexual objects and that sexual activity proved masculinity but did not identify that they were sexually active. There were boys who 'lied' about having girlfriends to prove their manhood, which confirmed what Lindegger and Maxwell (2007) identified as a 'culture of deception' where young men presented themselves as sexually active when they were not (p. 110). Lasser and Thoringer's research (2003) similarly suggested a practice of 'visibility management' among sexual minority boys who maintained an appearance that conformed to 'compulsory heterosexuality' as a peer norm for masculine acceptability.

The township was a site of masculinity that the boys talked about but it was not the physical 'locus' of the study which was the clinic and support group. This meant that elaboration beyond interpreting what the boys said about their lives in the township would not be validated by the data. It should be noted that the autophotography method enables a greater range of physical locations or spatialised 'sites' to be discussed in the interview context, a point which is discussed further on. Few local studies give much emphasis to the spatial aspects of masculinity construction. Salo's study (2007) is an exception in which the spatialisation of masculinity is described with concepts of marginality, periphery, boundaries, social and physical density. The

advantage of this emphasis is that there is a sense of how the social and spatial are closely interconnected, an emphasis that matches DST as a useful approach to understanding masculine self and identity.

It can be challenged that risk-taking is a marker of young masculinity only in local contexts as suggested by Langa (2008). However it is suggested that very visible physical and violent risk-taking is most apparent in urban domains with limited opportunities and resources such as urban 'shanty towns' in South America (Seidler, 2006), the public housing in the Cape Flats (Cooper, 2009; Salo, 2007) or council estates in Britain (Beynon, 2002). This conclusion is argued from the basis that economic deprivation may intersect with social, cultural and political marginalisation, for example, the 'culture of violence' in urban townships is historically located in the apartheid system (Gibson & Lindegaard, 2007). The 'visibility' of risk-taking may also be related to cultural influences on the social construction of masculinity. Seidler (2006) notes that the division between what is considered 'public' and what is 'private' is very defined by culture, context and religion. Seidler argues that this is intrinsic to how masculinity is constructed. In the present study, autophotography elucidated the contrasts of public and private, visible and hidden, and interior and exterior. This gave a sense of how socio-cultural processes, the self-system and the spatial contexts were interconnected. This interconnectedness was made meaningful through the idea of the extended self in DST, which provided a framework for integrating these aspects.

Male violence may be understood as both a form of risk-taking (risking physical injury, legal and other consequences) and as a form of control (Hearn, 2007). One way of understanding hegemony is as a non-violent, non-coercive legitimation of power (Hearn, 2004). Although hegemony is used in much the same way by Connell (1995), as a legitmation of gendered power through embodied practices, hegemonic masculinity is often associated with violence (Joseph & Lindegger, 2007; Messerschmidt, 2000; Sathiparsad, 2005). Chadwick and Foster (2007) argue that most men/boys distance themselves from very obvious 'hegemonic' forms of male violence, but that in seeking alternatives outside hegemonic forms that endorse violence, men/boys still perpetuate gendered inequalities in their attempts to articulate new masculinities. Messerschmidt

(2000) identifies a complexity in the ways that violence occurs in the situated 'moments' in which hegemonic identification is realised. In the present study, physical violence was hardly mentioned by the young men, although the means to control, use and 'own' women implied other, perhaps less obvious forms of violence. As an externalised entity, HIV was portrayed as threatening and at times violent, eliciting fear, 'attacking' and harming the young men (although at other times HIV was described as protective). This suggested that the young men may have experienced themselves as having been violated by HIV, which was literally an intrusion on their embodiment as young men.

5.2.2. Aspects of 'aspirational young masculinity'.

Although hegemonic masculinity is by nature 'aspirational' in the sense of being an unattainable ideal, the term 'aspirational' here is used to refer to the way in which the young men placed the 'actualisation' of a commodity masculinity in the future rather than seeing them as possible in present. In DST, the self is a formed through the dialogue among various positions in a domain or 'landscape'. A central supposition here is that masculinity operates as a 'monologically dominant' in the intrapersonal domain, and in terms of DST, in the interpersonal domain of the extended self. The young men who most identified with aspirational young masculinity appeared to have one dominant position. It is argued here that aspirational young masculinity was a form based on the narrative of actualising a hegemonic commodity masculinity through achievement and individual choice (individualism perhaps). This narrative was reinforced by the constraints of being HIV positive because of the way in which this masculinity form enabled young men to 'delay' having to attaining some of the markers of commodity masculinity including being a provider, having sexual control and being visibly heterosexually active.

As described in the findings, the end point for Sandile's dominant narrative was achieving a future position of being a 'provider' for and 'possessor' of a car, house, wife and children in sequential order. Implicit was a 'contractual reciprocity' in interactions with others. Sandile was going to reciprocate his parents' support in achieving his 'golden career path' by repaying them and supporting them financially. This was revealed especially in his reflective writing interview.

Themba on the other hand, revealed that the end point was also to have the material means to 'possess' key 'components of hegemonic masculinity, but as a 'player' not a 'provider'. The 'players' aspired to be affluent, own luxury cars and have the material means to have many girlfriends, much as the men described by Ragnarrson et al. (2010). At the intersection of masculinity and HIV, the prospects for actualising these components was even more constrained by various challenges (absence from school because of illness, diminished material and relational resources following the loss of parents, fatigue and risks of transmitting HIV to sexual partners). For some boys becoming a 'player' involved the same 'trajectory' as Sandile, hard work and diligence. For Jabulani and Bheki as 'streetwise boys', becoming a 'player' involved a dramatic success as a soccer star or celebrity. The commonality for both the 'provider' and 'player' identities was the agency/access to own signifiers of 'successful masculinity' and to be able to control and possess women as objects that denoted success and visible heterosexual activity.

Spatial 'sites' for this hegemonic form were home and school, and this was most emphasised in Sandile's account where there was no reference to sport or other outdoor spatial contexts. Independence, resolute determination and self-control were key elements of this masculinity. However, this masculinity was made vulnerable by the social isolation of being an academic achiever because boys who focused on their education did not match the ideals of township young masculinity, where indifference to education was valourised. The concept of 'sites of masculinity' is well-conceptualised by Messerschmidt (2000) who defines a 'site' as 'a time, space and … form of interaction' that produces a situation in which a performance of hegemonic masculinity becomes possible (p. 304). This definition fits well the conceptualisation of the extended self in DST, where time, space and dialogue are locations for voiced positions (Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010).

5.2.3. The 'walled solution'.

The 'walled solution' for masculine identity positioning offered relatively stable formulation for positioning in relation to hegemonic ideals, imperatives and practices. One of the challenges of this solution was in constructing a viable masculine self/identity in the face of two I-positions,

namely, being HIV positive and wanting to be seen as a successful hegemonic man. The 'walled solution' to masculine identity offered a way to 'modify' aspects of hegemonic masculinity in collective and individual ways. The individual means to use metapositioning and coalitional positioning was 'bolstered' when the young men were able to 'anchor' these processes with other young men who were HIV positive. This solution arose at the intersection of hegemonic masculinity and being HIV positive. It was not only the support group, the clinic or family that provided a protective or 'walled' space in which this solution was possible but also in the lived condition of being HIV positive and having to shift ideals and practices out of necessity and in order to maintain health in the face of a life-threatening illness. Not operating by the ideals of hegemonic masculinity (for example, not being visibly heterosexually active) meant that the young men could be positioned by others as failures, yet the walled solution allowed a way to 'rescue' a threatened masculinity in much the same way as the HIV positive men in Mfecane's study (2008). At the intersection with HIV, the young men were faced with the challenge of positioning themselves in relation to hegemonic standards in such a way that they could still maintain a viable masculine identity that was coherent to themselves as individuals. The walled solution to masculinity offered opportunities to develop coalitional positions as described by Hermans and Hermans-Konopka (2010). Coalitioning allowed for private identification and public alignment with modified aspects of hegemonic masculinity which were then validated by (some) peers and retained an internal sense of consistency and adequacy (Lindegger & Blackbeard, 2010; Lindegger & Quayle, 2010).

The 'wall' was a function of their HIV positive status and could be considered physical, social and symbolic. Although the wall of being HIV positive created a barrier to the ordinary world of masculinity, some of these boys reframed the wall in such a way that it became a safe space for the creation of an alternative masculine identity. Being HIV positive opened an alternative site for masculinity construction that was made available in safe spaces. It appeared that being a patient at the clinic meant being in a 'protective environment' and that the support group offered some 'protection' against the threats of hegemonic masculinity (alcohol abuse, risking physical health) alongside an engagement around the difficulties that the boys (and girls) faced as HIV

positive young persons. The 'micro-cultural context'[15] of the support group offered a social, spatio-temporal 'site' for self and identity construction, and for several of the boys it offered a different way to be masculine in an environment of trust and dialogue. In this context, the boys were able to reveal aspects of their lives that were 'hidden' elsewhere but this had some contradictions. The focus group discussions seemed to offer a view on the struggle of these boys as they attempted to establish a viable sense of masculine self and identity in the face of being HIV positive. This became especially apparent in the contest between the boys and the facilitators in relation to constructing a masculine self and identity in the support group. The facilitators seemed to primarily want to position the boys as HIV positive and pressure them to take this up as their primary identity, but the boys resisted this and rather positioned themselves in terms of masculinity. An example of this was the expectation Interviewer M had that Bheki would (or should) reveal his HIV status in the interview and Bheki's unexpected reply that he was HIV negative.

Another contestation was when Interviewer S voiced the position that masculinity was defined by the values and moral principles of the support group that emphasised respect for parents/adults and responsible decision-making. The participants voiced positions revealed a non-identification with this 'principled' approach. Instead they used coalitional strategies of juxtaposing hegemonic imperatives with the externalised protection and prohibitions of being HIV positive. HIV positive identity was not 'foregrounded' and the boys defined themselves primarily in terms of masculine identity.

5.2.4. Negotiating dilemmas of 'compulsory heterosexuality'.

A contention in the masculinity studies literature is that masculinity is often defined in relation to or in opposition to girls and femininity (Morrell, 2007a; Reid, 2005). Connell (2002) argues that masculinity is fundamentally relational and is defined by a gender order which scripts how

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[15] The term 'microcultural context' was used by Mac an Ghaill (1994) to describe the formations and groupings in educational environments that made possible various identities including masculine identity.

people construct themselves as gendered and how they behave in everyday life. 'Othering' and abjection are ways in which boys/men construct versions of masculinity against what is constructed as feminine, whether that be girls/women or boys/men who are marginalised by sexual preference, ethnicity or in relation to other social categories (Blackbeard & Lindegger, 2007; Ratele, Fouten, Shefer, Strebel, Shabalala, & Buikema, 2007).

It was very apparent that the boys expressed resentment and other strong emotions towards girls. There were changes in the ways that the boys described girls and it was evident that one of the ways the boys dealt with strong ambivalent feelings about girls was to categorise girls in various ways. These changes were located in different contexts of 'addressivity' and audience (Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010). The boys described girls as materialistic, untrustworthy and superficial at various points and but also as responsible, understanding and loyal at other times.

The young men constantly positioned themselves in relation to girls and the hegemonic imperative to be heterosexually active as a marker of masculinity. The 'demand' that real boys/men are sexually active again reveals the constant struggle to establish and maintain a viable masculine identity at the intersection of these hegemonic demands and the simultaneous reality of being HIV positive. The boys appeared to deal with these challenges in various ways. These were (1) the 'walled solution' in which HIV positive status legitimates alternative or modified forms of masculinity, (2) positioning many apparently sexually active boys as a failures (living the 'fast life', lying about having girlfriends and so on), (3) dichotomising girls and positioning themselves in relation to 'good' and 'bad' girls, (4) framing safe sex in such a way that it enhances rather than reduces masculinity (for example, having self-control and being responsible). In addition, there was clear ambivalence regarding the hegemonic demand for compulsory sexual activity. Boys who identified with aspirational young masculinity followed the idea that while they declined sexual activity in the present, they envisioned their futures as defined by sexual conquest. This revealed a 'modified' identification with hegemonic imperatives.

Sathiparsad (2005) notes in her study that adolescent boys from rural KwaZulu-Natal constructed girls as objects of sexual gratification who should be controlled. In the present study the boys were disparaging and blaming towards (some, most or all) girls. However, this was not on the basis of the girls' behaviour as sexual partners/objects. Rather, it seemed that disparagement of girls was a way of dealing with the hegemonic imperative to be heterosexually active, which was perceived to be difficult or impossible for these HIV positive boys. 'Proving' masculinity through being sexually active was perhaps the most significant 'obstacle' that the boys faced in conforming to hegemonic standards, and the responses to this obstacle varied. In the focus groups, versions of the 'walled solution' operated as a way for dealing with the imperative to be sexually active. Boys/men who put sexual activity ahead of their goals and responsibilities were defined as living the 'fast life' (Bheki), and this was most so when the girls could not be trusted (Sandile). The term 'fast life' implied time, which in relation to DST suggest that the way in which time was structured enabled ways for managing a masculine self and identity. The aspirational (hegemonic) masculinity constructed some of the performances of masculine acceptability in the future, to be highly sexually active, to have control over women and influence/affluence were 'postponed' hegemonic identity performances.

The dichotomous categorising of girls was not only something that the boys presented unprompted but was also prompted by Interviewer S, suggesting a shared discourse in which girls could be constructed in various negative ways (threatening, untrustworthy, dangerous or blameworthy) or in positive ways (understanding, responsible, caring). Mfecane (2008) describes visible heterosexuality as a crucial 'component' or 'marker' of masculinity that was unavailable to the HIV positive men that he interviewed (p. 45). In being unable to meet this criterion, the support group was a space where men engaged in 'rescuing a lost masculinity' (p. 56) by redefining masculinity in ways that emphasised other markers of masculinity, such as being strong enough to take part in the support group. In similar ways, the boys constructed a version of masculine self and identity within the support group based on a reframing of key 'markers'. Inside and outside the support group, one of the ways to deal with the imperative to be visibly heterosexually active was to construct the girls who the boys would be sexually active with as the 'dangerous' girls and the girls who the boys would have friendships with to be the

'safe' girls. Sisters were also categorised as 'safe' girls who could either be trusted supporters or easily controlled. It appeared though, that even the 'safe' girls had a perceived power to define the boys' masculine acceptability. There was the perception that a 'dangerous' girl could actively ridicule, betray or humiliate a boy. It appeared that it was especially feared that this would happen if the girl found out that the boy was HIV positive in a context of sexual activity. To some extent, the 'safe' girls were also able to define the acceptability of the boys, a perception that Interviewer S emphasised. As elsewhere in the data, the interviewer's position was evident, but here, as elsewhere the contestation between the interviewer's biases and the interviewee's perceptions highlighted how positioning was an active and ongoing process.

The boys constructed masculine adequacy in terms of the evaluation of themselves by girls although they themselves wanted to girls to be dependent on them. This was equivalent to the idea of 'reciprocal dependence' from Joseph & Lindegger (2007). That both 'safe' and 'dangerous' girls could define masculine acceptability was suggested elsewhere in the data and suggested that girls had or were given the power to 'unsettle' boys (Joseph & Lindegger, 2007).

Chadwick and Foster (2007) suggest that 're-visioning masculinity' may involve consciously defining girls/women as powerful but that this may be paradoxically 'convenient' for sustaining gender inequality by casting men/boys as 'victims'. This appeared to be somewhat the case among these boys, as positioning girls as having a powerful influence over a young man's sense of masculine identity contained an element of blame (as untrustworthy, critical and unpredictable). Alongside this however, it seemed more that the boys actually perceived or experienced girls as not only having the power to destabilise their masculine identity but also to cause harm by informing others about a boy's HIV positive status.

The emotive terms and implied emotions of the boys suggested highly conflicted feelings towards girls and women. Highly ambivalent feelings towards mothers was suggested in the data, mostly in the idealisation of maternal figures, both mothers who had been lost through HIV or those who fulfilled maternal roles. Girls were idealised and devalued, with a powerful process of splitting between girls who were 'good' and 'safe' and girls who were 'bad' and

'dangerous', with the second group also being associated with sexual activity or 'sexualised'. The intensity of this 'splitting' involved powerful emotional investments. This suggested that the boys positioned themselves in relation to girls as external and internal 'others' but were also positioned by (perceived) internal and external feminine positions. This corresponded with the idea in DST that an individual I-position could be actualised without subjective awareness (Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010).

5.3. Located domains for masculinity positioning

Two 'domains' that were crucial for developing masculine self and identity were soccer as a space for masculine acceptability and the HIV positive support group as a space for revising and reframing hegemonic imperatives and practices.

5.3.1. Soccer as an embodied and spatial domain.

As described in the findings, soccer was identified an important site for masculinity construction for six of the seven boys. Masculinity research indicates that sport is a key spatialised site for constructions of masculinity, especially young masculinities (Blackbeard & Lindegger, 2007; Connell, 2002; Field, 2001; Frosh, Phoenix, & Pattman, 2002). Connell (2002) contends that sport is a 'disciplinary practice' that regulates and valourises hegemonic masculinity as a configuration of gendered ideals and practices. Messner (1992, cited in Field, 2001) notes that globally, team sport is associated with ideal forms of masculinity that is an 'instrumental' interaction rather than a relational experience. It was evident in the findings that the boys constructed versions of masculine self and identity that were defined by soccer as performance. However, there were also instances in which the portrayal of soccer was a more 'relational' space in which boys could relate to each other with a kind of 'respect'. In all instances, soccer was defined as a space that was exclusively for men/boys. Some participants fantasised that becoming a soccer star offered a 'passport' to economic success and being sexually active and the linkage here most likely was that becoming a 'star player' meant being able to purchase the means for multiple sexual partners.

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Identification with team sports creates narratives of ideal masculinity but it is soccer that forms the most important 'reference point' for most African young men (Blackbeard & Lindegger, 2007; Morrell, 1996). As the activity of the formerly colonised, soccer represents a narrative of individual 'victory' over racism and poverty for many young men in the post-colonial' developing world', suggests Archetti (1999). Historically in South Africa, soccer represented subjugated 'black masculinity' as opposed to racialised sports that were associated with privileged white masculinity (Morrell, 1996) such as rugby or cricket. The boys' perceptions of soccer playing as a marker of masculinity emphasised skilled prowess rather than physical toughness. The boys may have had difficulties in being able to play soccer because of health conditions, and it was likely that playing at a competitive level was less possible for these boys than others, as suggested in the findings.

Soccer was a context for masculinity positioning but was a context that was less available to these boys because of HIV positivity. Soccer was a 'passport' to attaining township young masculinity as a hegemonic form but being limited by HIV meant that the young men maintained an identification with soccer in sustaining a viable masculine identity.

5.3.2. The HIV positive support group as a site for constructing masculine identity.

The findings strongly suggested that the HIV positive support group was a social and spatial site for constructing a modified masculinity that was partly identified with hegemonic imperatives and practices outside of the support group. But even in this context there was evidence of a constant identity contest as the boys struggled with the intersection of being HIV positive and also wanting to be ordinary young men. At times, the boys actively resisted the idea that they were in need of 'protection' because of being HIV positive, and especially resisted any foregrounding of an identity as an HIV positive person. There was ambivalence attached to the perception of being 'vulnerable' because of HIV status, and the boys used various positioning processes to define a hegemonically aligned masculinity within a protected space that implied their own vulnerability. Being part of the support group may have developed a stronger We-

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position through which modified masculinity imperatives could be maintained. For instance, there was a coalitional position between the contradictory collective positions. The tension between 'We as young men who have to take care of our health' and 'We as strong, tough young men' was resolved as 'We are strong young men because we resist pressures to take health risks'.

Mfecane's research (2008) with men in HIV support groups is similar in that these men found ways to 'invert' and 'reframe' hegemonic ideals and practices in terms of heterosexual activity or being financial providers as markers of masculinity. These men organised an alternative masculine identity around norms of being courageous and taking a tough collective stance against men who were perceived to be sexually irresponsible (Mfecane, 2008). In similar ways, the adolescent support group held promise as a space in which boys could negotiate new collective and individual positions based on the narrative that to be a young man living with HIV was not to be less of a man, but that being HIV meant living in a 'disciplined' way.

Mfecane suggests that the men in the HIV support group had faced 'near death' conditions that were significant disruptions to life narratives and that being part of the support group 'rescued' a lost masculinity (Mfecane, 2008). Several of the boys had also encountered serious health conditions related to HIV infection, resulting in school absence and hospitalisation. Alongside other difficult life experiences of loss and transition, the boys articulated 'younger' voiced positions or an emotional indifference. It appeared that the support group had potential to be a dialogical space in which the boys could share their feelings and difficulties. This space allowed the boys to not conform to hegemonic expectations that boys/men should be emotionally invulnerable, as has been indicated in the findings and in other studies (Blackbeard & Lindegger, 2007; Davies & Eagle, 2007). As with the support groups described in Mfecane's study (2008), the adolescent support group offered an opportunity to resist conforming to expectations for hegemonic masculinity while at the same time offering the possibility of negotiating a viable masculine identity. Mfecane describes HIV support groups for men as a 're-socialising space'. Notably, it seemed that because adolescent boys were still maturing (or being 'socialised' into)

an adult masculine identity there may have been differences in what was gained through belonging to a support group (Korobov & Bamberg, 2004).

5.4.   Implications for theory in masculinity studies

As a burgeoning interdisciplinary field, masculinity studies has mostly drawn on social constructionism and specifically Connell's development of 'multiple masculinities' and 'hegemonic masculinity' as an embodied configuration of ideals and practices that maintain a patriarchal gendered order (Connell, 1995; Connell, 2002). In general, social constuctionism has led to a dismantling of the idea that gender is an essential or 'natural' quality defined in biological terms or as fixed social roles (Ampofo & Baoteng, 2007). Common to most social constructionist theories of masculinity is the idea that masculinity is 'social', that is masculinity cannot be conceptualised without contrast with an 'other', what is considered unmasculine, non-masculine or feminine (Morrell, 2007a). Most social constructionist accounts imply that masculinity is created relationally through language and socially through discourse (Wetherell & Edley, 1999) although some social constructionist accounts foreground performativity and embodiment (Korobov & Bamberg, 2004).

It was clear in this research that one of the ways the adolescent boys defined masculinity was by contrasting what boys/men do or should be against what girls/women do or should be. Some of these contrasts were very stark and obvious whereas others involved more subtle ways of positioning masculinity as that which was not masculine or not masculine enough.

A key issue in using hegemonic masculinity as an interpretive frame is whether hegemonic masculinity is an ideal that legitimates a gender order or whether it refers to the specific power of groups or sub-groups (Morrell, 2007a). In this research, the emphasis was more on the former, as it appeared that hegemonic ideals and practices acted as a set of 'imperatives' or demands for the performance of ideal masculinity. For example, what was perceived to be ideal masculinity varied among the boys and even where there were convergences around a specific set of practices and ideals there were differences in how these were constructed by individuals or in

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group perceptions. There were inter-individual and intra-individual differences in what was perceived to be acceptable, ideal masculinity and these differences were from specific 'located' perspectives. For example, what the same adolescent boy felt was 'manly' differed according to spatial, interactional and temporal contexts although there were also convergences across individual accounts that suggested some coherence for individuals as to what constituted acceptable, ideal masculinity. In group contexts and individual's perceptions of collective positions, there was a similar fluidity around what constituted masculine acceptability although there were convergences around certain configurations of embodied 'performances', practices and ideals. That there were several configurations which suggested that masculinity was contested and developed in interactional, personal, material, spatial and social domains.

The research findings suggested that there were defined configurations of hegemonic norms, ideals and practices and that the walled solution as one of many solutions (Lindegger & Blackbeard, 2010; Lindegger & Quayle, 2010) acted as a 'reconfiguration' of hegemonic masculinity, particularly the hegemonic masculinity of the township peer culture. In terms of DST, there were 'reconfigurations' involving the development of alternative I-positions through coalitional positioning, and new perspectives from collective voiced positions identified with an HIV positive identity. The concept of dialogicity in the construction of the self and identity was useful for understanding how I-positions were innovated through self-conflicts (Hermans, 2008) or what could be formulated as dialogue of I-positions as the self, for example, how a new I-position could be formulated through collaboration between contradictory voiced positions.

Some readings of the hegemonic masculinity concept have emphasised the embodiment of hegemonic masculinity as a configuration of practices, for example research by Kehily (2001) and Dewing and Foster (2007). Dewing and Foster (2007) highlight the ways in which masculinity discourses are enacted in embodied performance and Kehily (2001) pays particular attention to how the 'materiality' of the body is constructed spatially, intentionally and in contact with other bodies (p. 176). This was also evident in this research, where sporting contexts and domestic spheres were places of embodied performance of gender as a social construction. Kehily notes that Connell placed significant emphasis on masculinities as 'body-

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reflexive practices', suggesting that social practices produce interactions and experiences that are embodied (Connell, 1995, p. 61).

In DST, the self is conceptualised as embodied and situated in real and imagined spatio-temporal domains (Hermans, 2003). Hermans (2003) describes the dialogical self as spatially structured and that there are constructions of self and others that arise from the dialogue among voiced positions. As a 'dynamic' unity-in-multiplicity, the dialogical self embodies not only the voiced I-positions of the individual but internalised embodied I-positions of other people. This underlines the interesting finding that lost loved ones were important as audiences or metapositions.

As a frame for understanding masculine self and identity, DST was useful for conceptualising masculinity construction in various ways. Central to DST is the notion of self as 'landscapes of the mind' (Hermans, 2003). This was relevant to understanding how various speaking positions were actualised and that these were located in 'landscapes' that were spatial, real, represented and imagined (Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010). For example, the photographs and drawings were ways for the boys to locate, represent and interpret 'spatial' sites of masculinity construction. In talking about these representations, the boys moved into 'spatial domains' of memory and imagination, depicting dialogical interactions that were located in internalised landscapes of the mind.

In DST, the self and identity 'live' through internal or external speech acts and each speech act is a 'complex mix' of self and socio-cultural elements that interact in creative and innovative ways (Hermans, 2003). New and innovative versions of masculine self and identity are made possible in a number of ways. In DST terms, the masculine self is a function of the dialogue of various masculine I-positions. Hegemonic masculinity is about the privileging or dominance of one I/we-position. This research indicated that other I-positions are allowed to speak or given legitimacy and 'redialogued'. Interactional contexts provide opportunities for 'dialogicality' through which possibilities for innovations of masculine self and identity are made possible. Drastic changes in personal narratives create opportunities to actualise new self-narratives from

innovated I-positions (Hermans, 2004). The condition of being HIV positive creates a domain in which self-narrative may differ markedly from others, and within this domain (spatial, symbolic or social) there are opportunities for self-innovation. In this research, being an HIV positive person meant a foreclosure on accomplishing hegemonic imperatives for an acceptable masculine self and identity but this also facilitated new opportunities for the boys' to widen their 'position repertoire' (Hermans, 2004).

In dialogical terms, the subordinated, marginalised or complicitous masculinities described by Connell (1995) may be understood as (voiced) positions in relation to hegemonic masculinity as a 'monologically dominant' voiced position (Hermans, 2004; Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010). Various means to accomplish reconfigurations of masculine self and identity would appear to be possible. First, as evidenced in this research, exposure to new self positions in the external world can also function as 'innovations of the self' in the internal domain (Hermans, 2004) or what could also be called new actualised positions (Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010). Second, metapositions function as a means to create new linkages and possibilities for negotiating new masculinities or destabilising the 'monological' dominance of hegemonic masculinity. Being HIV positive enabled a new position that offered a potential meta-perspective of a collective position including the hegemonic masculinity as a dominant and sometimes monological position. Being HIV positive actualised possibilities to reconfigure a version of masculinity that retained some alignment with hegemonic ideals and practices yet also broadened the 'position repertoire'. Third, finding alternatives to the monological dominance of hegemonic masculinities (or, in some cases, contestation between rival hegemonic masculinities) could be facilitated by an 'opting out' of any kind of positioning against monological dominance. This could shift the 'centre of gravity' away from the centrality of hegemonic masculinity or displace voiced positions of hegemonic masculinity to the periphery of the self-system. Fourth, coalitions between contradictory voiced positions could create new linkages and open new positions or consolidate positions that were counter-hegemonic by, for example 'strengthening' a coalitional anti-hegemonic position by anchoring the position in a collective identity, such as being HIV positive. Fifth, masculine self and identity could be reformulated by 'modifying' aspects of hegemonic masculinity as a dominant voice in the 'self-system' (Hermans, 2008). For

example, negotiating a more sustainable version that can be maintained as a 'toned down' version of hegemonic ideals and practices. Sixth, creativity and imagination can create possibilities for self-innovation (Hermans, 2003). Therefore new versions of masculine self and identity are possible through opportunities for creativity and imagination.

Creating different perspectives such as a 'bird's eye view' (metaposition) can facilitate personal awareness and self-innovation, suggests Konig (2009, p. 110). In this research, visual methods created an opportunity for the boys to give a meta-commentary on masculine self and identity. The meta-commentary engaged internal and external 'audiences' as relational contexts in which masculine self and identity was negotiated, defended or innovated. Peer groups were both external and internal audiences that 'verified' and approved versions of masculinity self and identity.

It is argued that a limitation of discursive psychology (for example, Wetherell & Edley, 1999) is that the masculine subject occurs at the intersection of discourse and agency such that the masculine subject negotiates positions but appears to lack an integrating function. DST conceptualises the self as having an integrating and centralising function with limits on how much multiplicity can occur within the self-system (Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010). Metapositioning establishes stable coherence in situations where there is an over-availability of possible positions, such as the boundless possibilities of a global culture with increasing cultural hybridity, translocality and the information economy (Hermans, 2004).

Seidler (2006) argues that a problem with post-structuralist emphasis on discourse is that the masculine subject is defined through structures of power which do not account for the located subjectivities of individuals or groups. Although Seidler's critique simplifies discursive or social constructionist theory, he makes an important point about the need to theorise masculine self and identity. As argued by Frosh et al. (2002), masculinity studies should be informed not only by a theory of masculinity as a social construction but also by a theory of personal subjectivity to account for the individual ambivalences, contradictions and emotional investments of boys/men. Gibson and Lindegaard (2007) argue that a focus on dominant discourse 'tells us only part of the

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story' (p. 128). Masculinity should not be considered an essential given but rather taken as a subjective construction that is constantly negotiated and renegotiated.

In summary, it is argued on the basis of this research that dialogical self theory offers attractive possibilities as a theoretical basis for masculinity studies, especially for understanding masculine identity construction of individual boys/men. The use of DST alongside social constructionist views of masculinity, especially Connell's idea of hegemonic masculinity bridges a gap in which the subjective and social can be conceptualised in ways that open up ways of understanding the co-construction of masculinity at the intersection of self and society, or as put by Hermans and Hermans-Konopka (2010), the 'self-as-society'.

5.5.   Relevance for research and limitations of this study

The use of DST as a frame for interpreting masculine self/identity positioning is probably the area that most invites further research and exploration. DST adds new and integrating possibilities for theory and research around subjectivities at the interface of the social and self. DST is an elegant theory of subjectivity that accounts for emotional investments in identity positoning, the ways in which positioning is dynamic and ongoing within the self as a unity-in-multiplicity (Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010). Seidler's critique that Connell's theory does not account well for cultural masculinities invites the use of dialogical thinking in the area of culture and masculinity, bearing in mind the supposition that the self and culture are mutually inclusive.

> 'A weakness of Connell's theory that conceives of masculinity as a
> relationship of power is its blindness to issues of cultural difference and
> the emotional lives of men' (Seidler, 2006, p. 188).

This critique may not be entirely justified as in more recent work Connell does discuss the inter-relatedness of culture and masculinity quite extensively (Connell, 2002; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). An advantage of DST is that culture and emotional experience are

considered to be intrinsic to self and identity (Hermans, 2003; Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010). In DST, the self 'lives' through communication, discourse and the 'complex mix of self and culture' (Hermans, 2003, p.356). Introducing dialogical thinking into theories of masculinity invites new research at the interface of self, culture and discursive contexts.

Research that can build on developments of a study such as this are those which replicate with other populations or samples some of the methods of this research (or the broader project of which this research was a sub-study). There is a compelling case for mixed-gender research, and this research design could be adapted or transferred to a mixed-gender sample or to a sample of adolescent girls. This would make sense theoretically, given that masculinity has largely been defined as relational (Morrell, 2007a). Pattman (2007) argues that it is important to understand how boys talk about girls and girls talk about boys in research that is orientated towards gender equality programmes. As a qualitative study, this project may prompt quantitative research that may be relevant to public health, gender activism and community development.

Most notably however, the areas in which this study may have the most relevance for further research in masculinity studies is in developing further a dialogical understanding of masculinity identity construction. This may have hold innovative possibilities for masculinity studies, particularly in engaging research in the individual subjectivities that shape how masculinity is constructed in society, culture and gendered power relations. Applied research can also be developed for group-level interventions, community psychology, health psychology and psychotherapy practice where dialogical thinking can invigorate the ways in which masculine identities contribute to difficulties and opportunities in culture and society.

In considering the limitations of this research, it is noted that the qualitative research methodology was appropriate for addressing the research question with inductive findings that drew on multiple sources and methods. Autophotography and biographical drawings drew attention to the spatial dimensions of masculine self-positioning in which participants exercised agency in depicting contexts and sites of masculinity construction.

The biographical drawings and accompanying interviews highlighted the temporal domain in which masculine self and identity was formed in relation to past, present and the future as lived experience. The visual methods in general were relevant to DST as the 'extended self' was represented in non-verbal ways and in verbal ways with the accompanying interviews. The dialogue between verbal and non-verbal suggested how self-positions were positioned in relation to hegemonic masculinity. In dialogical terms, hegemonic masculinity could be conceptualised as a set of collective, ideal self-positions and embodied practices.

Small sample size was a potential limitation of this research and optimally more participants may have been better even though there were various ways of triangulating the data and improving validity and reliability (prolonged engagement, multiple data sources, multiple methods for data analysis). As a result of the small sample size, the research began to resemble 'case studies' at times. Case studies have a definite value for masculinity studies, much of which is grounded in qualitative methods. Notably, Connell's theorising was largely based on case study examples (Connell, 1995).

The extent to which social desirability created limitations in the findings was debatable, as the reflexivity practices and detailed data analysis revealed some of the ways in which the participants presented themselves. In relation to DST, this involved both 'audiences' and 'addressivity' in the ways that the boys presented themselves differently in varying social, spatial and symbolic contexts (Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010). The evidence from this research indicated that the young men managed their 'visible' identities, and this had the implication that to some extent that what the boys presented of themselves at the interviews was contextual to the research as a social context.

Critical narrative analysis of the biographical interviews was attempted and was a way of developing a familiarity with the subtleties of interview data but its validity was limited as these interviews had been translated. Although critical narrative analysis was not presented in the final version of the findings, some of the useful attributes of this approach were retained for 'zooming in' on the data, such as the interest in discordances, nuances, narrative positioning, 'disruptions'

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and 'elisions' in the text and discursive gaps (Emerson & Frosh, 2004). It was debatable whether or not critical narrative analysis added value to the data analysis and in the end it was retained more as a way to consider the data in terms of perspectival shifts, discordances and inconsistencies at a micro-level. This was fairly compatible with dialogical thinking, but the limitations of this method was apparent for the kind of data that was produced in this study. Critical narrative analysis would have been a more effective method had the research produced more narrative material.

Arriving at the optimal way to analyse the data was a part of the researcher's engagement with the research process and the final presentation of findings was based on several revisions and reworking of the data analysis. This was a challenge, developing more effective ways to make sense of the data resulted in more detailed description and interpretation of the findings. A limitation of this was that the data analysis was quite complex which could make replication of this study difficult. Finding an optimal way to analyse autophotography data was a challenge in this data as there were limits in using parallel methods to analysing the visual and verbal texts, even though every attempt was made to develop dialogue between the visual and verbal data.

As a growing interdisciplinary field of study that includes psychological research, masculinity studies has 'come of age' and the possible challenge at this point is to reinvigorate the field with theoretical developments and breaking new ground in under-researched areas or areas of special relevance for gender activism, programmes for gender equality and gender-based health promotion.

5.6. Relevance for programmes, policy, activism and health promotion

This research may have relevance for programmes for gender equality and advocacy, and for programmes to address road accidents, alcohol and substance abuse, gendered violence or other issues related to problematic masculinity. Such programmes are unlikely to be effective if based in a 'deficit model of masculinity' in which all constructions of masculinity are seen to be inherently problematic (Montgomery, Hosegood, Busza & Timaeus, 2006). Seidler (2006)

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argues that interventions are most likely to be effective if based in locality and 'conditions of particularity' such as language, culture and community contexts. What may be considered hegemonic masculinity in one context may not be hegemonic in another context (Connell, 1995). This research supports that idea that creating contexts for dialogue and new perspectives may be a useful component of programmes for gender equality. For example, the 'Men and Masculinities' programme of the Gender Education and Training Network (GETNET) facilitated spaces for boys/men to reflect on culture and gender power relations (Lindegger & Maxwell, 2007; Sathiparsad, 2007). DramAide, the Stepping Stones training programme and other initiatives have 'targeted' young men and women for gendered change with a key area being how young men and women view relationships and creating opportunities and resources for young men to develop alternative constructions of masculinity (Lindegger & Maxwell, 2007; Sathiparsad, 2007). Sport may be a 'site' of masculinity where there may be considerable 'leverage' for change and there may be other 'sites' at which alternatives for problematic masculinities may be developed.

For public health research, this study may have relevance for policy development in areas of alcohol and substance abuse as health risk factors, especially in the context of HIV. Given that in HIV prevention and other health programmes, exclusively knowledge-based interventions seldom translate into sustainable changes (Posel, 2005), there may be many possibilities for facilitating alternatives to masculinity norms and practices that put young men and women at risk of HIV infection, physical injury, alcohol and substance abuse, domestic violence and motor vehicle accidents. This research shows that boys/men can achieve sustainable 'reconfigurations' of masculinity with social resources and social contexts that innovate and support change. Research such as this highlights that many young men are in fact oppressed by norms and imperatives to perform, be invulnerable and heterosexually 'successful' (Hearn, 2007). Public health policy may be well-informed by an understanding of the masculinity ideals, norms and practices that create expectations, anxieties and problems with school attendance, alcohol and substance abuse and physical risk-taking.

Commenting on their research with adolescent boys, Frosh et al. (2003a), note that surprising things can happen when boys are given a space for reflection upon their experiences as young men and this was so within the research context of the present study. As in other similar studies (Blackbeard & Lindegger, 2007; Langa, 2008) the research process created opportunities for reflection, meta-perspectives and dialogue about themselves in relation to masculine self and identity. Thorpe (2002) describes an effective intervention as 'counter-nurturing alternative discourse and voices emerging from the boys themselves' (p. 68). Sustainable changes are possible if to working with young men to elicit from their own experience ways of managing identity and distancing themselves from problematic norms and practices (Thorpe, 2002).

How young men envisage their futures and what the pressures and expectations are that they face may be crucial for gender activism. This research indicated that young men are able to exercise collective and individual agency in masculinity positioning and that accomplishing sustainable alternatives may involve various identifications and alignments with masculinity ideals and practices. For activism, this may mean working actively with young men in creating sustainable alternatives at collective and individual levels using the media, involvement in anti-violence campaigns such as the 16 Days of Activism (Harries & Bird, 2005), gender advocacy and community participation. This research strongly suggests that masculinity cannot be considered outside materiality, both in the embodiment of masculinity as a set of practices and ideals but also in the material and socio-economic conditions in which the socialisation of boys occurs. It is suggested that the 'intersection' of masculinity and HIV, and the development of various solutions to masculine identity as revealed in the findings of this study, gives useful clues to intervention in other areas where constructions of masculinity, and especially hegemonic masculinity, may have problematic implications for men and society as a whole.

CONCLUSION

A key focus of this research was the 'intersection' of being HIV positive and 'young masculinity'. As a set of ideals, imperatives and practices, hegemonic masculinity organises systems of gender power relations and in this research it was evident that hegemonic masculinity was contextual and relational. Attaining either of the two dominant versions of masculinity available to the young men were both constrained by the challenges of being HIV positive in addition to the limitations of material resources. An identity as an HIV positive individual was not foregrounded in the participants' accounts and the 'contestations' with the interviewer indicated that the young men identified their identities as young men as more important.

Using DST as a way of conceptualising masculine self and identity has immense potential to develop new approaches to understanding masculinity positioning, multiple masculinities and hegemonic masculinity. Framing hegemonic masculinity as a monologically dominant voiced position (or set of positions) captures the ways in which gendered power operates in personal and collective subjectivities. This develops Connell's notion that masculinities function to legitimate patriarchy from the social and relational levels (areas that have been well-theorised in discursive psychology and other social constructionist approaches). The concept of the 'self-as-society' (Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010) allows a perspective on the ways in which hegemonic masculinity operates at the level of individual, group and collective subjectivity. Positioning a masculine identity involves processes that are embodied, peformative and located in domains of space and time of the self-system (Hermans, 2004).

This research confirmed findings from other studies, such as the contestability of masculinity, that multiple masculinities could be present in individual and group subjectivities, and that the presentations, alignments and identifications with forms of masculinity differed across contexts. In this research, the intersection of being HIV positive and masculinity was a context in which ways of positioning viable alternatives for hegemonic masculinity were identified.

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APPENDIX 1

THEMATIC ANALYSIS INDEX

BIOGRAPHICAL

Both parents passed away when he was young (DMI3-07)

Stays with aunt and uncle (DMI3-07)

Sometimes cries for his parents (DMI3-07)

Parents passed away (SMLS-06)

Mother passed away and father went to Johannesburg (MMLS-01)

Parents and family are important in his life (SMLS-05)

Stepmother passed away (MMLS-02)

Challenging as father does not live full time with him (MMLS-02)

Misses his family as he lives in another city (MMLS-02)

'MEANINGS' OF YOUNG MASCULINITY

1. RIGHTS

Young men have the same rights as other people (MMI1-05)

To be treated equally and well are rights (MMI1-05)

2. CHOICES

A young man can make choices about his life (DMI2-02)

A young man can choose to handle circumstances in his life (DMI2-02)

3. SOCCER

Young men like to play soccer, it is a good thing (MMI1-05)

Likes to play soccer with friends (DM2-06)

4. DANCE

Young men like to dance (MMI1-05)

Likes to dance with friends (DM2-06)

5. MUSIC

Music is important and he loves it (MM2-04)

As a business he makes CDs (MM2-05)

6. OPPORTUNITIES

Being Black young man you can grow as a business person (MMI1-04)

Having a business puts money in the pocket (DMMI2-05)

Education is now free in South Africa (SDMF-0102<u>06</u>)

Has more opportunities as an African young man (DMI3-07)\

7. PRIDE

Important to take pride in your appearance and clothes (MMI1-07)

Proud and happy to be an African young man (DMI3-07)

Proud of being an African as he can do lots of things (DMI3-07)

8. HELPING OTHERS

It is desirable to help others (MMI1-07)

9. LOVE

Love is important to young men (MMI2-04)

10. CARS

Sometimes he washes cars as the man of the house(DMMI2-05)
Washing the car is part of outside chores (DMMI-05)
You can play music when you wash the car (DMMI-05)

11. SCHOOL

Helpful to have extra cash for school projects (DMMI2-05)
School is important to be something in the future (DMMI2-05)
Education is more important now for young men (SDMF-010206)

12. PHYSIOLOGICAL CHANGES

Reaching puberty and being able to make a woman pregnant (SDMF-010206)
When you start to develop and have hair on your face (SDMF-010206)

13. 'STANDING ON YOUR OWN'

Standing on your own and refusing to take alcohol or smoke defines you as a real man (SDMF-010206)
He stood on his own by advising a friend to not use drugs (SDMF-010206)

14. GENDERED ACTIVITIES

It is good to be young (MMI1-05)

Young men are free to relax, play soccer and have fun (MMI1-05)

Boys can do lots of things, play soccer and playstation (MMI1-04)

Girls stay at home and cook and clean (MMI1-04)

Only when alone does he have to clean (MMI1-04)

Sometimes he washes dishes (DMMI2-05)

Girls don't wash cars (DMMI2-05)

Boys are lazy when it comes to washing dishes (DMMI-05)

Feels like a real man when he does outside chores at home (MDFM-030405)

Feels like a real man when he cuts the grass (DMI1-07)

MASCULINITY NORMS AND PRACTICES

1. SOCCER

He feels confident when scoring goals (MMI1-04)

Plays soccer with friends (MMI1-04)

Young men like playing soccer outside (DMMI2-05)

It is good for a young man to play soccer (DMI3-07)

2. ALCOHOL

Alcohol use (SMI1-02)

Alcohol use can affect future goals (SMI1-02)

Alcohol use can affect your whole life (SMI1-02)

Alcohol use can complicate your life (SMI1-02)

Peer norms make alcohol use acceptable (SMI1-02)

Elders or counselling can help overcome this (SMI1-02)

Friends pressurise (MLS-01)

Started drinking at age 12 (MLS-01)

Uncles encouraged alcohol use (MLS-01)

3. SUBSTANCE ABUSE

Peer norms make cannabis use acceptable (SMI1-02)

Peer norms position smoking drugs as cool and clever (SMI1-01)

Using cannabis can complicate your life (SMI1-02)

4. GANGS AND CRIME

Friends have norms about being thugs (SMI1-01)

A young man can be a victim of crime (MMI1-05)

Other young men can be the perpetrators of crimes (MMI1-05)

Some young men bunk school, go to girlfriends, steal cars (SDMF-010206)

5. DECISIONS

Deciding what kind of life you like to live (SMI1-02)

Deciding what kind of life you want in the future (SDMF-010206)

6. 'RESPECT' AND REPUTATION

Important to be known for something in the township or community such as drug use (SMI1-01)

Being known for something you become respected (SMI1-01)

Being known for something you become feared (SMI1-01)

Being out of control with drinking you become popular (SMI1-01)

Intoxicated, you can be rude and aggressive which is acceptable in the township (SMI1-01)

If you don't drink or drug you may be considered stupid or gay (SMI1-01)

7. GIRLS

Some boys laugh at you if you don't have a girlfriend (MMI1-05)

Some boys lie about having girlfriends (MMI1-04)

Girls can cheat and fall pregnant (SDMF-010206)

You can say you have a girlfriend but someone else can cheat with her (SDMF-010206)

It is better to have one person (SDMF-010206)

Some girls have sex with other guys and then you can contract HIV (SDMF-010206)

Girls laugh at him and want money (DM2-06)

Some girls like a boy who is patient (DM2-06)

Some girls are respecting and patient (DM2-06)

8. FASHION

Sometimes parents want to buy clothes that are not branded from cheap stores (SDMF-010206)

If you respect your parents they won't buy you cheap clothes (SDMF-010206)

9. EDUCATION

Punished if he does not do homework at school (MMI1-04)

The teacher strike affected him (MMI1-04)

Education important so that you can stand on your own (SDMF-010206)

Education important if you want employment or want to run a business (SDMF-010206)

If you think of your future you keep close to your books (SDMF-010206)

Education is a cure for success or your future (SDMF-010206)

Bunking school is a challenge (SDMF-010206)

The strike was a challenge (DMI2-07)

10.DIFFICULTIES OF HIV POSITIVE LIVING

You have to deal with others who have life issues (SMI1-02)

Alcohol use can affect your whole life (SMI1-02)

Sick people need support (MMI2-04)

Sick people cannot walk on their own, they need help (MMI2-04)

Everybody needs protection (MMI2-04)

Sick people who have AIDS need care (MMI2-04)

it is important not to lose hope (MMI2-04)

I am afraid of HIV (MMI2-04)

I am afraid of HIV when it isn't going well and I want to give up (MMI2-04)

I do not want to be killed by HIV (MMI2-04)

You have to take care of yourself and not touch anyone's blood (MMI2-04)

HIV stops him from taking alcohol and drugs (SMLS-06)

A challenge is that you think of dying or killing yourself(SMLS-06)

He does not want to tell some people of his status (SMLS-06)

People are not trustworthy if you tell them of your status they tell others (SMLS-06)

Some people assume he is HIV positive (SMLS-06)

You cannot take girls into the bedroom when you are HIV

Positive (SMLS-05)

You can only date for fun (SMLS-05)

Girls are not trustworthy if you tell them your status you will be laughed at (SMLS-05)

The hurry to take girls into the bedroom makes a bad situation (SMLS-05)At first it's a shock

learning of your status and then it's something you live with (MMLS-02)

Some people are selfish and pass the virus on (MMLS-02)

Young men know about HIV risk and protection but they still pass the virus on (MMLS-02)

In our community people know a lot about HIV (MMLS-02)

Some people don't want to understand (MMLS-02)

I just feel normal it's a normal thing (MMLS-02)

Everything's the same (MMLS-02)

OVERCOMING HIV/MASCULINITY CHALLENGES

1. MEDICAL AND ARVS

Was helped at hospital when he became sick (SMLS-06)

Never thought of killing himself because of help of ARVs (SMLS-06)

ARVs means that HIV is there but it does not threaten you so much (SMLS-06)

Hoping there will be a cure for HIV (SMLS-05)

2. SUPPORTIVE RELATIONSHIPS

Going to elders or counselling to overcome challenge (SMI1-02)

Older people respect you if you don't drink or drug (SMI1-01)

Boys need support (MMI2-04)

Support means financial help (MMI2-04)

Support means being taken to hospital if needed (MMI2-04)

Boys need to be protected (MMI2-04)

Everyone needs someone to look after them (MMI2-04)

Parents look after us (MMI2-04)

Talk to someone you trust (DM2-02)

Can trust his father to give him good advice (DM2-02)

Step-sister helps him to solve problems (DM2-02)

Peer support from other boys in the group (DM2-02)

Parents can help him to make the right choice (DM2-06)

Support group helps with having someone to talk to (DMI3-07)

Grandfather is church going and a support (MMLS-01)

3. CULTURAL TRADITION

As a black person, his culture sustains him (SDMF-010206)

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Culture does not allow him to do crime (SDMF-01<u>02</u>06)

If you rely on your culture it keeps you safe (SDMF-01<u>0</u>206)

Culture gives you knowledge on how to live your life (SDMF-01<u>02</u>06)

Culture shows you how to live your life and how to make a better future (SDMF-01<u>02</u>06)

4. CHOICES

There are choices about how you live your life (SMI1-02)

There are choices about what people to associate with (SMI1-02)

You can choose what life you want to live (SMI1-02)

Telling yourself what you want to do stops you from bunking school (SDMF-01<u>02</u>06)

You can choose your own way of living (DM2-02)

Parents help with making right choices and with studies (DM2-06)

You can have control of yourself (MMLS-01)

5. RELIGION AND SPIRITUALITY

Seeing everything having a reason (MMLS-01)

Grandfather gives spiritual advice (MMLS-01)

DISTANCING FROM HEGEMONIC MASCULINITY

1. THINKING FIRST

Thinks first before doing things (SMI1-01)

Thinks about the consequences of taking drugs (SMI1-01)

Have a strong sense of who you are, you won't drink or drug (SMI1-01)

Some guys want to live a fast life, others think (MDMF-030405)

Some are mommies boys, stay home and watch TV (other extreme) (MDMF-030405)

2. CONSIDERING CONSEQUENCES

Thinking about the consequences of negative things helps to not do them (SDMF-010206)

Observing other people's lives and seeing the consequences of what they do (SDMF-010206)

Living the fast life you end up not completing school and becoming a parent (MDMF-030405)

3. BEING ACTIVE

Playing soccer, going to gym, reading helps you to not give time to doing bad things (SDMF-010206)

4. VALUES AND BELIEFS

If friends expect you to do bad things to get respect, you must decide on your own what you believe is right (SDMF-010206)

A real man decides what he believes (SDMF-010206)

5.' MASCULINE' WAYS TO DEAL WITH HIV STIGMA

If people 'talk', don't care what they say (SMI1-01)

If people assume his HIV status he says so what (SMLS-06)

Does not give certain people attention (SMLS-06)

6. FUTURE FOCUS

Ignore injunction to drink or drug by focusing on what you want out of life (SMI1-01)

Focus on your goals and what you want to prevent drinking or drugging (SMI1-01)

Find a way to carry on with your life (DMI2-02)

With HIV he can still think of the future, a career as a car designer (SMLS-05)

7. FAMILY AND COMMUNITY RESPECT

You can lose respect with young and old if you drink or drug (SMI1-01)

You can lose respect in the community if you drink or drug (SMI1-01

At home he is respected and respects his family and feels like a real man there (DMI2-06)

8. FAMILY (RESPONSIBILITY AND PROVIDING)

It is manly to be able to help your family (MMI1-05)

A young man should do things requested without complaint or fussing (MMI1-05)

Having your own family is a way to attain manhood (MMI1-05)

Family can take care of you (DMI3-07)\

A real man can build a house for his family in a safe place (MMI1-05)

Too many four room houses in unsafe areas of the township (MMI1-05)

A young man should provide for his family (MMI1-04)

9. SAFE SEX

You can tell a girl that you won't have sex with her or you can use a condom (SDMF-010206)

10. DISTANCING FROM PEERS

Keep away from friends who want to get you into trouble (MDMF-030405)

You can speak one on one with friend and say you don't agree with them (MDMF-030405)

Identify who are your true friends (MDMF-030405)

IDEALS, IMPERATIVES AND EXPECTATIONS

1. GENERAL

Expectation to go to school, get a job, have a house (MMI1-05)

Expected to have money (MMI1-05)

Expected to go to school and have respect (MDMF-030405)

Expected to focus on what you are doing (MDMF-030405)

2. PARENTS

Parents expect great things from young man (SMI1-02)

Parents expect good results at school (SMI1-02)

Parents expect good achievements (SMI1-02)

Parents expect material prosperity, car, house, family(SMI1-02)

Parents expect them to be supported by young man (SMI1-02)

These expectations make him feel boosted and empowered(SMI1-02)

Parents are more available than in the past and can educate young men especially about their health, especially mothers (SDMF-010206)

Parents expect that one day we do great things for them (SDMF-010206)

Parents expect us to thank them in the future for the education they have provided (SDMF-010206)

One day we will have to take responsibility for our families and provide food and retirement for parents (SDMF)

The expectations of providing for parents make him feel strong and powerful to have a goal (SDMF-010206)

Parents expect only great things of me and can give direction in life(DM2-02)

3. PEERS

Friends expect some failure and delays in your life (SMI1-02)

Friends expect you to bunk classes (SMI1-02)

These expectations make him feel he has influence (SMI1-02)

Learns to be a thug through what friends do (SMI1-01)

Friends expect him to drink, smoke, steal and have delays (SDF-010206)

Other friends will give you a carry-on success (SDMF-010206)

Some friends are bad influences (SDMF-010206)

Other friends give you hope (SDMF-010206)

Some friends give you hope even if you have lost your parents (SDMF-010206)

Some friends give you respect if you do bad things – steal, stab or rob people (SDMF-010206)

Friends expect you to do naughty things or be a businessman (MDMF-030405)

Some friends can be a good or bad influence (DMI2-02)

Friends can help you to not do drugs and be a good man (DMI3-07)

3. GIRLS

Girls like to 'correct' the steps that a young man makes(SMI1-02)

Some girls expect you to have sex with them (SDMF-010206)

Other girls hope that one day you will propose marriage (SDMF-010206)

Some girls like a quiet man who listens (SDMF-010206)

Girls lie a lot and it is hard to know what their expectations are or reasons to be with you are (SDMF-010206)

You must be well-dressed with an ear-ring (MDMF-030405)

You must have an s curl hairstyle (MDMF-030405)

Girls sometimes like you if you are decent and they can trust you (MDMF-030405)

Majority of girls like you because of money (MDMF-030405)

Liking money is where girls go wrong (MDMF-030405)

You need to be brave to court a girl (MDMF-030405)

It's not good to be a man who is dominated by a woman (MDMF-030405)

Girls can motivate a guy in his career and future (DM2-02)

4. ROLE MODELS

Jomo Sono because he is successful, has own team is famous (SMI1-01)

Xolani Gwala because he is wealthy, helps people know about their rights (MMI1-05)

Arthur Zwane because he plays soccer for Kaizer Chiefs(MMI1-04)

Zola sings songs with a message that help people (MMI2-07)

Xolani Gwala makes lots of money and he helps people (MDMF-030405)

Zola because he likes helping people (MDMF-030405)

Zola has a song that you must study hard (MDMF-030405)

A young player for Orlando Pirates (DMI3-07)

5. FUTURE

Goals can be affected by alcohol use (SMI1-02)

Alcohol use can take focus off achievements (SMI1-02)

Focusing on goals can distance you from peer norms of drinking and drugging (SMI1-01)

Wants to be famous and wants to be rich like Jomo Sono (SMI1-01)

Wants to be famous, rich and manage own household and take care of own family (SMI1-01)

Wants to be a lawyer and take care of people (MMI1-05)

Wants to be a lawyer and put aside soccer (MMI1-04)

Wants to be a teacher in the future and own a car (MMI2-07)

Wants to be a man who has a house and works well (MMI2-07)

Likes cars and wishes to have one in the future (MMI2-04)

Wants to be a lawyer in the future (MMI2-04)

Wants to be a millionaire and own lots of cars (DMMI2-05)

He wants to aspire to success (DMMI2-05)

Wants to be a lawyer and be a good man (DM2-07)

Sees his future as playing cricket for his country (SMLS-06)

Wants to work in health department and have own house, sports car and all together in a happy family (MMLS-02)

Wants marriage relationship based on trust and helping each other (MMI1-05)

A man is defined by having a girlfriend, house and money (MMI2-07)

APPENDIX 2

SCAPE MODELS

ECO/SOCIOSCAPE

some guys tried to force me to drink
boys who use drugs are seen as clever/cool
but they are not respected in the community

'out of control' boys and 'thugs' are respected by other boys
boys have sex and boys use drugs (cannabis and 'all kinds)
boys must know the consequences of drugs (FG)

Friends provide
hope or if your
parents have
passed away (FG)

you must make your choices
on your own (FG)

I do not want to be a
thug

IDIOSCAPE

maybe God knows
everything happens
for a reason and
friends help you carry
on (FG)

I am not
religious like
grandfather

I believe in God

I used to drink alcohol
(now) I can control myself

I can 'call' on my father
and grandfather for help

parents expect us to
provide for them in
the future if we/you
respect them they
will buy you nice
clothes (FG)

A real man can make
a woman pregnant

my mother died
uncle gets drunk
I am HIV positive

I want to be respected

I am responsible

my grandfather helps
me to cope with HIV

challenge having sex
with HIV positive girls
we/you must say no or
use condoms (FG)

I want to be famous
I want to be rich

a boy must be
'known' for something
in the community

BIOSCAPE

parents advise us (FG)

There are lots of
sicknesses now (FG)

SA soccer side

parents are more
caring than in
traditional times
parents expect us
to be responsible
(FG)

national soccer
coach is rich and
famous but he is fat

MEDIASCAPE

Scape model 1: Jabulani 01 (FG means focus group)

ECO/SOCIOSCAPE

friends expect me/us to have some delays or
failure – some give a carry on success to a
golden career path

a young man must know for himself what he wants to do (FG)

you need to choose right people
a young man must take action

it's your choice what life you want to live

people have challenges
of drinking and positive
living

other young men
can cheat with your
girlfriend (FG)

I am a person with choices in life
I can start choosing now
I am HIV positive – it just feels normal
I don't drink as it will harm my health
I don't drink as I have goals for my future
In the future I want a car, house, wife,
children and my own accessories

girls lie a lot
they say they love
you but have their
own reasons (FG)

our parents
provide for us
giving us an
education so we
must do great
things to thank
them (FG)

my parents boost my power
my parents expect me to do well
I want to work in the health department
I get advice from others if I have problems
I talk to someone if I have problems
I can talk in the support group

In the support
group you can talk
to everybody

the media tell us to
not take drugs

MEDIASCAPE

young men must
make their own
decisions about
the future (FG)

if you follow your
culture you will be safe
(FG)

a young man must
decide and keep to
his decisions and
then he will not miss
school and go to the
taverns (FG)

you can rely on your
culture (FG)

ETHNOSCAPE

Scape model 2: Sandile 02 (FG means focus group)

ECO/SOCIOSCAPE

most girls like boys because of money (FG) girls like money (individual) difficult to have a girlfriend of you/we don't have money (FG) – girls go wrong because they expect money (FG) – girls who like money have sex with lots of men and they laugh at boys

young men expect each other to be successful

if a young man thinks a lot he won't have casual sex (FG)

success means a good education

I tell girls I don't have money (FG)

young men who don't think live a 'fast life' (FG)

school – the future's important so study hard

young men should go to school (FG)

I have no problems only at school (FG)

other boys can get you into trouble (FG)

I feel like a real man when I am doing garden work at home (FG)

hard to get to school because I am tired (FG)

young men who don't think rush into sex (FG)

A young man should have money

I sell sweets at school

young men who live the 'fast life' end up being fathers while they are still young

young men can play soccer for money to get a girlfriend

FINANCESCAPE

young men should have fashion style (FG)

A young man should dress 'cleanly'

a good thing for young men is that they can play soccer

I

Zola (musician) is a good role model for young men (FG)

If you aren't clean girls run away

ETHNO/MEDIASCAPE

Scape mode 3: Mondli 03 (FG means focus group)

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ECO/SOCIOSCAPE

Aa young man must be able to think

girls just want money

you must ask a girl out or you are a coward (FG)

TECHNOSCAPE

girls expect young
men to have money

mommy's boys sit
at home and watch
TV (FG)

I tell girls I don't have money (FG)

I tell girls I'm not a money making
machine (FG)

young men play
soccer (FG)

Playstation

I like Playstation

I don't have a girlfriend

I am a soccer fan

young men
should be brave

Friends expect a
young man to
have money

I admire the celebrities who
help people

I admire soccer stars

FINANCESCAPE

Xolani Gwala

Kaizer Chiefs
soccer side

girls like you if you
have the right look

Zola

Arthur Zwane

song lyrics to say
you must study hard

ETHNO/MEDIASCAPE

Scape model 4: Bheki 04 (FG means focus group)

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ECO/SOCIOSCAPE

some boys laugh if you don't have a
girlfriend but I just say they are idiots

some boys lie about having girlfriends
and you can see it's just nonsense

young men must have responsibility
(FG)

girls are not
trustworthy
girls tell others about
your HIV status then
people laugh at you

we play soccer on the
grounds near my house

South African
man with
rights

no protection
against crime

too many four room
houses in the township

Future house would be
in a wealthy suburb
(Umhlanga)

HIV positive young
men have a future

I would like to marry
someone I trust and we
can help each other

I am a young South African – I have rights
I have HIV challenges – I can date girls for
fun – but I can't take girls into bedrooms

In the future I
can build a house
for my family

I want to be a
lawyer and
help people

I am manly when I help
my family I do what
they ask as man of the
house

I study hard
I want to be something

I could be a car designer one day

man of the house
when father is away

A man of the house
washes dishes if he has to

family ask me to
do things

young men are
expected to go to
school, then get a
job, get a house
and get married

have own small
business - extra
cash in the pocket
make CDs at
home

FINANCESCAPE

Asikhulume TV
show helps people
know their rights

Xolani Gwala
(rich/helps people)
soccer stars

important to
have a computer

successful men
have expensive cars

I have five sisters
so I don't have indoor
chores only the garden
boys are lazy
girls don't wash cars

MEDIASCAPE

TECHNOSCAPE

Scape model 5: Dumisane 05 (FG means focus group)

ECO/SOCIOSCAPE

boys play soccer
girls stay home and cook

girls like you if you are a decent young man (FG)

girl like you if they can trust you (FG)

parents can help a young man to make right choices

a man whose wife hits him is 'sidlamlilo' – always ready for a fight

parents help you with your studies

I was hurt and sad when my parents died

people cannot be trusted if you tell them your HIV status – they tell others and then it's all around the place where you stay

when I am alone I have to do indoor chores
I feel like a man when I play soccer

I stand up for what I believe (FG)
I like girls who are respectful

other boys expect me to get into trouble (FG)

boys must focus on what they are doing

I admire soccer star for his skills not his lifestyle

I feel respected by my family

I respect my family

young men must stand up for their beliefs and be independent (FG)

HIV stops me from alcohol and drugs

young men must stand by their beliefs

some girls just need money

other girls like you if you are a patient boy

Scape model 6: Nkosinathi 06 (FG means focus group)

ECO/SOCIOSCAPE

FINANCESCAPE

TECHNOSCAPE

MEDIASCAPE

some girls are independent
some girls make good choices

we (boys) respect each other

we (boys) play soccer and dance

girls laugh at me/us
girls tease me/us
most girls want money

'when we (boys)
are together'

we (boys) have fun
and laugh

I am teased by girls   I am a soccer player
girls are 'cherries'   I am respected
I like responsible girls

'girls need money'

'at home they
respect me'

teachers have
money to buy cars

I want a car   I wash dishes and clothes
(one day)   I am respected at home

I want to own a house

I want to work well   I want to help others
                       like Zola (musician)
                       I am a soccer supporter

own a car
own a house
have a good job
(in the future)
cellphone

Zola (celebrity musician) helps the community

Kaizer Chiefs (Premier League Zulu soccer club)

Scape model 7: Themba 07

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APPENDIX 3

CRITICAL NARRATIVE ANALYSIS SUMMARIES

Biographical interview with Nkosinathi (06)

Part 1 A narrative of life events and challenges based on drawings

Strophe 1 Co-constructing the narrative of the family

Stanza 1 Parents as gender role models

Stanza 2 Orientation to siblings and home

Stanza 3 Introduction of sport, responsibility and risk-taking

Strophe 2 Challenges when growing up

Stanza 4 Parents passed away and Nkosinathi's coping

Stanza 5 Birthday party with significant adult relatives

Stanza 6 Important people in Nkosinathi's life

Strophe 3 Challenges of living with HIV

Stanza 7 The challenge of learning his status and knowledge

Stanza 8 Receiving help, alcohol, drugs and HIV experience

Stanza 9 ARV treatment slows down HIV and reduces threat

Stanza 10 Stigma and people are untrustworthy

Stanza 11 Coping when people assume he is HIV positive

Stanza 12 Solutions to stigma

Strophe 4 How Nkosinathi sees his future

Stanza 13 Future in sport

Biographical interview with Jabulani (01)

Part 1 A narrative of life events and challenges based on drawings

Strophe 1 Parental loss and absence and conflict about alcohol
Stanza 1 Loss of mother and absence of father
Stanza 2 Conflict with peers about alcohol use

Strophe 2 Challenges and good times
Stanza 3 Epilepsy and disruption to schooling
Stanza 4 Good times and alcohol refusal
Stanza 5 Being in control of self

Strophe 3 HIV-related challenges
Stanza 6 Discovering his status and acknowledging difficulty
Stanza 7 Thinking much, grandfather's support and spirituality
Stanza 8 Father and grandfather as support
Stanza 9 General challenges of HIV positive living

Biographical interview with Dumisani (05)

Part 1 A narrative of life events and challenges based on drawings

Biographical interview with Sandile (02)

Part 1 A narrative of life events and challenges based on drawings

Strophe 1 Family and where he lived
Stanza 1 Changes and loss of stepmother
Stanza 2 Challenge of living alone with father not always there
Stanza 3 Good times were mostly with family

Strophe 2 Challenges of living with HIV
Stanza 4 Biggest challenge is finding out status

Strophe 3 Future plans and challenges
Stanza 5 Plans for the future, life goals and work

Strophe 4 Challenges of living with HIV
Stanza 6 Risk-taking behaviours
Stanza 7 Knowledge and risk-taking behaviours
Stanza 8 Normality of HIV experience
Stanza 9 Life skills and making an effort

APPENDIX 4

CRITICAL NARRATIVE ANALYSIS
TEXT EXAMPLE

Strophe 2 (Challenges of living with HIV)

Stanza 4 (Biggest challenge is finding out status)

59	M:	okay ah what have been/what have been the BIGGEST CHALLENGE
60		as SOMEONE LIVING WITH HIV/AIDS?/
61	02:	it's a BIG CHALLENGE when you FIRST HEARD/heard that you are/your
62		STATUS (.) but AFTERWARDS: WHEN you are COPING WITH IT you get to
63		see that it's not that MUCH CHALLENGING but it's SOMETHING you
64		LIVE WITH
65	M:	mm (.) when did you DISCOVER about your STATUS?
66	02:	eh in two thousand and six July
67	M:	and when did you start ARVs?
68	02:	I HAVEN'T STARTED ARVs YET
69	M:	you're just okay (.) PART OF THE PROGRAMME (.)okay (.) what
70		are you PLANNING FOR YOUR FUTURE (.) do you have any PLANS
71		already?

Strophe 3 (Future plans and challenges)

Stanza 5 (Plans for future, material context and work)

72	02:	really HUGE PLANS/
73	M:	li:ke:?
74	02:	like I wish one day to have MY OWN HOUSE
75	M:	ja
76	02:	my OWN ACCESSORIES [mm] ja:: a BIG HUGE CAR a SPORTS CAR
77		[mm] my OWN FAMILY [ja] (.) my WIFE MY CHILDREN living
78		all together as a HAPPY FAMILY (1) ((break in recording))

79		career (.) I would like to SEE myself in the HEALTH DEPARTMENT
80		working for the GOVERNMENT [mmm] and that's would be my ( )
81	M:	like being a DOCTOR or a NURSE or just DOING ADMIN in the
82		hospital or just ANYTHING that is HEALTH-RELATED?
83	02:	ANYTHING that is related to HEALTH

Strophe 4 (Challenges of living with HIV)

Stanza 6 (Risk-taking behaviours)

84	M:	okay mm:: okay ( ) what do you THINK are the CHALLENGES facing
85		PEOPLE LIVING WITH HIV especially YOUNG BOYS:?
86	02:	(2) what I can say is it's A BEHAVIOUR (1) people have DIFFERENT
87		BEHAVIOURS (.)/others they are SELFISH and (.) when they've heard
88		or they have DISCOVERED their STATUS [mm] they like to PASS IT
89		THROUGH to OTHERS [mm] and that's it ( )NOT GOOD
90	M:	do you think some of the BOYS IN THE GROUP: who do know they are
91		HIV po:sitive sometimes they DON'T USE PROTECTION they just pass
92		it on to other people KNOWING that they are infected?
93	02:	(1) I can say/I cannot say EXACTLY but I do think that (.) maybe
94		two or three (.) THEY KNOW that what they are doing is WRONG when
95		they are NOT USING PROTECTION but others KNOW a lot that what
96		they are doing they are NOT SUPPOSED to do and they will STOP
97		DOING IT/

APPENDIX 5

INFORMED CONSENT DOCUMENTS

MASCULINITY RESEARCH PROJECT

University of KwaZulu-Natal

South African Netherlands Partnership for Alternative Development

Contact details: David Blackbeard 083-5248066 or 892211079@webmail.co.za

Project supervisor: Prof G.C.Lindegger University of KwaZulu-Natal

PARENT/GUARDIAN FORM

Your son has been asked to take part in this research project. The research is about what it means to be a young man in an HIV context. The research is about how meanings of masculinity are constructed in the day-today lives of participants. Please read the information and sign the consent if you are happy for him to take part. If you have any questions please ask at any time or contact David at 083-5248066.

Your son will take part in these activities:

(1) He may take photographs of his day-to-day life using a camera

(2) He may talk to an interviewer in two interviews about his experiences

(3) He may take part in two small group discussions with other young men

To take part in this project he will need to be a young man in the age group from 15 to 19, a patient at the clinic and have a consent form signed by his parents or guardians. If your son does not want to take part in the project he should not feel under pressure to do so. His name will be kept private so that anyone reading about the research project will not know his name. If there are things he does not want to talk about in the interviews or group meetings he does not have to do so.

It may be rewarding for him to take part as it can be good to express feelings and talk about challenges. This research may be used to start programmes to help other young men. He will get R25 for each of the interview and group meetings that he attends to cover his travel costs. It is planned that there will be two interviews and two group meetings. Meetings are planned to be between one and two hours long.

If at any time during the project your son no longer wants to participate he is free to do so without any negative consequences. His name will not be disclosed with the photographs and interview recordings and the information will only be made available to the research team. Help will be available if he feels distressed or wants to talk more about any difficulties.

I _____ (parent/guardian) give

permission for _____ (son's name) to take part in the Masculinity Research Project. The research participation has been explained fully to me and I have had an opportunity to ask any questions. I am aware that there may be risks and benefits of taking part in this research.

SIGNED _____ Date _____

MASCULINITY RESEARCH PROJECT

University of KwaZulu-Natal

South African Netherlands Partnership for Alternative Development

Contact details: David Blackbeard 083-5248066 or 892211079@webmail.co.za

Project supervisor: Prof G.C.Lindegger University of KwaZulu-Natal

PARTICIPANT FORM

You are invited to take part in this project which is about the challenges of positive living for young men. The research is about how meanings of young masculinity are constructed in the day-to-day lives of participants. There is research taking place about young men and their challenges in other places in KwaZulu-Natal such as schools and youth organizations that is funded from the South African Netherlands Partnership for Alternative Development. There is also research in other countries about young men and their challenges. If you have any questions please ask at any time. If you decide you would like to take part in this project, you will take part in three main activities:

(1) You may take photographs of your day to day life using a camera

(2) You may talk to an interviewer in two interviews about your experiences as a young man and

(3) You may take part in two small group discussions with other young men

To take part in this project you will need to be a young man in the age group from 15 to 19, a patient at the clinic and have a consent form signed by your parents or guardians. You are free to take part in this project and free not to take part. You should not feel under pressure to take part. It might be stressful talking about your challenges or taking photographs so it is important that you take part only if you feel you are feeling well enough. Your name will be kept private so that anyone reading about the research project will not know who you are. If there are things you do not want to talk about in the interviews or group meetings that is okay.

It may be empowering for you to take part as it can be good to express your feelings and talk about your challenges with others. The research may be used to start programmes to help other young men who are HIV positive. You will get R25 for each of the interview and group meetings that you attend your travel costs will be covered. It is planned that there will be two interviews and two group meetings. Meetings are planned to be between one and two hours long and will take place on dates that we will discuss.

If at any time during the project you no longer want to participate you are free to do so without any negative consequences. Your name will not be disclosed with the photographs and interview recordings and the information will only be available to the research team. Help will be available if you feel distressed or want to talk more about any difficulties.

I _____ (name)

Date of birth _____ would like to take part in the
Masculinity Research Project. The research participation has been explained fully to me and I have had an opportunity to ask any questions. I am aware that there may be risks and benefits of taking part in this research.

SIGNED _____ Date _____

RESEARCHER_____ Date _____

MASCULINITY AND HIV RESEARCH PROJECT

University of KwaZulu-Natal

South African Netherlands Partnership for Alternative Development

Contact details: David Blackbeard 083-5248066 or 892211079@webmail.co.za

Project supervisor: Prof G.C.Lindegger University of KwaZulu-Natal

CONFIDENTIAL PHOTO-RELEASE FORM

Name of participant: _____ Date: _____

This form is for the release of a photograph that you have produced as part of this research.

Release means that the photograph will be used as an illustration of the research findings.

A separate form is used for each photograph that will be released.

By signing the form you are agreeing for a specific photograph to be used for a specific purpose such as in the research report or a presentation by the researcher or in a published article.

You are under no obligation to release any photograph by signing this form.

Identifying details of the photograph to be released:

_____

_____

To whom is the photograph released (for example: name of publication)

_____

_____

I agree to release the above photograph, understand the purpose of releasing this photograph and know where the photograph will be used, for example in the research report or in a named publication.

SIGNED

Participant: _____   Date: _____

Researcher: _____   Date: _____

APPENDIX 6

JOURNAL ARTICLE MANUSCRIPT NOVEMBER 2010

Towards a credible alternative masculinity in HIV/AIDS prevention:
Young men living with HIV

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South Africa is partially the epicentre of the HIV pandemic and, in a context of national campaigns of HIV testing and antiretroviral (ARV) treatment, resource-efficient tailored interventions for young men are important for HIV prevention. Adolescents and young adults are an at-risk group for HIV infection, and male behaviour, driven by constructions of masculinity, is largely responsible for this. We report a mixed-method study that explored 'masculine self-positioning' among seven adolescent young men who were part of an HIV adolescent support group, at the interaction of self and culture. Biographical interviews, focus groups and autophotography created multiple sources of data and mixed-method data analysis that facilitated triangulated findings. The dialogical contradictions of self-positioning created opportunities for alternative masculine self-cultures in contexts such as support groups and sport as a catalyst for possibilities. We conclude that HIV prevention should conclude targeted and

participatory interventions that facilitate spaces for dialogical encounter.

In South Africa today, there are an estimated 5.5 million people who HIV-positive with the highest prevalence being in the urban townships (Ragnarrson, Townsend, Ekstrom et al., 2010) and patterns of incidence HIV-positive people reflects both changing trends in the epidemic and the effects of anti-retroviral (ARV) treatment and prevention programming (Rehle, Hallet, Shsisana et al., 2010). By July 2010, 871 914 people were receiving ARV treatment in the state sector (Department of Health, South Africa, cited in Rehle, Hallet, Shisana et al., 2010). There has been a growing recognition in research practice that people in the age range of 14 to 25 are an at-risk group for new HIV infection and that targeted interventions that address gender constructions have a crucial role in HIV prevention, particularly for adolescents and young adults (Lindegger & Quayle, 2009). Current local research has identified six dominant or 'hegemonic' norms of masculinity that put young men and women at risk for HIV infection. These are that acceptable men are (1) risk-takers, (2) controlled by a biological sex drive, (3) visibly heterosexual, (4) visibly self-suffcient and tough, (5) financial providers, and (6) in control of sexual decision-making (Lindegger & Quayle, 2009). Participatory interventions that are 'tailored' for addressing gendered norms and social marketing campaigns are prevention approaches that translate these recognitions into practice (Le Grange, 2004; Lindegger, Solomon, Essack & Blackbeard, 2007). Research commentary suggests that the lived and local experience of young men is an effective starting point for HIV prevention rather than programmes based on general understandings of men's health risk behaviour (Francis & Rimmensberger, 2008; Kagee, 2008). It is suggested here that tailored interventions for young men at risk are an efficient use of resources that translates into sustainable shifts in behaviour change (Lindegger et al., 2007). The benefits of such programming may be both in the uptake of voluntary counselling and testing (VCT) by young men in addition to medication compliance and participation in psychosocial support, each integral to ARV treatment (Kagee, 2008), for it is in areas of

compliance and participation that masculinity norms around risk-taking and self-sufficiency may be significant barriers.

Towards a new understanding of masculinity

Masculinity research has grown remarkably over the last two decades (Eagle & Hayes, 2007), and many local studies appear to have been based in Raywin Connell's social constructionist theories (for example, Connell, 2002). A significant departure from reductionistic sex-role theory and sociobiology, Connell's work has been a helpful starting point for masculinity research in South Africa. However, in Connell's focus on the structural level of gender relations as defined by 'hegemonic' norms of masculinity, there has been less emphasis on the individual subjectivities of men. Phenomenological approaches have suggested a deep level of emotional experience for many men in living up to ideals of masculinity, ideals that are positioned culturally, historically and across generations (Seidler, 2006). Discursive approaches have suggested that the masculine subject is not merely positioned by social institutions, but that masculine identities are instantiated in language and interaction, and that an individual may occupy more than one 'position' in relation to masculinity norms (Wetherell & Edley, 1999). Such an approach explains how 'positioning' a masculine identity appears to vary across social contexts. Qualitative research has indicated that young men manage 'visibility' in relation to peers, 'appearing' to conform to dominant standards (Frosh, Phoenix, & Pattman, 2003; Lindegger & Maxwell, 2007). This is a complex experience for many young men, given the 'double bind' of maintaining a coherent sense of self while at the same time conforming to impossible ideals (Lindegger & Maxwell, 2007) or creating the believable 'display' of approved masculinity (Blackbeard & Lindegger, 2007). Combining discursive and psychoanalytic theory, Frosh et al. (2003) note that masculine subjectivities are complexities of fictions, fantasies, defences and dissonances, and that it is exploring these aspects that the personal and social processes of identity construction can be understood.

The burgeoning field of dialogical self theory (DST) invites an integrated theory for masculinity that moves beyond these other approaches, we argue. Premised on the notion of the self as a

dynamic 'community' of voiced positions within internal and external 'landscapes' (Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010), the dialogical self concept portrays the self as a 'unity-in-multiplicity' (Hermans, 2008). It is argued here that DST offers a new paradigm for understanding the self-positioning in relation to ideals of masculinity. Dialogism offers an understanding of masculinity as a dynamic 'community' of voiced positions in 'landscapes of mind' (Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010). DST claims a departure from the modernist notions of the self as a singular datum (Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010), but we suggest that it also is a departure from post-modernist understandings of the self as 'fragmented' among multiple discourses or narratives. DST is innovative in identifying the balance between the unity of the self and its multiplicity. DST describes the self as both a 'coherence' among 'voiced' self-positions and a 'cacophony' of voiced self-positions, hence 'self' is both a social and subjective process. Current DST suggests that in Late Modernity, individuals struggle to maintain coherence in an 'over-availability' of self-positions through intercultural contact and media technologies (Hermans, 2003). In dialogical terms, many of the dilemmas experienced in relation to masculinity norms have a lot to do with managing 'distances' among the diversity of possibilities for masculine identification. Based in Jamesian 'flow of consciousness', DST describes 'mind' as co-occurring in both the social and the personal, suggesting for us that masculine self-positioning is about establishing 'coherence' in the 'cacophony' of the mind. DST is a frame for understanding masculinity as the negotiation of 'distances' among self-positions in the internalised social and externalised subjective. DST takes a step beyond the 'superficiality' of the post-modernist theory, where individual subjects are positioned within endless possibilities, and re-instates the unifying 'core' of a deeper self or centre. Furthermore, in suggesting that there are 'lighter' and 'darker' regions of the self (Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010), DST approaches a re-engagement with the idea of the unconscious, a largely neglected area in the psychology of masculinity.

We suggest that DST is a relevant and credible basis for masculinity studies for the following reasons. First, that although some of the concepts are vague and obscure, the theory offers a frame that unifies social and subjective elements of masculine experience. Second, that the theory allows a nuanced exploration of masculine self-positioning that deals well with

complexity. Third, that DST is inclusive in describing the self as instantiated both socially and personally, volitionally and unconsciously. Fourth, that DST is not a reductionism that defines masculinity as only occurring through language, social institutions, social narrative or personal subjectivity. Fifth, that DST is an appropriate framework for understanding the cultural dynamics of self-construction and the dynamics of the self in cultural construction.

Masculine self-construction

In DS theory, 'self' and 'culture' are each dynamic systems that are knitted together. Self is culture-inclusive just as culture is self-inclusive (Hermans, 2003). This implies that masculinity can be as much about 'cultures of masculinity' as it is about 'masculine selves'. Recent theorising suggest that it is at the dialectics of self and culture that possibilities exist for innovations (Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010). Understanding positions and innovations of the masculine self is a reference point for this research.

Hermans and Hermans-Konopka (2010) describe six processes of self-positioning that have been a useful template for interpreting findings. These processes are described with some suggested examples that are relevant to this study. The positioning processes are (1) I-positions (in which individuals voice multiple positions within the self, for example, 'I am a young man who takes risks' versus 'I am a young man who is responsible'), (2) metapositions (creating bridges across contradictions, for example, 'With my friends, I am a young man who takes risks and with my family, I am a responsible young man'), (3) coalitions (finding resolutions among contradiction, for example, 'I can take responsible risks on the sports field but irresponsible risks with sexual activity'), (4) third positions (unity-in-multiplicity, for example, 'I find a balance between responsibility and risk'), (5) compositions (identifying patterns of self positions, for example 'I am more responsible when I with my family or at school and I am more risk-taking when I am with my friends or on the township streets.') and (6) depositioning (finding a 'speaking silence' that is an absences or silences among self-positions). Recent DST suggests there is a global 'experience of uncertainty' with an over-availability of self-positions and that there are five possible 'responses' to this crisis (Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010). These responses are

described with examples relevant to this study: (1) reducing heterogeneity by retreating to monological versions (for example, appealing to a traditional version of masculinity to avoid the cultural uncertainties of what it means to be an acceptable young man), (2) allowing a monological voiced position to dominate the self-culture system (for example, identifying with a leader or celebrity), (3) minimising contradiction by building rigid walls between self and other (for example, any process of abjected, racialised or xenophobic versions that are 'other'), (4) increasing the number of voiced positions (for example, innovating more rewarding ways to acceptable masculinity) and (5) dialogical encounter (for example, sites of conversation, group processes, engagement with others or establishing coherence within the self.

HIV as an 'experience of uncertainty' and a 'walled garden'

As with masculinity, the experience of being HIV positive can be understood in dialogical terms, we suggest. 'Health' does not have an implicit meaning, suggests Crossley (1997) and what it means to be a healthy individual is located within socio-cultural discourses, discourses which can be abjective of the 'unhealthy other'. The introduction of ARV treatment has shifted narratives of HIV experience from imminent loss and anticipatory grief to narratives of responsibility and living within limitations (Ezzy, 1998), living with HIV creates 'disruptions' in self-narratives (Davies, 1997). Just as masculinity can be constructed as a multiple self-narratives, located in time, place and context, so living with HIV alters the 'platforms' of time, space and context for the 'storying' of the self (Davies, 1997).

From the perspective of DST, it is likely that being HIV infected both threatens existing versions of the storied self, is an 'experience of uncertainty' and enables opportunities for 'self-innovation' (Hermans, 2004; Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010). Responses to the challenges of HIV as an experience of uncertainty may include reducing heterogeneity (for example, naming HIV as an 'illness of racism'); monological dominance (for example, taking on particular rhetoric such as HIV as punishment for sexual sin or HIV as a disease of poverty); sharpening boundaries between self and other (for example, attributing HIV to immigrant minorities or blaming women); increasing alternatives (for example, creating new ways to be

acceptably masculine); and dialogical encounter (experiencing self and other and from the dialogue widening a repertoire of life experience).

Hermans and Hermans-Konopka (2010) define multiple 'landscapes' of the self as including a mediascapes (mass media, internet, technological spaces), ethnoscapes (outsiders, insiders, tourists, researchers, patients and ethnic diversities/hybridities) and ideoscapes (belief systems, cosmologies and emerging knowledges). For young men living with HIV, the self-culture interface occurs through and in these landscapes both in the constraints and immense challenges of living with HIV-as-uncertainty and the limitations and imperatives of hegemonic masculinity, we suggest. Given the socially stigmatised nature of HIV in these landscapes, the metaphor of a 'walled garden' represents the particular state of limitation and isolation that present unique freedoms and constraints. We suggest that the 'walled garden' of social stigma can be a site for innovative counter-positions to hegemonic norms, that is, alternative ways to masculine acceptability. Another example of a 'walled garden' is evident in a study by Joseph and Lindegger (2007) in which visually impaired adolescent boys were interviewed around their constructions of masculinity. This study was exceptional in revealing the 'threatened opportunities' that can occur at intersection of masculinity with limitation (in this case, visual disability). Limitations created threatened opportunity spaces, or 'walled gardens', for alternative constructions of masculinity. Distancing from hegemonic imperatives occurred through the tensions between social constructions of masculine acceptability and social constructions, and these adolescent boys were able to maintain a sense of masculine acceptability without the performative imperatives that faced boys without the limitations of disability.

Focus and design of this study

A research gap existed at the intersection of young masculinity and the experience of living with HIV, and this study focused on perceived norms of masculinity among a group of young men living with HIV and how as young men living with HIV, distances were accomplished in relation to hegemonic masculinity. Our interest was in the self-culture dilemmas between experiences of masculinity and experiences of HIV. Through better 'process' understanding of self-culture

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positioning, our aim was to invite further praxis around participatory programmes for HIV prevention. Our research agenda was to produce a participatory praxis for credible alternative masculinities in HIV prevention.

Seven adolescent boys from an HIV support group participated in this study. The age range of participants were between 13 and 16 years. Informed parental/guardian consent and participant assent occurred prior to enlisting the interviewees. The voluntary participants were all members of the adolescent HIV support group ('Real Life') based at a non-governmental organisation (NGO) and registered private hospital with programmes of HIV testing and ARV treatment. Ethical clearance included the ethics committees of the university and health care facility, in addition to meetings with support group facilitators and group members.

The interviewers consisted of the researcher and two facilitators of the support group and the interviews were audio-recorded in isiZulu or English, according to the preferences of the participants. Discussions between interviewers and researcher were recorded and the two interviewers were enlisted as research participants with informed consent. This 'two-level' interviewing strategy provided an opportunity for a reflexive space in which the interviewers' perceptions became part of the research. Data collection involved initial semi-structured interviewing, focus group discussions, autophotography and photo-elicitation research (Noland, 2006), and biographical interviewing. Participants produced photographs portraying their experience as young men. Single-use cameras were used with briefing and ethical guideline to take photographs based on the statement 'My life as a young man living in South Africa today'. Ethical guidelines included compensation without undue incentive, informed consent as an ongoing process, open discussion of issues and concerns, confidentiality and anonymity, and special consideration of social stigma and potential adverse consequences of participation (Emanuel, Wendler, & O'Grady, 2000).

Multiple methods of data analysis combined use of quantitative content analysis (for the visual data), qualitative thematic analysis (Terre Blanche, Durrheim, & Kelly, 2006) and some adaptations of critical narrative analysis (Emerson & Frosh, 2004). These methods triangulated

multilevel analysis and promoted a comprehensive engagement with data. In presenting findings, the actual names of participants were not used.

Self-positioning in time and space

Across interviews, it appeared that voiced self-positions were located in pasts, presents and futures, and in landscapes that were real and imaginal, as defined in DST (Hermans & Kempen, 2003). The interviews were in themselves 'dialogical encounters' with a complexity to the interactional 'dance' of the interview. This was particularly evident in the encounter between the 'first level' interviewers and participants, where the boundaries were contested around who was introducing the 'platform'.

Interviewer:	what are you planning for your future?]
Sandile:	really huge plans
Interviewer:	li:ke?
Sandile:	like I wish one day to have my <u>own</u> house
Interviewer:	ja
Sandile:	my <u>own</u> accessories [mm] ja:: a <u>big</u> huge sports car [mm] my <u>own</u> family [ja] my wife my childrens all living together as a happy family (1) career (.) I would like to see myself in the <u>health</u> department working for the government.

The excerpt from one of the interviews with Sandile (15 years) was representative of responsibility self-narratives which commonly emerged in the interviews, positioned in an imagined future, of a father-provider-family head, transcending poverty with personal agency through education and self-responsibility. A parallel interpretation could read Sandile's words as a version of a commodity masculinity, defining 'accessories' as including his (future, imaginal) wife and children. Such a parallel interpretation may represent a creative 'dialogical dilemma'. In a group discussion, this same participant drew on a slogan that education was a 'cure' for success and a 'cure' for the future. Here, it appeared that Sandile had created a 'coalition of

positions' (Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010) that linked health with education and aspiration. To cure 'the future' (perhaps HIV as an experience of uncertainty), Sandile drew on a monological slogan from the mediascape and created a self-culture position that was distanced from masculinity-as-risk-taking (sexual risks, using drugs, alcohol and other risks that were identified across the interviews). The juxtaposition of risk and responsibility was a dialectical dilemma that re-appeared across the interviews and interview contexts. It appeared that there was little resolution of these contradictions through metapositioning, composition or third positioning (Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010). In relation to this dialectical dilemma, participants positioned uncertainty outside of themselves with I-positioning (Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010), and a 'me' versus 'them' differentiation was made.

Figure 1: The recurring icon of the luxury car

In the tensions of the responsibility-provider narrative, and often overlapping with it, was a self-culture dynamic organised around a commodity narrative of mobility, prosperity, and having multiple sexual partners, positioned tenuously as either 'successful masculinity' or 'failed masculinity', sometimes valourised and sometimes devalued. The risk and responsibility contradiction was positioned within a success-failure binary. The valourised commodity-risk-taking was a threatening and seductive attraction prohibitively opposed to a possession-responsibility position, the nuances of 'commodity' versus 'possession' being significant. In the

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'father-provider' position, a man 'owns' wife and family, but in the 'wealthy playboy' position, a man has 'assets' in a commodity self-culture. These 'creative contradictions' were present in the images of cars, cell phones and clothes (risk position) contrasted with photographs of school, family members and computers (responsibility position). Counter-narratives created an overlay to this, examples being computers-as-education versus computers-as-commodity, cars as signifiers of wealth, both for the family-provider position or the wealthy 'player' position. The anxiety of reconciling these tensions was apparent, voiced through Sandile's confidence that peers could impel him to a 'carry-on' success (sharing hope or aspirational reward) but also the anxiety that peers 'expected' failures, and this appeared to be a double-bind of 'succeed but don't succeed too much as you will certainly fail'. There appeared to be several dialectical dilemmas - accolades versus ridicule, pride versus humiliation, team versus individual. Contrasting I-positioning was evidenced in use of pronouns, with the same participants representing positions both and often successively as insider-we or outsider-them, in imagined peer groups. These positioning processes were present in the tension between the more vulnerable masculine selves presented in individual interviews and more 'hegemonic' and 'tough' masculine selves presented in focus groups. HIV was constructed as 'protection' from the real risks of being normatively acceptable as a young man (drinking, addictive substances and sexual risk-taking). Along with intense threat and uncertainty, HIV provided a 'walled garden' for new forms of masculine acceptability emancipated from the masculinity imperatives of risk-taking and visible toughness.

Sport as a means for masculine acceptability

Interviewer:	un (.) were there any things that you might have taken a photo of that you didn't really get to take a photo about?
Dumisani:	ja (.) it was er playing soccer [okay] because I used to play soccer outside [mmm] when I'm not doing anything so I'm bored I want to go play soccer outside
Interviewer:	okay so you say you take a photo of soccer outside I would say how is that important in your life?

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Dumisani: to get exercise (that's important) maybe one day I want to be a soccer star

The theme of sport occurred across most participants' accounts and was a site at which performative masculine selves were located, and this poignant account by Dumisani (13 years) was representative. Implicit in this account appeared to be the apprehension that certain means of performative acceptability (for example, sport) might not always be available in the context of the limitations of living with HIV. Here, we identified a 'speaking silence' or meaning in absentio (Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010). Although this hope was uncertain, Dumisani maintained the hope that, just as with other adolescent young men not living with HIV, there was the fantasy of being a soccer star as an available self-culture trajectory (Blackbeard & Lindegger, 2007). In exploring identity narratives with young visually impaired men, Joseph and Lindegger (2007) identified the tension that these young men could maintain a sporting identity as a means of masculine validation within the limitations of disability (another 'walled garden'). Similarly, Dumisani and other participants portrayed sport as a means to masculine acceptability in the present, past and future (to be a sporting 'star', for example) although this was in sharp contrast to the 'speaking silence' that sporting activity might be limited by the constraints of living with HIV. A resonance of this grieving process appeared in the biographical interview with Nkosinathi (14 years), who narrated multiple losses and hospitalisations throughout childhood. Nkosinathi's presented sport (cricket) as both a loss and an aspiration, and this appeared visually in his biographical drawing and in the biographical interview content. Pleasant recollections of climbing trees and playing cricket occurred alongside stories of personal loss and bereavement. The limitations of living with HIV (unspoken) and repeated hospitalisations (spoken) formed an emotionally experienced contrast. The aspiration of one day playing national cricket had the sense of an idealised narrative of 'reconstitution', in a way parallel to the immune system reconstitution functioning brought about through ARV treatment. It appeared that sport could be a significant site for masculine self-culture systems, and that sport could have considerable leverage in the lives of young men as functional images of masculine acceptability and health. Sporting heroes are a means of representing desirable, exemplary masculinity, argues Connell (2002), and can be an option for organising alternative masculinities around embodied activities

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other than substance use or sexual partnering, argues Field (2001). However, there was little evidence of these points from the participant accounts that sport was this site but rather an 'unspoken' reminder of the anxieties and perceived challenges in engaging with physical activity. While carrying with it the burdens of a racialised past (Pattman, 2007) and the risks of conflation with problematic masculinity norms such as alcohol use, it has been argued on the basis of similar research that that competitive team sport offer opportunities for peer relationship and alternatives to 'streetwise' norms of risk-taking (Blackbeard & Lindegger, 2007). However, any basis for this was noticeably muted in participant accounts. Connell (2002) argues that across cultures, sporting heroes often exist as a form of exemplary masculinity that is privileged and seen as desirable. Field (2001) argues that sport can facilitate alternative self-narratives through trajectories that organise masculinity around sexual prowess or risk-taking. However again, there was less of this in the data than had been anticipated by the researchers. In participant discussions, media and sporting celebrities were mentioned as exemplars of integrative narratives or creative alternatives.

Figure 2: Poster of Zola and the 'Hola 7' campaign

From HIV positivity to positive talk

Interviewer:	you say that um there's times when you're with others you you talking about things men face in their real life um who are those other people that you talk to about those real life things?
Sandile:	well (.) other boys (.) talking <u>positively</u> about those situations that men faces
Interviewer:	can you talk like that to any boys (.) or are there a special group that you can talk to?
Sandile:	ja there are other people ( ) who you can talk to but here you can talk to <u>everybody</u> [mm] ja

This excerpt does not make sense outside of its context as one of many 'speaking silences' around HIV that were present in many of the interviews. Nkosinathi was one of the participants who voiced his fears of disclosing his HIV status to others and the dilemmas facing him as he anticipated having sexual relationships with adolescent young women. In a 'speaking silence' of fear and uncertainty, the participants voiced that the support group was a context for relationship, support and inclusion, yet the references to the support group were implicit. For Sandile, the support group was a place to innovate a self-culture system around positive talk and integrated alternatives. For the seven participants, all of them from urban townships and contexts of poverty, loss and displacement, the support group was a space for dialoguing alternatives, but also an emotional and social space in which was made available a source for hope and optimism. What stood out mostly, was that the support group was unnamed, it was referred to as 'here' or 'there are friends'.

Dumisani (13 years) photographed mosaic depictions of HIV preventions on the wall near an non-governmental organisation. He was questioned by the interviewer, who used his very 'direct' style:

Interviewer:	what do you mean by 'Support' ? You can explain about this photo.
Dumisani:	like sick people (.) they need support
Interviewer:	sick in what way my brother?
Dumisani:	people who can't walk on their own (.) they need help
Interviewer:	and what other people (2) carry on then
Dumisani:	protection
Interviewer:	protection for what?
Dumisani:	everybody needs protection

In this remarkable excerpt, despite the interviewer's biases, the participant maintained the 'speaking silence', first explaining that 'support' was physical and then generalising that everyone needed 'protection' without explaining to the interviewer what he meant by this. The dialogue had the quality of a 'dance' or perhaps more aptly, a 'martial arts'. As Dumisani resisted speaking into the question directly, he had enigmatically introduced a word with multiple, emotive and powerful denotations in HIV experience, namely, 'protection'. In a broader interpretation, the 'protection' of a life-threatening illness offered an 'enclosed' or limited freedom to innovate an alternative masculinity, with risk placed outside the 'walls' of protection and an emancipated responsibility within.

Figure 3: A 'speaking silence'

Dumisani:	girls are not trustworthy (.) you/you can then start seeing people laughing at you knowing exactly what is happening in your life and then you start getting sick like ( )
Interviewer:	okay (.) I hear you (.) I hear you I hear you I hear you so then it means you don't have any challenges is that what you mean?
Dumisani:	the challenges ahhm there are challenges even if they are talking about this disease you like keep quiet for a while and think when are they going to get a cure for it

A dilemma expressed here by Dumisani (13 years) by some of the young men was that of being HIV positive and the expectation of being sexually active in relationships, and especially with the uncertainties of living with HIV. For several participants, these ambivalences were associated with a perception that if a young man disclosed their status to a girl he would be

rejected and his status would become known by others. This appeared to be the construction of rigid barriers between gendered self and other, perhaps in dialogical self theory, a response to uncertainty (Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010). Bheki (14 years) spoke about how many adolescent young men 'lied' about having girlfriends, suggesting the 'culture of deception' identified by Lindegger and Maxwell (2007) where young men would present themselves to peers as meeting perceived 'hegemonic' norms. Sandile (15 years) reflected that he could never be sure if a girlfriend was in multiple relationships. In this dialogical encounter with HIV as an experience of uncertainty, it seemed that the fear was almost threatening othered and external voice speaking to the outer community, but it also had the sense of opposing positions 'projected' onto the imagined, 'gendered other'. In one of Sandile's accounts, girls were also constructed in participant accounts as emotionally 'safer' than boys, respectful, patient, trusted confidants and sisters. The safety-threat binary appeared to us to be a 'bridge of meaning' in finding coherence across the contradiction (Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010).

For Nkosinathi (14 years), an I-position of autonomy was voiced in a focus group discussion as the position that a 'real' young man being able to 'stand on his own'. Autonomy meant being able to resist the voice of hegemonic imperatives for risk-taking (addictive substances, sexual risk), yet the contrasting experience of HIV-as-protection created a permissible version of masculine acceptability without these imperatives.

Conclusion

How the adolescent boys positioned and were positioned in relation to perceived dominant norms of masculinity was a noticeable aspect. There appeared to be 'I-positioning' in much of the group and individual interviews as the participants referenced both a responsible self and a risk-taking self. Metapositioning was suggested in the commentary provided by the participants, varying between 'insider' and 'outsider', 'us' and 'them'. A third position enabled a resolution of contradictory experiences of masculinity as an experience of uncertainty and HIV as an experience of uncertainty. The third position was signposted rather than stated, and it appeared that a third position was that for an adolescent boy living with HIV, the 'limited freedom' of

living with HIV produced opportunities for accomplishing masculine acceptability parallel to the threats of not conforming to acceptability norms. The implied third position was fraught in that it could not account for the contradictions inherent in either HIV or masculinity as experiences of uncertainty.

Research commentary suggests that HIV preventions which are exclusively knowledge-based have limited effectiveness in effecting sustainable behaviour change, and participatory 'process' interventions may create opportunities for shifting the dynamics that create the health risk behaviours (Kagee, 2008; Le Grange, 2004; MacPhail, 1998). Selikow, Cedras and Zulu (2002) note that youth cultures emphasise visible consumption (branded clothing, communication technologies, luxury cars) as a contextualised reaction to resource-deprivation. These creative 'collisions' are possibilities for innovation and threatening disruptions. For example, social marketing may encourage responsible behaviours but also unintentionally enable fatalism through an implicitly negative representation of adolescents as impulsive (Kaufman, Clark, Manzini, & May, 2004). As a social category, 'adolescence' may in itself be a socially constructed space for innovation, given that social norms create permissions for 'identity confusion'. Adolescents have qualities of trapeze artists, where risk-taking facilitates metapositioning, suggest DS theorists (Cortini, Minninni, & Manuti, 2004). In extending this metaphor, perhaps in the balancing act of adolescence, social 'safety nets' are required, be they support groups, sports teams, effective schools or safer communities. HIV programmes cannot be isolated medical events (Kagee, 2008), but require a social 'scaffolding' of psychosocial support to ensure continuity and ongoing health-protective behaviours. HIV prevention requires multi-level engagement, including participatory spaces for dialoguing alternative masculinities, and that the socially constructed category of 'adolescence' is an opportunity-threat space for self-innovation.

In some ways, the 'findings' were not so much in the content as much as the process of 'finding', and the reflexivity of the participant method was in itself significant. Of significance was not so much that the participants appeared to be talking around and not about HIV, but that there was a 'speaking silence' around HIV, and this suggested that HIV positive identity was clearly not

foregrounded in these young men's experiences of identity.   In attempting to identify third positions, metapositions and compositions through a theoretical frame, dialectics of risk-responsibility, threat-opportunities, protection-vulnerability and isolation-support were identified. Attempts at 'bridges of meaning' (Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010) were both for researcher and participants only partially resolved uncertainties. In conclusion, the value of participatory interventions, may be in the process of 'dialogical encounter' rather than the introduction of external content.

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APPENDIX 7

TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

Transcription conventions were based on Silverman (2001).

(.) The dot in parentheses indicates a short pause.

(2) The number in parentheses indicates the time of a pause in seconds.

: The colon represents a prolonged immediately previous sound.

( ) Empty parentheses indicate that the transcriber was unable to hear what was said.

(word) Words in parentheses indicate possible hearings of less audible speech.

__ Underlined words indicate emphasis through varied pitch and amplitude.

? Indicates a rising intonation.