Constructions of masculinity and masculine identity positions within a group of male university students

Short Dissertation

Submitted in fulfillment of the requirements of the

Degree of MASTER OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

of the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg.

by

Alistair K Chadwick

August 2007

Supervisor: **Professor Graham Lindegger**

ABSTRACT

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This research project is based on the key assumption that in order to slow the rate of HIV infections amongst young men (and women) it is crucial to direct interventions towards changing the constructions of masculinity which put adolescents at risk of HIV infection. As such, this study investigates the constructions of masculinity and masculine identity positions that are evident within the narratives of a small group of young black, white and coloured male university students.

The research participants were engaged in a limited number of individual, semi-structured interviews. This report draws attention to the findings that have arisen from an analysis of the initial two interviews, the first of which revolved around photographs taken by the participants in order to illustrate what it means to be a young man in contemporary South Africa. An important finding is that there are numerous commonalities as well as differences in the constructions of masculinity that exist amongst these young men. A sense of uncertainty and ambivalence regarding the nature of masculinity is also common.

Situated with an emphasised masculinity, various risk-taking behaviours, such as the consumption of alcohol in large quantities, visible affluence, a compulsory heterosexuality, and strength, in diverse forms, are identified as common constructions of masculinity. All of these young men define their sense of masculinity through the adoption of subject positions in relation to and in opposition to young women and other young men. The male peer group is a particularly significant site for masculine identity construction. A further key finding is that a number of these young men are able to reject one or more hegemonic norms of masculinity, yet are apparently able to maintain a sense of masculine acceptability. This finding has direct implications for the design of future research as well as of interventions around HIV/AIDS. As such, this thesis draws attention to the range of strategies utilised by these young men to maintain an adequate sense of masculinity in the face of non-conformance to particular hegemonic norms.

Although these young men identify predominantly with the dominant, hegemonic norms of masculinity, there are multiple, often contradictory, subject positions that they occupy in relation to these norms and standards. As a result, this study raises questions for those involved in similar research as well as for those designing interventions in the field of HIV/AIDS prevention.

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GLOSSARY

AIDS   Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome

HIV   Human Immuno-Deficiency Virus

SES   Socio-Economic Status

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

"...I feel as if, you know, you've got to dominate. You cannot, you cannot be just some, some normal guy. Normal whatever, you know. You kind of need to be outspoken about everything..."

Mtholeni[1], a research participant (May 2006).

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[1] The names of each of the research participants have been changed to ensure anonymity.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION TO STUDY

1.1   Introduction

This study attempts to deepen current understandings of the development of masculine identity and performance in adolescent males, especially in terms of its relevance for behaviours which impact negatively on intimate relationships, including those, for example, which increase the risk of transmitting the Human Immuno-deficiency Virus (HIV).

1.2   The research problem

The past decade has witnessed an explosion in the number of studies focusing attention on the existence of local, influential masculine standards and practices, many of which militate against the emotional and physical health of young men and women engaged in intimate relationships. Few of these studies, however, have investigated the various processes and discursive practices through which some young men construct masculine identity positions that do not conform to these local, hegemonic norms and standards of masculinity. This is a crucial focus area for this study and for the discussion that follows.

1.3   Research purposes

Following the in-depth study of Frosh, Phoenix and Pattman (2002), this research project explores the ways in which young male university students construct their experience of masculinity and of their life-worlds. As such, this research project sets out to investigate these young men's narratives of masculine performance. Importantly,

it attempts to identify and explore the various subject positions that each has adopted, including alternative positions, in terms of masculine identity and practice. In this regard, this project gives attention to the associated processes that serve to create and maintain healthier modes of masculinity.

It is acknowledged that the dominant, hegemonic norms of masculinity include an array of behaviours that place young men and women at risk of HIV infection (Lindegger & Durrheim, 2002). The ideal masculine identity also often includes emotional 'hardness' or inarticulacy, and a general lack of capacity to name and experience feelings and emotions (Frosh *et al*, 2002), particularly those widely considered to be 'unmanly' such as sadness, guilt and/or anxiety.

A key objective of this research project has been to identify and explore how a small group of young men construct and identify with hegemonic standards of masculinity, and how they position themselves in relation to these hegemonic standards. In particular, this study has aimed to identify alternative constructions, or versions, of masculinity and how they are maintained in the face of hegemonic masculinities.

1.4 Key questions

The following key questions have guided the research process:

1. *What are the dominant hegemonic norms of masculinity, and how do the research participants position themselves in relation to these norms?*

2. *What alternative masculine norms emerge, and how do the research participants position themselves in relation to these norms?*

3. *What are the personal versions and subject positions that the research participants adopt, and why are there differences in the positions adopted?*

4. *What voices of masculinity are evident in the interview, and how are these voices dealt with?*

5. For what reasons do the research participants invest in the subject positions that they do?

6. What strategies are used to maintain an adequate sense of masculinity (in the face of non-conformity to hegemonic norms)?

1.5   Reasons for choice of topic

The reason for undertaking a research project with the above particular areas of focus relates to the fact that there has been relatively little research into the processes that foster or limit change in the gendered, and often risky, behaviours of young men. From the outset of this study, impetus has been provided by the belief that this research might inform the development of better interventions through contributing to an informed understanding of some of the important factors that impact upon young men and their construction of (multiple) masculine identities. As such, this research project is based on a view congruent with that of McQueen and Henwood (2002), who hold that interventions to meet the needs of young men require an increased knowledge of adolescent male psychological processes and how they make sense of their experiences within their cultural contexts, taking into account their perceived life-histories, circumstances and lifestyles.

It is hoped that the research findings may inform intervention around the socialisation of young men into forms of masculinity that support healthy lifestyles and intimate relationships. The research narrative is written to account for the research process, such that the insights emerging here provide some guidance for similar research in the future.

1.6   The structure of this dissertation

The main aim of this dissertation is to report research on how young men talk about their experiences of adolescent "manhood". The first section of this thesis identifies the areas of discussion and theoretical resources to elaborate upon how the research came to be formulated. This leads into a discussion of the specific form of analysis that was undertaken. The purpose of the reported analyses are to explore how these young men view themselves and their experiences. More specifically, this dissertation is structured as follows:

Within chapter two, I provide an overview of some of the theoretical approaches to masculinity, and describe a number of key developments in research that have given attention to similar subject matter. In particular, I review research on the construction of masculinity and (multiple) masculine identity positions and, in particular, on the construction of alternative narratives of masculinity.

Chapter three serves to clarify the methodological framework upon which this research project rests. Reflecting upon a methodology that is built on social constructionism, I discuss the data collection and data analysis techniques used in this research, and outline how these particular techniques were employed. In general, I share the key lessons learnt during this process.

Chapter four reports the findings of the analysis of the data collected. This chapter is divided into two sections, the first of which reports on the content analysis of the photographs taken by each of the young men. The second section presents the findings from the analysis of the interviews with each of the participants. These findings are presented in response to the questions posed above.

Chapter five is the penultimate chapter. Here, the results are discussed within the broad focus areas raised in the previous chapter, with due attention given to the role of social interaction in the construction of masculine identities.

Chapter six is the final chapter, and is again divided into discussions on the different focus areas, presenting a range of ideas that could serve to guide both future research in this field and interventions. Some important ideas are also presented for researchers to bear in mind when conceptualising and implementing similar studies in the future.

I invite you to discover how, within a social constructionist framework and through relatively unstructured and open-ended interviews with a small number of research subjects, a number of significant insights have been achieved into some of the diverse ways in which young men identify with and/or challenge the prevailing hegemonic norms, standards and practices of local masculinities.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

"... hegemonic masculinities can be constructed that do not correspond closely to the lives of any actual men. Yet these models do, in various ways, express widespread ideals, fantasies, and desires. They provide models of relations with women and solutions to problems of gender relations. Furthermore, they articulate loosely with the practical constitution of masculinities as ways of living in everyday local circumstances."

Connell and Messerschmidt (2005, p. 838)

2.1 Introduction

This chapter includes a contextualisation of the research project, as well as a comprehensive review of recent research that is pertinent to the belief that risky behaviour in terms of sexual practice is driven by contemporary patterns of masculinity.

This research project offers an exploration of emerging masculine identities in the final years of adolescence, amongst a small group of young male university students who range in age from 18 to 21 years. This is a period in an adolescent male's life during which he is becoming acculturated into increasingly prominent masculinities. According to various authors, including Lindegger and Durrheim (2002), Foreman (1999) and others, the dominant, hegemonic norms of masculine practice in particular, influence his socialisation, and include a number of behaviours that have the potential to both counter the development of healthy intimate relationships and to place him and his partners at a high risk of HIV infection. As such, I use this chapter to explore

and discuss the theory that exists around the construction of hegemonic masculinities, and the positioning of young men in relation to the associated norms, standards and practices.

As indicated within the first chapter, there have been very few studies that have investigated the discursive practices and other processes through which young men invest in masculine positions that conform with and often, at the same time, do not conform to these dominant, hegemonic norms and standards. As such, this chapter draws attention to the theory that exists with regard to these processes in general and, in particular, to those processes in which young men engage that may serve to create and maintain alternative identity positions of masculine practice, and healthier and/or more constructive modes of masculinity.

As such, the central objectives of the review that follows are to identify some of the ways in which boys and young men are socialised into the dominant norms of masculine practice in particular sociocultural contexts. It serves further to explore how boys and young men come to identify hegemonic standards of masculinity, and how they position themselves in relation to these hegemonic standards. And, finally, it serves to explore practices based on alternative constructions of masculinity which appear not to identify with dominant hegemonic practices, in order to investigate the developmental processes by which such nonconformity is developed and maintained.

2.2   Adolescence and (masculine) identity construction

The conventional view of adolescence is that it is a distinct developmental phase of life, experienced by all young people, male and female, on their journey to adulthood (Berk, 2003). Developmental psychologists have traditionally promoted this view, suggesting that adolescence is a biologically determined period (Louw, van Ede & Louw, 1998) characterised, amongst young men, by a number of problem behaviours such as law-breaking and risk-taking, as well as sexual experimentation and various emphasized hegemonic masculine practices (Frosh *et al*, 2002), together with the construction of an identity.

Adolescence has further been viewed as a time during which young men experience a number of universal changes, not least of which involve certain biological

adjustments, including the production of testosterone, resulting in an increase in sex drive. Berk (2003) suggests that it is largely in response to these biological changes that adolescent males become very concerned about how to manage sexuality in social relationships. In this regard, a young man's sexuality, including his sexual orientation, is a central component of his developing sense of self, or identity.

According to psychoanalyst Erik Erikson (1985), the constructing of an identity is a major personality achievement, and involves a young man in defining who he is, what he values, and the directions he chooses to pursue in life. Erikson and other developmental psychologists have customarily propounded the view that the ultimate "identity status" is that of "identity achievement", where a young man has formed a mature identity, resulting in a sense of sameness through time.

Drawing on discursive psychology, however, this study conceptualizes adolescence and the construction of identity in a rather different manner. Firstly, the belief that the achievement of a stable sense of self is indicative of psychological health and well-being is viewed as a product of mainly western culture in that young men with mature identities are easily accommodated within the status quo (Blackbeard, 2005). Secondly, the confusion and uncertainty experienced by adolescent males is viewed as potentially only existing as social practices and discourses that differentiate the 'adolescent stage' within a young man's development (Epstein and Johnson, 1998). Thirdly, the differentiation of the 'adolescent stage' is seen to decontextualise experience from culturally embedded discursive practices (Blackbeard, 2005). And finally, Epstein and Johnson (1998) suggest that Erikson's theory is likely to simply epitomise prevailing discourses of adolescence within the western(ising) world.

In essence, this dissertation rejects the notion of adolescence as a distinct and universal stage, or phase, in the process of development towards adulthood and, rather, draws on a social constructionist approach to adolescent development and the construction of adolescent masculinities. In particular, this study adopts a view that accords with Blackbeard's (2005) research in which he suggests that adolescent males act on developmental imperatives, central to which is the need for a young man to prove that he is acceptably masculine.

2.3 The construction of adolescent masculinities in the university context

Although there appears to have been very little if any research conducted in the field of adolescent masculinity within institutions of tertiary education, such as universities, the following discussion pays some attention to the results emanating from research conducted in secondary schools. Mac an Ghaill's (1994) research, undertaken in the United Kingdom, is of interest in this regard, indicating that schools are most often extremely heteronormative in nature, acting as sociocultural spaces in which masculine (and feminine) subject positions are constructed in relation to hegemonic norms and practices.

While violence has been identified as a pressing concern in many South African township schools, HIV infection is also viewed as highly problematic within this particular school environment (Morrel, 2001). And while Atwell's (2002) study found that within various formerly white 'Model C' boy's schools participation in the sport of rugby was coupled with an acceptable masculinity, Blackbeard's (2005) study of masculinity within both 'Model C' schools and various township schools found that competitiveness, emphasised heterosexuality and relatively strict masculine hierarchies are similarly associated with an acceptable masculinity. In the context of this research, these masculine norms and practices are viewed as potentially problematic and, as such, this study explores how young men might support and/or resist these within the university context.

2.4 Sexual risk-taking, HIV and masculinity

Although there has been much talk of boys' academic 'underachievement' elsewhere in the world, the most pressing 'masculinity concerns' in South Africa include a range of behaviours that have implications for HIV transmission (Morrell, 2001). In particular, male adolescent sexual violence (Messerschmidt, 2000), multiple sexual partners and other risk-taking behaviours (Campbell, Mzaidume & Williams, 1998), and delay in help-seeking (Blackbeard, 2005) are viewed as potentially catastrophic in terms of psychosocial impacts for our society as a whole.

The Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS (Scalway, 2001) reports that young men, between 15 and 24 years of age, hold the riskiest attitudes and engage in the riskiest behaviour with regard to contracting the Human Immuno-deficiency Virus

(HIV). It is acknowledged that the dominant, hegemonic norms of masculinity include an assortment of behaviours that place young men and women at risk of HIV infection (Lindegger & Durrheim, 2002). As such, this research project is based upon the assumption that the role of men in the HIV/AIDS crisis is not primarily about the behaviour of individual men, but more the construction of masculinity.

2.5   Constructions of masculinity

Since the 1990's a particular view of boys and young men has been propounded; that masculinity is in crisis. Frank, Kehler, Lovell, and Davison (2003) suggest that rather than drawing attention to the social practices that are involved in the co-construction of masculinities, this outlook, particularly within the popular media, has been based upon the assumption that there is an 'essential' or 'real' masculinity that many boys and young men have been unable to gain access to. In considering constructions of masculinity, not only does this research project oppose the view that masculinity is a biological attribute, but it supports the notion that current images of masculinity are complex, ambiguous and contested.

As such, this thesis takes the view that concepts of masculinity exist only in relation to femininity and are constructed, through everyday discourses, in various versions or masculinities. Masculinities can, therefore, be enacted by people with female bodies. As Connell and Messerschmidt (2005, p. 836) explain, masculinities "are configurations of practice that are accomplished in social action and, therefore, can differ according to the gender relations in a particular social setting." As a consequence, this research project recognizes the fluid, multiple and contested nature of masculinities.

According to Beal (1996), each culture and ethnicity has its own social expectations of a masculine ideal – a hegemonic masculinity - which does not reflect the lived experiences of young men but has a great impact on adolescent males. Traditional and hegemonic forms of masculinity maintain the privilege of masculinity by differentiating and elevating a young man from females and femininity. As such, many young men gain benefit from identifying with a 'hegemonic masculinity' and may be described as adopting complicit masculine identities.

Although 'hegemonic masculinity' is a contested notion (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005), this thesis does not attempt to provide a comprehensive review of the various criticisms that have been levelled at it. Rather, hegemonic masculinity is conceptualised here as the dominant norms, or standards, of masculine practice (Connell, 1995), which become a point of reference for the socialization and behaviour of boys and men. These hegemonic standards, while they appear not to be realized by most adolescent males are, nevertheless, perceived to reflect 'normal' masculine performance. Hegemonic practices of masculinity are those ways in which 'approved' modes of being male are produced, supported and resisted.

As with many theoretical formulations in the social sciences, the notion of hegemonic masculinity has been taken up and used in diverse fields, and has acquired various meanings. Following Connell and Messerschmidt (2005), this paper rejects those usages of the concept that suggest a fixed character type or a collection of negative traits. An important criticism of the concept points to the ambiguities evident in the usage of the term. In this regard, any usage of the term that suggests hegemonic masculinity is static ignores all of the evidence of change in social definitions of masculinity. The term 'hegemonic masculinity' thus has the potential to mask an enormous complexity in the actual lives of young men. There may be various identifiable patterns of masculinity, but these are crosscut by social divisions and are constantly renegotiated in everyday life.

As such, hegemonic masculinity is here understood as a pattern of practice rather than just a set of role expectations or an identity. It is considered normative, and embodies the currently most accepted way of being a man and requires all men to position themselves in relation to it (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005).

Following Connell and Messerschmidt (2005), this study adopts the view that an idealized definition of masculinity is constituted in social process through the circulation of models of admired masculine conduct, especially within the mass media. Such models refer to and distort the everyday realities of social practice.

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2.6   Masculinity under construction

In considering how young men construct masculinity, this study adopts the viewpoint that hegemonic patterns of masculinity are embedded in specific social environments, such as within families, neighbourhoods and, it seems likely, within the student/staff body of an institution of tertiary education. These patterns are neither sharply defined nor separate from other patterns but rather exhibit some overlap with each other. Importantly, children and adolescents engage with and contest these patterns of masculinity as they grow up.

As indicated above, research highlights the changing nature of masculinity over time and the ongoing struggles in which young men especially are engaged to establish certain constructions of masculinity as dominant and hegemonic. In contemporary South Africa, for example, transformation in the social and political spheres has led to contestation surrounding traditional, socially-endorsed concepts of masculinity (Wood and Jewkes, 1998). In this regard, Attwell's (2002) study, undertaken within various secondary schools in KwaZulu-Natal, found that such society-wide transitions seem to be impacting strongly on the perceptions that boys and young men have, both of masculinity and of themselves as masculine.

In a study undertaken by Beal (1996), the findings revealed that a fundamental assumption of her young male research participants was the dominant ideology of "natural" difference between males and females. These young men provided very little evidence to suggest that any of them made the distinction between sex, as biological attributes and behaviour, and gender, as socially expected roles and behaviours. This finding seems to be supported by the research undertaken by Attwell (2002), which found that young men or boys at various historically Black township schools defined masculinity primarily in terms of power and sexuality, the boys/young men at historically White boys' schools, in contrast, defined masculinity predominantly in opposition to Other, including femininity and homosexuality.

In a similar fashion, Edley and Wetherell's (1997) British study, involving adolescent males of 17 and 18 years of age, illustrated how these young men drew attention to

the importance of strength, either physical and/or mental, to definitions of masculinity.

Rather than conceptualising a young man's masculinity as being fixed, this research project draws on Butler (1990) and views it as being performed in different contexts, giving rise to multiple masculinities. As Renold (2004, p. 249) suggests, a young man's gender identities are relational and processual, constructed through social interaction in relation to and opposition against an 'other', which can include young women and alternate masculinities. In the same vein, and in the context of this study, the interactions between a researcher and male research participants are seen as social encounters in which the research participants construct masculinities. Drawing on psychoanalysis, the above conceptualisation of gendered identities suggests that masculinities are not only constructed in relation to each other, but produce the other, a fantasy structure, through the splitting off from self and the projection of differences and anxieties as well as fears and desires (Pattman & Bhana, 2006).

Further to the above, this research project assumes that not only are hegemonic masculinities associated with an intrinsic vulnerability and ambiguity but they are also ultimately unachievable, resulting in what Edley and Wetherall (1996) term 'troubled' masculine identity positions.

2.7   The development of masculine identities

This study aims to enhance understanding of the ways in which young men identify with particular masculine identity positions (or gendered subject positions), as well as of differences between men in the 'performances' of masculinities. In this regard, Ulin, Robinson, Tolley and McNeill (2002) suggest that gender might be defined as the roles that men and women adopt and the relations that arise out of these roles, which are regarded as socially constructed, not physically determined. As Ulin *et al* (2002) state, categorical models of gender embed heteronormativity, and are criticized for this. As such, this study draws on social constructionist accounts of the development of gendered and heterosexual identities, and adopts the standpoint that sex-role socialization theories are unable to adequately capture the complexity and contradictoriness of gender identities and relations.

Following Frosh *et al* (2002), it is accepted that young men, today, are likely to be engaged in the process of identity formation, or construction, in a context in which contemporary patterns of masculinity are contradictory and uncertain.

Foucault (1979, in Pattman & Bhana, 2006) views identities as being constructed linguistically. This implies that although the individual or 'subject' has agency and self-awareness, a young man (or young woman) is simultaneously constrained by the local cultural discourses / cultural resources available to them surrounding gender and sexuality. Thus the masculine identities, or subject positions, that are available to a young man to negotiate, resist or adopt are contradictory and uncertain. A young man's masculine identity is constantly created and re-created in a diversity of ways.

Connell (1995) and others support the above viewpoint, suggesting that it is possible to view an individual's constructions of masculinity as the products of interpersonal work, accomplished through the use of available cultural resources such as the beliefs and ideologies in particular societies. Similarly, a young man's identity may be conceptualized as multiple and potentially fluid, rather than singular, constructed through experience and encoded in language (Frosh *et al*, 2002). Thus, in forming his identities, a young man draws on a range of cultural resources that are available to him in his immediate social network and in society as a whole. These resources are most often strongly gendered, with males receiving different messages and being constrained differently.

2.8 Conforming to and/or opposing hegemonic masculinities

In adopting a social constructionist perspective, Connell (1995) suggests that individuals are able to invest in contradictory identity positions (in relation to hegemonic masculinity) and thus indicate numerous 'masculinities'. Most men gain from the benefits of hegemonic masculinity, and may be described as adopting a complicit masculine identity (Connell, 1995). Masculinities which experience exclusion may be termed subordinate, while alternative masculinities include a diverse range of identities. Men may choose to contest their identities by negotiation in response to competing demands, engaging in a fluid process of change.

According to Frosh *et al* (2002), research conducted over the course of the past decade has drawn attention to the forces and the pressures experienced by boys and young men to conform to the dominant norms and practices of local hegemonic masculinities, usually through sporting competence, popular fashion, and displays of emotional invulnerability or self-containment, amongst a wide range of other actions constructed as masculine.

No attempt is made here to describe what conformity to hegemonic masculinity looks like in practice, largely because this study rejects any usage of the term that suggests hegemonic masculinity is fixed. Having said this however, hegemonic masculinity has come to be associated with primarily negative characteristics, such as being domineering, aggressive, unemotional and non-nurturing. It is accepted that hegemonic masculinity does not translate into a satisfying experience of life for young men or women.

According to Frosh *et al* (2002, the dominant cultural images of traditional masculinity, within the UK at least, oppose emotional vulnerability and encourage men to become / construct themselves as emotionally self-contained. Similarly, the literature on HIV/AIDS and masculinity has identified a number of aspects of masculinity which are typically associated with these hegemonic standards and which inevitably put boys and men at greater risk of infecting themselves and others, including high risk behaviours such as excessive substance abuse, high risk sexual behaviours, and multiple sexual partners (Lindegger & Durrheim, 2002; Scalway, 2001).

Attwell's (2002) study found that the dominant, hegemonic norms and practices of a secondary school adolescent masculinity include risk-taking, especially in terms of (male) sexual behaviour, and, in a somewhat contradictory fashion, responsibility and the need for young men to protect and provide for a future wife and family. Similarly, Blackbeard's (2005) research showed that drinking alcohol, smoking cigarettes, visible affluence and success with young women were means of accomplishing an acceptable masculinity. Importantly, the findings of this study indicate the significance of the male peer group as a site for masculine identity construction (Blackbeard's, 2005).

However, Wetherell and Edley (1999) hold that one of the most effective ways of being a "real man" is for a young man to demonstrate his distance from the norms and practices of the local hegemonic masculinity. As such, the following section gives attention to the ways in which young men invest in multiple masculine identity positions, opposing and/or conforming to this masculine ideal, and turning themselves into resistant and/or complicit types, without ever managing to exactly embody that ideal.

2.9   Creating and maintaining masculine identity positions

Gender is a performative and relational identity, ensuring that masculinity is neither fixed nor very clearly defined, with many young men maintaining multiple masculine identities or voices which may be enacted in different contexts. Attwell (2002) suggests that an important reason for her male research participants being invested in various subject positions and speaking with multiple voices is because of the conflicting discourses of masculinity available to young South African men. Each version, or voice, that a young man invests in may be carried out in relation to particular people and spaces, including the 'space' of homosocial peer interaction within the university environment, for example, with some of these enactments being more in accordance with local popular standards. The dialogical psychology of Hermans and Kempen (1993) provides a theoretical framework for conceptualizing such multi-voiced enactment in space and time, and lends itself especially well to an examination of the performance of masculinity.

Bakhtin (1981) suggests that meaning is constructed actively and dialogically in an individual's encounter with the other and with his or her social world. Thus, the meaning of a particular statement is seen to be actively constructed in the context of the relationship between the interviewer and the research participant, that is dialogically in one person's encounter with the other. As such, a young man's construction of masculinity and the way he positions himself in relation to it is seen to be constantly changing. Identities are never final, but are always in motion, "created anew with each turn of talk" (Speer, 2001, p. 117).

Identity formation is intimately connected to the social and cultural context in which a young man is embedded, involving the individual in an interaction, and often a struggle, with other's voices (Mkhize, 2004). This may result in a young man uncritically accepting the views of others, or appropriating (i.e. giving new meanings to) them. Such an analysis focuses on the dialogical interchange between the individual and the voices of others. It requires that the researcher continuously asks the question: 'In what ways has this particular young man appropriated these views for himself?'

In essence, the dialogical self emerges through exposure to other's voices which, once internalized, engage in ongoing dialogue with each other. The dialogical self thus comprises a multiplicity of separate and independent selves, or voices, each of which is capable of narrating a particular story from a particular vantage position. According to Hermans and Kempen (1993), a young man's identity can therefore be viewed as shifting from one position to another, in response to changes in context. The dialogue that occurs between voices makes it possible for a young man to reposition himself. This suggests that the dialogical self is not fixed in character, but should be described in terms of "becoming" (Mkhize, 2004), continually being repositioned as new information comes to light.

The principle of dialogism indicates that the multiple voices comprising the self are not necessarily equal and that, therefore, some voices may be particularly powerful, dominating the voices lower down in the hierarchy.

The principle of dialogism indicates that within a single individual there may exist a multiplicity of worldviews, and that these worldviews will engage dialogically with each other. As a result, it is expected that many young Black and White male university students will be able to shift self perspectives and move between the various positions available to them, for example, between a local hegemonic version and an alternative version, or less popular position.

2.10 Constructing alternative versions of masculinity

Wetherell and Edley (1999) hold that some boys and/or young men are able to find, create and maintain alternative versions of masculinity which disidentify with the

above-mentioned often risky hegemonic standards. At the same time some of these men are apparently able to maintain a strong sense of their masculine acceptability, despite their non-conformity with these norms. In this regard, Frosh *et al* (2002) reflect on their study of school-going adolescents, drawing attention to reports in individual interviews of non-conformity to the local hegemonic norms of masculine practice. Their findings show that these (non-conforming) boys placed a lot of effort into providing credible reasons for their failure to conform to these norms, so enabling them to preserve a sense of adequate and acceptable masculinity. This seems one of the most important challenges for boys and young men living alternative versions of masculinity.

It is acknowledged by authors such as Connell and Messerschmidt (2005), Edley and Wetherell (1997), and Frosh *et al* (2002) that the hegemony of masculinity comes into being primarily through representing other forms of gendered practices and identities as abnormal or 'Other'. There is little understanding of the conditions in which it is possible to inhabit those Other masculinities and, similarly, not much is known of the consequences of negotiating and maintaining these alternate forms of masculinity (Renold, 2004).

Importantly, Cleaver (2002) suggests that in both 'developed' and 'developing' countries young men are positioned in contradictory positions of identity conflict. In a country such as South Africa, this would appear to be partly due to the fact that although it is difficult for men to define themselves as the financial providers (of the family), young men have a need to obtain a masculine identity from the cultural narratives available and there is only a very narrow range of alternative meanings of masculinity that currently exist (Blackbeard, 2005). According to Frosh *et al* (2002), this results in 'fragile identity positions' that a young man has to defend and negotiate in an ongoing manner.

2.11 Strategies for maintaining an adequate masculinity

Numerous studies have indicated that those boys and young men who, to a greater or lesser extent, align themselves with non-hegemonic or alternate masculine identity positions seem to be engaged in an ongoing struggle to maintain an adequate sense of masculinity (Blackbeard, 2005; Frosh *et al*, 2002; Renold, 2004).

In the study conducted by Frosh *et al* (2002), the British schoolboy research participants placed a lot of effort into providing credible reasons for their failure to conform to the dominant, hegemonic norms, so enabling them to preserve a sense of adequate and acceptable masculinity. In this regard, Lindegger and Maxwell's (2003) study described the collective illusion of conformity to hegemonic norms which emerged as a solution to the conflict between the pressure to conform to hegemonic norms and the simultaneous extreme suspicion by boys regarding whether their peers were truly conforming to these dominant practices.

In Renold's (2004) study, the young research participants who identified with non-hegemonic subject positions denounced girls and women in order to reinforce and maintain their identities as 'proper' boys, separate and different from their female classmates. In a similar fashion, Beal's (1996) study showed how a group of American adolescent male skateboarders resisted local hegemonic masculinities by choosing not to participate in mainstream sport, thus challenging a deference to adult male authority as well as indicating a general disregard for conforming to the control promoted by that authority. These same young men, however, invested a lot of effort in emphasising differences between males and females, thus demoting females and promoting a separation and stratification of masculinity and femininity.

In general, there appear to be relatively few strategies available to young men who wish to experiment with alternate forms of masculinity, for example more caring and/or more 'intimate' masculinities, other than to remove themselves from the physical spaces occupied by hegemonic male students. In this regard, Renold (2004) hypothesized that the motivation for her young male research participants to occupy such safe spaces involves more than finding a secluded spot; it provides them with the privacy to engage and interact in non-hegemonic ways, specifically in experimenting with 'softer' masculinities, which in any other context would not be possible.

The study conducted by Frosh *et al* (2002) indicates four ways in which a young male (school-going) research participant who diverges from the masculine ideal is able to maintain a sense of masculine authenticity. These include:

- Denigrating those young men who are just pretending to be 'macho', arguing that while he himself may not be particularly tough or popular, he is at least authentic or genuine.
- Positioning himself as high up in the hierarchy of toughness.
- Subverting hegemonic masculinity by claiming to be above it, through either asserting his authenticity, claiming a particular skill, or claiming maturity.
- Positioning himself as hegemonic and popular and achieving academically.

2.12 Positioning and multiple voices

The above suggests that there are a variety of masculinities that are available to young men and, in a particular context, there may be one or more hegemonic or 'dominant' forms of masculinity that shape a young man's understanding of how he has to behave in order to retain masculine acceptability. Frosh *et al* (2002) suggest that different people act as informants to young men or audiences of young men in the performance of masculinity and in their positioning in relation to these hegemonic standards, including male role-models, girls (the most important Other and often the object of desire, projection and performance), as well as powerful women, including mothers and teachers, for example.

In stressing the importance of the psychosocial and discursive practices through which adolescent males are socialized into hegemonic masculinities, Wetherell and Edley (1999) refute the assumption that young men either conform to hegemonic standards of masculinity, or reject these and argue, instead, that men invariably indicate an investment in more than a single masculine identity position, often identifying with hegemonic norms and practices and simultaneously opposing them. In this regard, variability in an individual's verbal productions is viewed as illustrative of the different voices a speaker might assume at particular moments, within specific interactions (Ulin *et al*, 2002).

In deciding how one might interpret these changing voices, one answer is provided by Wetherell and Edley (1999), who suggest that hegemonic norms should be understood as defining a subject position in discourse that is taken up strategically by men in specific circumstances. As hegemonic masculinity has multiple meanings a young man can move among these meanings according to his interactional needs, adopting hegemonic masculinity when it is desirable and opposing it when it is not. Consequently, and as Connell and Messerschmidt (2005, p. 841) explain, "… "masculinity" does not represent a certain type of man but, rather a way that men position themselves through discursive practices."

In Blackbeard's (2005) South African study of male secondary school students, the research participants, would often shift their speaking positions, from that of an insider, speaking on behalf of their particular male peer group, to that of an outsider, speaking for themselves as separate individuals, clearly revealing an ambivalence between a subjectivity situated with dominant hegemonic norms and one positioned within an alternative masculine identity.

Various studies, including those of Frosh *et al* (2002) and Renold (2004), have confirmed the plurality of masculinities and the complexities of gender construction for young men and boys Blackbeard's (2005) study indicates how the school boys with whom he interacted consistently spoke with multiple voices, providing evidence of varied and conflicting masculine subjectivities within individual participants, revealing ambivalence as to an essential nature of masculinity or what it is to be a "real man."

Although discursive perspectives emphasise the symbolic dimension of hegemonic masculinities, Connell and Messerschmidt (2005, p. 842) remind us, however, that gender relations are also constituted through nondiscursive practices, such as sexuality, as well as through various "unreflective routinised actions."

An important point with regard to the nondiscursive and unreflective dimensions of gender is that they indicate the existence of various constraints to discursive flexibility. In this regard, young men are not free to adopt any gender position in interaction simply as a discursive or reflexive move. The possibilities are limited by a

young man's personal relationships and by his economic position amongst other 'obstacles'.

2.13 Concluding comments

This study builds upon the aforementioned research, and is based upon the key assumption that masculinities are not simply naturally occurring. It adopts the view that masculinities are configurations of practice that are constructed and reconstructed over time (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). In this regard, young men construct masculinities in social interaction through use of the available cultural resources, including the social positions they occupy, the ideologies that are common in their lives, and the social structures in which they live (Frosh *et al*, 2002). As such, masculinities exist only in relation to femininity/ies and are constructed, through everyday discourses, in numerous 'versions'. Archer (2001) and others suggest that masculine identities are constructed in relation to other men and women, and through various positionings of self and others, specifically with regard to interrelated social divisions of gender, race and socio-economic status.

This study follows Frosh *et al* (2002), and views gender as performative and relational, such that the ways in which young men act as masculine, and their masculine identities, need to be seen as gendered practices which are relational, contradictory and multiple. Further, this research project draws on the work of Wetherell and Edley (1999), who view masculinity as a set of practices related to the social contexts in which they are evident. A researcher is able to gain access to these diverse practices through the narratives that a young man provides, but still needs to interpret these accounts.

2.13.1 Gaps in research

There appear to be a number of gaps in our understanding within the broad field of gender and masculinity that this research project attempts to go some way towards filling. This research project aims to understand how these young men construct masculinities, position themselves and others in relation to those constructions, and sustain multiple masculine identity positions, often by using various (unconscious) defense mechanisms.

This research focuses upon the internal complexity of masculinities, alluded to above, and recognizes the potential internal contradiction within all practices that construct masculinities. In this regard, it would appear that many masculine identities are constructed around a discourse advocating the caring for, 'ownership' and 'control' of women (Wetherell and Griffin, 1999), and/or the taking of risks specifically with regard to sexual practices that involve multiple partners. This research aims to understand how it is that some young men find it feasible to create and maintain alternative narratives of masculinity which do not conform with such risky hegemonic norms and standards of masculine performance.

In general, there appears to be little understanding of the conditions in which it is possible to inhabit non-hegemonic, or Other, masculinities and, similarly, not much is known of the consequences of negotiating and maintaining these alternate forms of masculinity (Renold, 2004). As such, this research project seeks not only to understand how some young men are able to invest in (relatively) non-hegemonic, or Other, masculinities, but also to explore what the consequences of this may be and how it feels to invest in such non-hegemonic subject positions.

All of the above point to a number of important areas that impact upon young men and the ways in which they conceptualise themselves and others and the world around them. The following chapter clarifies the methodological framework that has been adopted in order to gain an understanding of the ways through which the young men participating in this research project invest in various identity positions, and position themselves in relation to women, other men, and local hegemonic masculinities.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH ENQUIRY

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter I describe the process of enquiry upon which I embarked during the course of this research project. I elucidate the theoretical approach taken, thus providing an explanation with regard to *why* the particular research process was followed and data collection techniques used. I describe the ideological assumptions upon which this approach is based, present my understanding of this approach, and review both the strengths and weaknesses of such an approach. I also give attention to the subjects of this research and to the research methods and techniques relevant to the approach adopted, around which we interacted. In so doing, I further attempt to expose some of the tensions inherent within the approach implemented.

3.2 The nature of this research project

This research project is predominantly influenced by contemporary thinking within the field of masculinity. It focuses on constructions of masculine identity as demonstrated by a small group of young male university students. These young men were asked to take photographs of what it means to be a young man in South Africa today, following which a content analysis was undertaken of the images captured. Particular attention, however, is drawn to the narratives produced by these young men within interviews that were shaped by various beliefs and assumptions relating to interpersonal processes of interaction. In attempting to understand these processes, the development of young men's masculine identities, and the creation and maintenance of multiple, sometimes alternative, narratives of masculinity I have used both a

quantitative and qualitative methodology, drawing on dialogical psychology and employing a combination of social constructionist, narrative, and discursive psychological methods.

3.3   Research methodology

Following Wetherell & Edley (1999), this research adopts the point of view that masculinities are a set of practices related to the social contexts in which they are found. The descriptions that young men provide of their activities give access to these practices, but still require interpretation. In this regard, it is clear that the interpretative framework is a key issue in research that focuses on the narrative accounts provided by research participants. As such, I describe the conceptual underpinnings of this study, and provide a definition and critical discussion of the methodology adopted, and the data collection and analysis techniques undertaken.

In conducting this research project, a key concern has been to accurately represent the thinking of young men regarding their own emergent masculine identities. This, I soon came to realize, is far easier said than done. As such, this project draws, in part, upon the methodology adopted by Frosh *et al* (2002) for interviewing and analysis in which young men are encouraged to speak freely, provided with space to reflect and revise their views whilst also allowing the researcher to give attention to issues of specific theoretical and practical concern.

Although this study recognizes that it is possible to understand a young man's masculine identity as constructed through discursive strategies that are motivated by both social and psychodynamic processes (Frosh & Emerson, 2005), this research project gives primary attention to the role of social processes in the construction of individual subject positions.

3.3.1   Social constructionism

The first intellectual tradition that forms a key component of my theoretical framework, social constructionism, holds that reality is a social construction based on one's own special interpretation and the meanings that one makes about the world. Popkewitz (1984) points out that these 'constructs' happen as a result of interactions and negotiations in social situations where expectations and appropriate behaviours

are reciprocally defined. In this regard, knowledge is constructed and sustained through social processes or, in other words, in the interactions between people. In the context of this research project, knowledge and understanding is a product not of objective observation of the world, but of the social processes and interactions in which people, including the interviewer and interviewee, are engaged with each other (Burr, 2003). Social constructionism adopts a critical stance toward taken-for-granted assumptions and, as such, requires that one questions whether the categories 'man' and 'woman' are simply a reflection of naturally occurring distinct types of human being.

Linked directly to the above, the findings arising out of this research are not for generalisation purposes because of each individual's unique context, but are seen as contributing to the sharing of transferable 'insights' to other contexts. As such, my vested interest in this research is not in the success or failure of a certain theory but simply in understanding what has taken place. Such an approach to research is congruent with the concept of grounded theory.

3.4   Overview of the research process

As will become evident below, the use of a theoretical framework that is adopted as a guide during the research process has an important impact on all stages of research, from initial design and the formulation of the research question to the presentation of the findings. In this regard, the research process in which I engaged, unfolded over a period of approximately 19 months and involved a small sample of seven male university students, between the ages of 18 and 21 years of age. Here, I attempt to reflect this process as relatively open-ended and non-linear. Questions emerged during and after meetings with colleagues and resulted in my attempt to clarify, rethink and re-negotiate this research process. These questions included the following amongst others:

- How does my relative inexperience in social constructionist research shape the interactions in which I engage each of the participants?
- If I view my subjectivity as a resource in this process, to what extent do I take it into account in my analysis of the interview data?

One of the first steps taken on this journey, involved various discussions with colleagues and a review of the available literature. The main purpose of this was to elucidate the scope of this research; the range of topics that I would need to give attention to and the approach that I would need to take. It was during this scoping process, that I came to realise the contested nature of the theoretical framework adopted.

These initial reflections together with my attempt at self-reflexivity resulted in various minor modifications of my research approach. Importantly, I worked with colleagues in drawing extensively on Frosh *et al* (2002) in developing a comprehensive list of relatively open-ended questions (Appendix E) to be asked of the research subjects during the semi-structured interviews and other interactions envisaged over the course of the study.

In essence, it was through interacting with colleagues and participants, reading the literature, writing, and reflecting, and reading some more that I gradually came to understand the design and purpose of this project. As Bogdan and Biklen (1986) have suggested, one's research design, including the research focus and data collection techniques, is often better viewed as emergent rather than predetermined. Similarly, aspects of my research design only emerged during the course of the study. My research focus was refined over time while the study was in progress and, in fact, became clear, only after I had begun the journey and had started to analyse the interview transcripts.

3.5   The research sample

In selecting research participants for the research enquiry, I followed what Le Compte and Preissle (1993) have termed criterion-based selection or, as has been termed elsewhere, purposeful sampling. In my selection process, I wanted to include participants who were likely to come from a variety of social, cultural and economic backgrounds. I also wanted participants of different ages. As a result, I eventually enlisted seven research participants, two of whom had just entered their 1st year of tertiary education, three who had just entered their 2nd year, and three who had begun their 3rd year. The participants include four young Black men, three of whom hail from townships (and are likely to be of relatively low socio-economic status), two

White men and a single Coloured man, all with a good grasp of English. The table below (Table 3.1), provides a summary of the demographics of this group.

	Chris	Khulani	Kwanele	Bongani	Mtholeni	Terence	Stephen
Age	20	20	20	20	18	20	19
Racial group	Coloured	Black	Black	Black	Black	White	White
1st Language	English	isiZulu	isiZulu	isiZulu	isiXhosa	English	English
Socio-Economic Status	Upper middle	Low	Low	Low	Upper middle	middle	middle
Family home	Urban (Jhb)	Urban township	Urban township	Urban township	Urban (PE)	Urban (Durban)	Urban (Pmb)
Year of study	3rd Year	3rd Year	2nd Year	2nd Year	1st Year	1st Year	2nd Year

Table 3.1   Demographic details of research participants

3.6   Research procedure

The first step in the above process involved three brief presentations, one to each of the 1st, 2nd and 3rd year psychology classes at the university at which these young men are students. It took no more than five minutes to provide a rather superficial explanation of the purpose of the study, to mention the matter of payment[2] for participating in the research project, and to invite interested male students to volunteer their time as participants. A brief summary of the presentation (Appendix A) was handed out to all the students who requested one, providing them with an opportunity to indicate interest and to note down their contact details.

All of the students who provided their contact details were invited to attend a short introductory meeting. Eight students attended this initial meeting, during which the various stages of the research project were described in some detail. It was explained that the project would require their involvement in three or more interviews over a period of approximately two months, and that they were free to withdraw from the research project at any time. The ethics of participating in the study were explained, and they were then invited to a further gathering at which they were provided with disposable cameras.

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[2] Students were told that they would receive ZAR50.00 for each interview undertaken.

For the purposes of building the research relationships, this following meeting also included a light lunch. The research participants (Appendix B) were each provided with a 27-shot disposable camera, and it was explained that they had just more than two weeks in which to capture images that would illustrate "my life as a young man in South Africa". In this regard, they were given a period of time that included the week-long Easter vacation, thus providing them with opportunities to take photographs in both the university and home contexts. They were then asked to fill in a form indicating their consent (Appendix C) to be involved in this research process.

3.6.1 The data-gathering process

This research project has employed a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods, and began in earnest when the young men participating in the study were provided with disposable cameras, and invited to take a full spool of photographs. All eight students handed in their cameras on the date required. After the photographs had been processed, a relatively unstructured individual interview was conducted with each young man, during which a focus was placed on the printed photographs and he was invited to share the narratives behind the images captured, and to speak about his life as young man in contemporary South Africa. This allowed an exploration of the public/private dimensions of masculinity construction, and the multiple positions of masculinity.

Unfortunately, one of the participants withdrew from the process at this stage (due to being injured in a motor vehicle accident). After a period of approximately one

month, the participants were invited to participate in a further individual interview[3], during which some of the points raised in the previous interview were further explored and attention given to a large range of topics relating to issues around identity.

Within all interactions, I saw the research participants as collaborators in this study, because while answering my interview questions, they would gain an opportunity to reflect on their experiences and thus an opportunity for reflection on their own development.

3.6.2 Semi-structured interviews

As indicated, the data was collected (on digital audiotape) primarily by engaging in two separate interviews with each participant on an individual basis. The first interview was relatively unstructured, focussed around the photographs taken. These interviews were conducted by the author of this paper, a white male. The second interview was semi-structured. Four of the participants were interviewed by the above male interviewer, while three interviews were conducted by an Asian female interviewer.

Immediately after each interaction, I wrote brief notes, enabling me to capture the mood of the interaction as well as the feelings that I had experienced for the research participant/s during our interaction. This approach was often useful as it enabled me to gain some insight into personal factors that may have influenced the interaction and the eventual interpretations.

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[3] Although the individual interviews were the primary focus of the data analysis, two focus group discussions were conducted soon afterwards, during which the participants shared and discussed a small number of their photos which they felt most closely reflected their lives as men. Following Frosh *et al* (2002), an area of focus was the differences and similarities in the reports of conformity (and non-conformity) to hegemonic norms as articulated by individuals during the interviews and the focus group discussion. The final step in this research process took place two months later, and involved a follow-up individual interview with two of the participants, conducted in order to further explore the issues discussed in the previous individual interviews and to provide the participants with an opportunity to reflect on the research process itself.

In all of the above research interactions, the research purpose is used to govern the 'focus'. In this case, broad areas of focus, together with a range of open-ended questions (Appendix E), were prepared in advance rather than specific questions. This allowed the interviewer, to be completely responsive to the context of the conversation held with the interviewees. By following the above process, the interviewer was provided with the immediate opportunity to follow up on interesting responses. If more structured interviews had been designed, it is likely that a number of opportunities to respond to issues raised would have been missed.

The digital recorder seemed to have worked as well as was intended, bearing in mind that it can make one feel self-conscious, as I know from personal experience. I attempted only to take notes during the interviews if there were aspects that I felt I particularly needed to remember and it appeared not to hamper the flow of the conversation during the interview. As I had interacted with the interviewees on two occasions prior to meeting them for the first interview, the atmosphere was mostly relaxed during the interviews and we were able to relate on a personal level.

3.6.3   Ethical considerations

As a first step towards ensuring the highest ethical standards were met during this research project, the initial proposal was reviewed and approved by members of staff of the university psychology department and the university higher degrees committee.

Potential research participants were provided with information around the aims and purposes of the research as well as with information regarding what would be required of them during the course of the research. The ethics of participating in the study were explained, including the fact that all of the interviews would be anonymous and that strict confidentiality would be maintained; only the interviewer would know the names of the students involved. Permission to use the digital recorder was obtained from the participants and the ethics relating to its use was also explained to them. These young men were only enrolled in the research project once they had provided their signed informed consent.

During the research process various steps were taken in order to ensure that the confidentiality of each of the participants was maintained. These steps included the use of pseudonyms in reported findings, the removal of identifying material for each of the young men involved, and the safe-keeping of the material by the university team involved in the research.

In terms of compensation for participating in the research project, these young men were provided with a small amount of money for each of the interviews and group discussions they were involved in and with copies of some or all of their photographs.

3.6.4   Analysis and interpretation of data

Once the data had been gathered and transcribed, it was then analysed. The main texts that have served as the focus of analysis are the transcribed individual interviews of the above seven male university students. The strategies adopted for the analysis of the interview material all "reflect the research philosophy of attending to the form and content of young people's descriptions of their experiences" (Frosh *et al*, 2002, p. 9). Through using photo-narrative methods and a combination of thematic, narrative and discursive analyses, this research project attempts to develop an understanding of some of the processes whereby young men talk about and make sense of their experiences.

Data analysis has involved the following process: The first step involved a content analysis of the photographs in order to identify a number of the major elements of masculinity as well as some of the main contexts in which these young men construct their masculine identities. The second step involved a narrative analysis of the individual interviews, drawing upon both a psychoanalytic and social constructionist framework.

I saw all of the above as rich sources of data, enabling me to build some understanding of the multiple narratives of masculinity that each of the young research participants constructed for themselves. As individual understandings and perceptions were what I wished to clarify, there was no reason to attempt to verify the data gathered. As Coyle & Walton (2004) state, one of the central criteria by which a qualitative analysis is evaluated is its persuasiveness, such that all interpretations need

to be adequately grounded in the data obtained. Realising, however, that a definitive interpretation is not ever attainable, I have presented numerous extracts from my data set in order that the reader might assess the interpretations provided.

3.7 Researcher subjectivity

Personal bias and/or subjectivity has generally been viewed as a definite shortcoming of such data collection, analysis and interpretation techniques. In order to increase the transparency and richness of the interpretations produced, it appears essential that I not only declare the relatively explicit aspects of my persona but also describe how they might have promoted certain narratives from the research participants. Following Frosh and Young (2006), however, it must be borne in mind that I cannot declare more than my conscious intentions. As such, it is quite possible that a particular understanding of a research participant's narrative will change when a different researcher undertakes the analysis and, therefore, findings should only be viewed as provisional. This note of caution is especially relevant when exploring the possible reasons a young man might have for investing in a particular subject position.

3.8 Tensions and potential weaknesses

If the research process is viewed as a journey then it must be realised that the destination has changed somewhat during the travelling. This has been partly due to the "discovery" of potential weaknesses within aspects of the research strategy and to the subsequent revision of the strategy. I accept, however, that in investigating social phenomena in general, one simultaneously also changes the nature of the phenomena, so that the research process 'becomes a creative activity as much a form of objective enquiry' (Terre Blanche & Durrheim, 1999, p. 26). As such, I believe it is important to clearly articulate the limitations and key assumptions, the potential weaknesses and tensions inherent in the research strategy adopted here.

One area of tension that is evident in most qualitative research involves the likelihood that a participant does not mention a crucial factor because they are not aware of it themselves. As in all similar research, the way in which the research subjects interpret and/or choose to narrate their own experiences, is influenced by their personal biography, their beliefs and their expectations. Similarly, Mkhize (2004) holds that people are positioned in various ways in society, depending on race, age, and gender,

among other attributes. I strove to always bear this in mind, as traditional African values accord more status and respect to older members of society which, in the context of the interviews, included myself. All of this suggests the importance of sharing a participant's frame of reference, indicating that a deep understanding of a person's interpretations of the world has to come from the inside (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2000). One important and obvious potential weakness inherent in this is that the procedures and methods leave the researcher a great deal of room for interpretation, selection and distortion. This tension is one that I bore constantly in mind during the research process.

Of crucial importance is the fact that my interpretations of the research subjects' experiences are influenced by my personal biography, beliefs, expectations and various unconscious process. How I have interpreted or understood the living contexts of each of the research subjects, what information in the end I have assigned precedence to, and the conclusions I have drawn are all constitutive of my *own* social experience, 'privileged' liberal education, and family's moral and political values.

It must be borne in mind that I offer an analysis of the data that is informed by my speaking position as a novice (discursive) researcher who is a white male. Following Coyle and Walton (2004), I have attempted always to be aware of the influence of my speaking position on the analysis of the data, and have explored a diversity of alternative interpretations. The presence of a research team, and the associated contestation of viewpoints, has served to ensure that the chosen analysis is adequately evidenced in the data.

It must also be noted that in my analysis, 'hegemonic masculinity' is a central component of an interpretative framework that is derived from the existing literature on development, gender and sexuality and imposed upon the data. As Coyle and Walton (2004) caution, the imposition of an existing interpretative framework can result in interpretations that more accurately reflect the concerns of the analyst than those of the research subject. In this regard, there is a real danger that in my concern with accounting for how young men 'do hegemonic masculinity', I might develop an analysis that does not do justice to the complexity and subtlety of discursive resources

and strategies drawn upon by these young male students in the negotiation of more than hegemonic masculinity.

3.9   Researcher's background

This research has brought to light a range of insights and perceptions held by a small number of people; the raw data of this research. In interpreting this data I have drawn a number of potential conclusions and am aware that there are plausible alternative explanations and validity threats to these conclusions. To deal with this, I attempt, below, to give a concise, yet as full an account as possible of the position, expectations and impact of myself (the researcher) and the ways in which the immediate research situation has been shaped by its wider context.

Firstly, it is clearly essential that I clarify some of the conscious beliefs and assumptions that I hold and that have undoubtedly had an important impact on the research process, and the interpretation of the data collected. In particular, an important concern is that of my family history; I am the eldest child amongst three siblings, born to parents who both struggled to articulate difficult, or negative, emotions, and who both strongly espoused fairness but who perpetuated a reciprocal imbalance in the childrearing and in the undertaking of daily household chores. My mother adopted a number of traditional 'female' roles, while my father followed many of the masculine conventions of their time. They are perhaps equally responsible for the seed of resentment that has been slowly germinating between them and, similarly, they are perhaps equally responsible for the amazing (and amazingly modest) young adults they raised together.

Perhaps also of importance is my educational background; that of a South African, educated under the Christian National Education system, within a society whose worldview has been predominantly positivist. How will this background, and all of the associated values as well as ontological, epistemological, and other, assumptions that accompany it, and of which I am not fully conscious and/or am struggling to free myself from, impact upon the research that I have involved South Africans from other racial groups in?

It must be borne in mind throughout this paper that my beliefs and assumptions have been inevitably built into various aspects of the research process and have thus shaped the results obtained. As such, the results are not objective but may be reliable and valid in that similar research performed by different people with the same perspective or 'structure of assumptions' would produce the same results. In other words, the revelations brought to light by this research are, as Ingleby (1976, in Morphet, 1982, p. 95) puts it, "as much products of the mentality which is brought to bear on the evidence as of the evidence itself".

3.10   Concluding comments

Findings arising from the use of the above techniques, and as interpreted from the data gathered through the process previously outlined are reported on in the following chapter, Chapter four, comprising the body of this dissertation.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH FINDINGS

SECTION A

4.1 Introduction

This chapter reports the findings of the research process described earlier. It is divided into two sections, the first of which, Section A, focuses upon the photographs taken by the research participants, and upon the results of a comprehensive content analysis of the images captured. These photos and their analysis provide a description of the contexts within which this small group of male university students construct their identities as young men. Section B focuses attention on the findings arising from the integrated narrative analysis that was conducted of the interviews.

4.2 Content analysis

As outlined in the previous chapter, each of the seven participants was requested to take photographs that would reflect what it means "... to be a young man in South Africa today." The resulting 135 photographs served as the focus of a content analysis, undertaken in parallel with the first and second set of interviews (but prior to a focus group discussion, and final individual interviews). It involved an analysis and categorization of each of the photographs taken by the participants. This required a number of steps, the first of which included an exploration of the subject matter observable within the photographs and its coding, or categorization, as one or more themes or contexts closely associated with masculine identity construction among the young men. 27 themes emerged from this content analysis, and are indicated in Table 4.1 alongside the number of participants who chose to photograph each of these

themes. Each is described in terms of the subject matter photographed, and each is conceptualised as relating to a particular aspect of a young South African man's life.

Thematic category	Number of participants	Subject matter
Sports participation	6	- Equipment for active participation in a particular sport
IT or media		- Television, film, DVD, video, posters, novel, etc.
University activities	5	- Textbooks, lecture attendance, studying, walking on campus
Relating (male)		- Participant with only male friends
Car ownership		- Car (usually photographed with friend/s)
Domestic practices	4	- Tidy / untidy use of bedroom, kitchen, toilet, bathroom, etc.
Substance use		- Use of alcohol, cigarettes or marijuana
Social revelry		- Participant in setting which includes known / unknown party-goers
Music consumption	3	- Cd's, advert for live band
Family members		- Sister or son
Intimate relationship		- Girlfriend
Relating (female)		- Participant with only female friends
Work or chores		- Paid work or home-related chores
Relating (mixed sex)		- Participant with male and female friends
Clothing & shoes		- Clothes, shoes, fashion label
Individual recreation		- Watching TV or reading newspaper
Creative expression	2	- Musical instrument or art work
Food consumption		- Restaurant, breakfast spread
Religious participation		- Bible
		- Grooming products or razor
Male grooming		- Independence, responsibility, helping others, etc.
Values		- Unknown female student/s
Women objectified		- Smoking marijuana, fighting
Risky behaviour		
Sports consumption	1	- Television showing sporting event
Pets		- Dog
Place of residence		- University accommodation

Table 4.1   Thematic categories and related subject matter captured in photographs

As is apparent, the research participants took their photographs in order to indicate one or other of the following broad categories:

- Activities;
- Social relationships;
- Interests;
- Values; or
- A combination of the above

4.3 Contexts for identity construction

A table (below) was then developed, indicating the contexts, or themes, chosen by each of the research participants, providing some indication of the various situations within which each constructs his experience as a young man. The theme, or themes, of each photograph were confirmed by the interview transcriptions.

In table 2.2 the themes have been organized in descending order, starting with the most prevalent themes. As such, this table also serves to indicate the relative importance of each theme within this particular group of participants. The content analysis indicated that for almost all of the participants, interpersonal relationships are by far the most important contexts for identity construction. In particular, relating within male peer groups is articulated as an important context for situating their experience as young men. This theme has, however, been separated out into various sub-themes, including relating with males, females, or in mixed groups, as well as relating with family members, and intimate partners.

Interestingly, the two themes that featured most prominently (after interpersonal relationships) were those of "sports participation" and "IT or media" suggesting that these are important contexts within which these male university students situate their experience as young men.

It will be noticed that some of the subject matter included within photographs was of a metaphorical or particularly symbolic nature. As an example, cars were photographed by many of the participants. The narrative analysis undertaken of the interview texts suggests, however, that the car itself was not of primary interest but was photographed because car ownership represented financial / material success and status, and/or independence. In a similar vein, the narrative analysis indicates that

computers (within the category 'IT or media') were photographed because they represented either future material success, or a recreational activity common amongst young men.

Two photographs included subject matter that was indicative of activities that might be considered risky.

Importantly, the subject matter photographed should not be regarded as only indicative of those contexts within which the research participants situate their experience as young men. These young men often indicated that they were not "speaking" for themselves but for young men in South Africa in general.

Thematic category	Kwanele	Terence	Mtholeni	Bongani	Chris	Stephen	Khulani
Sports participation		x	x	x	x	x	x
IT or media	x		x	x	x	x	x
University activities	x		x	x		x	x
Relating (male)			x	x	x	x	x
Car ownership		x	x	x	x		x
Domestic practices		x		x	x	x	
Substance use	x			x	x		x
Social revelry	x			x	x	x	
Music consumption			x	x		x	
Family members	x				x	x	
Intimate relationship	x	x					x
Relating (female)	x					x	x
Work or chores				x		x	x
Relating (mixed sex)			x	x			x
Clothing & shoes		x	x	x			
Individual recreation	x				x		x
Creative expression			x	x			
Food consumption				x		x	
Religious participation		x		x			
Male grooming		x				x	
Values		x	x				
Women objectified				x			
Risky behaviour			x		x		
Sports consumption					x		
Pets						x	
Place of residence					x		
Racialised subject matter			x				

Table 4.2   Thematic categories photographed by each participant

The themes that were most regularly represented suggest common narratives, while those themes that were represented less regularly suggest a partial invisibilisation of certain themes and/or the subordination of particular narratives. Both are of interest within this research project.

4.4   Gender composition

The spatialisation and temporalisation of gendered interactions, evident within each of the photographs, was also of interest. With regard to the 29 photographs that indicated extrafamilial relating, 24 included male figures while only five included female

figures, indicating the relative invisibility of female subjects. In other words, the findings suggest a gendered homogeneity of interpersonal relationships, where the research participants ordinarily interact in unisex (male-only) peer groups. Of the photographs in which female subjects are included, two participants focused upon women as sexual objects (of desire).

4.5   Racial composition

The spatialisation and temporalisation of racial identities was also of concern. Racialised others are rarely visible, such that the findings indicate a relatively high correlation between the racial composition of the subjects photographed and the "race" of the research participant. In photographs that include people relating, the racial composition is in almost complete concordance. This encouraged an exploration of social interactions within which these young male university students situate their experience / construct their identities as young men.

4.6   Photographic locality

Attention was also given to the setting of each photograph. In this regard, the findings suggest that the research participants situate their experience as young men in a diversity of environments. As such, a list of photographic localities was created through a similar process to that in compiling the list of thematic categories. An uncertain locality was confirmed by the interview transcriptions.

The photographic localities have been arranged in descending order (in table 4.3), starting with the most prevalent settings. The photographic locality that featured most prominently amongst this group of participants was that of the bedroom, either within the family home or within one or other university residence. This was followed closely by photographs of the university environs, suggesting that both of these settings are significant contexts for meanings of masculinity and/or within which these young male university students situate their experience as young men. The above findings served to promote the exploration of the particular environments, or settings, within which these young students construct their identities as young men.

Photographic locality	Frequency of location
Bedroom	29
University environs	26
Lounge or other social area	16
Commercial space (including shop frontage)	12
Urban street	11
Bathroom and toilet	8
Car park	7
Sporting or exercise area	7
Outside private residence	7
Kitchen	6
Workplace	3
Pub / sports bar / nightclub	3
Natural environment	2

Table 4.3   Photographic localities

Although the extrapolation and generalization of the above findings is not possible, the content analysis indicated the themes and associated narratives that would need to be borne in mind while the second set of individual interviews were being conducted. These interviews and the findings that have arisen from their analysis are the focus of the next section.

4.7 Analysis of interview data

This section presents the findings that have arisen from the analysis of the interviews with each of the seven young men participating in this study. This section devotes attention to the dominant hegemonic norms and standards of masculinity in relation to which these participants situate themselves, while also focusing on the various discursive strategies they use in order to create and maintain a diversity of subject positions, including alternate masculinities. It also gives consideration to the reasons for these young men investing in their particular positions, with attention being given to the impact that context has on the narratives produced. An important purpose of this section is to distil out the commonalities and contrasts that are evident in the narratives of the above participants.

As stated in chapter two, each research participant was involved in at least two individual interviews (and a single focus group discussion). The initial interview was conducted with each research participant, focusing attention upon his set of photographs. This interview was almost entirely unstructured, and was conducted by a male interviewer. It was followed, approximately one month later, by an in-depth, semi-structured interview, the *aide memoire* for which is included as Appendix D. This section focuses on the narratives created and maintained by the research participants, drawing particular attention to those who construct for themselves alternative masculinities, yet attempt to maintain an adequate sense of masculinity.

The findings arising from the above in-depth, semi-structured interviews is the focus of the rest of this chapter (Section B). Following Frosh *et al* (2002), the strategies adopted for the analysis of the above interview material all reflect a research philosophy of attending to the form and content of the descriptions provided by the research participants of their experiences. In this regard, all descriptions of experience are assumed to be discursive constructions. These findings are arranged according to the key questions posed at the outset of this research report and indicated below. They are illustrated with extracts from the interview transcriptions.

1. What are the dominant hegemonic norms of masculinity, and how do the research participants position themselves in relation to these norms?

2. What alternative masculine norms emerge, and how do the research participants position themselves in relation to these norms?

3. What are the personal versions and subject positions that the research participants adopt, and why are there differences in the positions adopted?

4. What voices of masculinity are evident in the interview, and how are these voices dealt with?

5. For what reasons do the research participants invest in the subject positions that they do?

6. What strategies are used to maintain an adequate sense of masculinity (in the face of non-conformity to hegemonic norms)?

4.8   Dominant, hegemonic norms of masculinity

The following section focuses on the dominant, hegemonic norms of masculinity reflected in the common themes that emerge within both the first (photographic) and second interviews. This section also gives attention to how the research participants position themselves in relation to these norms and, for this purpose, draws primarily on the second interviews.

The first important finding is that numerous constructions of masculinity transcend race, cultural background and socio-economic status (class). The findings suggest, however, that a number of differences exist between the black, white and coloured masculinities of this small group of research participants. These commonalities and differences are reported in an attempt to provide an answer to the following question:

What are the dominant hegemonic norms of masculinity, and how do the research participants position themselves in relation to these norms?

The following table (Table 4.4) provides an indication of some of the hegemonic norms and standards that each of the young men produce and identify with. The textual extracts (E) underlying this table are cited in Appendix G.

Hegemonic norm	Kwanele	Terence	Mtholeni	Bongani	Chris	Stephen	Khulani
Strength / Fearlessness							
Physical competence	E1	E2	E3		E4/E5	E6	E7/E8
Risks physical discomfort / injury		E9	E3		E11	E12	
Conqueror / Survivor of life's challenges	E13	E14/E15		E16/E17		E18	E19
Intellectual competence			E21				
Protector of future family		E10		E22			E23
Recreation and entertainment							
Able to drink a lot of alcohol	E24		E25	E26	E27		E28
Socialises with male peers			E29	E31	E32	E33	E34
Frivolous attitude to life					E35/E36		E37/E38
Risky behaviour							
Sexual promiscuity			E39/E41	E42/E43	E44		
Uses substances	E24		E25	E45	E46		E47
Willing and able to fight				E48	E49	E51	
Rebelliousness / imperative immaturity			E52		E53		
Emphasised masculinity							
Emotional imperturbability			E54/E55		E56	E57/E58	
Relational / Oppositional							
'Othering' / denigration of women	E59	E60	E61	E62	E63	E64	E50
Compulsory heterosexuality	E66	E70	E67	E68	E69	E71	E72
Misogynistic behaviour	E65						
'Othering' / denigration of subordinate men	E73		E75		E76/E77	E78	
Dominating / controlling others		E79	E80	E81	E82/E83		E84
Other							
Self-confidence		E85	E86				
Material success and status	E87		E88	E89	E91/E92		E93/E94
Admires hegemonic men							E95/E96
Independent		E97/E98					E99

Table 4.4   Participant identification with hegemonic norms and standards

4.9   Ambivalence and uncertainty

As indicated in the introductory chapter, this research project gives attention to the dominant hegemonic norms and standards of masculinity from which these young men either distance themselves and/or draw upon. In this regard, uncertainty and ambivalence regarding the nature of masculinity is a consistent theme within almost all of the narratives produced. As a group, the narratives of these young black, white and coloured men suggest that the dominant hegemonic norms and standards of masculinity are contested within the university environs and broader society, and that some of the traditional constructions of masculinity are changing.

What emerges clearly from almost all of the of interviews undertaken is that although these young men align themselves predominantly with the dominant, hegemonic norms and practices of masculinity, there are multiple subject positions that they occupy in relation to these dominant norms and standards. In this regard, almost every one of the young men holds a variety of positions that may appear contradictory and ambivalent to a greater or lesser degree. Table 4.5, below, indicates a small range of alternative masculine norms and standards with which these young men commonly identify in apparent contradiction with many of the hegemonic norms and standards that they appear simultaneously to identify with. (The actual textual material underlying this table is cited in Appendix H.)

Alternate Norm	Kwanele	Terence	Mtholeni	Bongani	Chris	Stephen	Khulani
Desires monogamous / committed relationship	E101	E102	E103	E104		E105	E106
Being responsible	E107			E108		E109	E111/E112
Being caring		E113		E114			
Emotionally expressive		E115	E116	E114			
Has tertiary education	E117						E118
Has goals for life	E119			E114			E121

Table 4.5   Participant identification with alternative norms and standards

An indication of the ambivalence experienced by these young men, between their various masculine identity positions, is often seen in the alternation between the use of the pronouns "I" and "we" and/or "we" and "they" in the narratives produced,

sometimes within a single sentence. As an example of this, Bongani gives the impression of both identifying with and opposing the dominant masculine practice of engaging in promiscuous sexual relationships and/or having unsafe sex, when he shifts his speaking position from that of an insider, speaking on behalf of his peer group, to that of a non-specific outsider commentating on the (unsafe sexual) practices of "others" when stating that, "we like doing sex....some people do not like (to) use condoms". He follows this a little later in the interview with "some people just want that entertainment ..." and, yet later, seems to provide clear evidence of his wish for a loving, committed and monogamous relationship (E.104).

A further example of this ambivalence is revealed in the parallel investment of a number of these young men in achieving success at the tertiary educational level and/or achieving success with regard to future employment (E.114, E.117, E.118, E.119, E.121) and their simultaneously engaging in apparently irresponsible high risk behaviour such as drinking copious quantities of alcohol and engaging in potentially risky sexual relationships. This reveals a tension and ambiguity in how these young men adopt the dominant masculine norms and practices. In general, these young men both indulge in high risk behaviour and simultaneously are aware of the severe consequences of this behaviour. This tension was depicted in Kwanele's narrative of young men dying of AIDS, which represented the end point for a masculinity constructed around risk-taking (sexual) activities and an absence of future aspirations.

In many of the narratives of these young men, masculinity is constructed in relation to young women primarily as sex objects. However, the different participants position themselves ambivalently in relation to this construction, varying between a complete identification with this construction and clear ambivalence. As an example of this, Bongani comments that he and other young men like to "do some relationships with girls", relating to young women for the purposes of "sexual entertainment" rather than for the purposes of engaging in relationships. However, he also reveals an explicit ambivalence, distancing himself from other young men by stating, "some people just want that entertainment (sex without condoms)... I mean that satisfaction to like be more potent". In the following extract (E.104) Bongani not only hints that he wants more from intimate relationships with young women, but is quite explicit about his desire:

Bongani: Well:: (1) I want um:: (3) I want someone <u>who I can love</u> / I mean who I love:: (.) and (.) and (.) <u>who loves me back</u>

Interviewer: Mm mm

Bongani: And which I can (1) be <u>relaxed</u> (.) when I'm with her/Or/or which I can be un/ (.) which I can be comfortable when I'm with her

Although most of the research participants demonstrate an identification with many of the dominant norms and practices of masculinity, a common subject position is to varying degrees, a non-hegemonic one. As such, in identifying with a variety of alternate masculine norms and standards (See extracts E.101 – E.121 in Appendix), most of these young men partly position themselves as "different" or "Other. Chris, a young coloured man, is the exception to this, investing in a subject position that is for all intents and purposes strongly identified with the hegemonic version of masculinity. His masculinity is constructed in strong opposition to women (E.63) and various members of the male population, including the subordinated men such as the 'feminine guys' and gay men (E.76, E.77), who he positions as failed men.

Khulani, too, aligns himself with the vast majority of dominant hegemonic norms, only positioning himself (reflexively) in opposition to a very limited number of hegemonic masculine practices, such as having multiple sexual partners (E.106). This practice and that of engaging in unprotected sexual intercourse are the only ones that the remainder of the group commonly oppose, albeit with some sense of ambivalence. The remainder of the group align themselves ambivalently, to a greater or lesser degree, with hegemonic masculinities, and identify with various hegemonic norms while positioning themselves (reflexively) against others.

4.10   Constructions of masculinity

4.10.1 Strength and fearlessness

The interview data suggest that masculinity is most commonly defined in terms of 'strength' and 'fearlessness', and that of all the dominant, hegemonic norms with which these young men identify, 'strength' is by far the most common, expressed in a

multitude of ways (E.1 – E.23). Although none of the young men interviewed are particularly physically imposing, displays of physicality, physical strength and/or competence, together with the possession of a physically imposing body are the hegemonic norms and practices against which they position themselves. These include going to gym, being muscular, playing sport, being sexually potent, being keen, willing and able to fight, and able to defend self and family, amongst numerous others.

In its crudest form, various participants demonstrate their alignment with the masculine standard of having physical strength, linking it to the closely related masculine standard of bravery / fearlessness, especially with regard to risking and/or experiencing physical discomfort or injury. Rather than an overtly muscular or physically imposing body, almost all of the participants indicated that it is sufficiently masculine for one to be engaging in regular sport activities (E.1 – E.8). Participation in sport is of importance across the different races, particularly to the young men who are apparently from middle class families, and is raised within the narratives of Chris (E.4), Mtholeni (E.3), Stephen (E.9) and Terence (E.6) in the form of past and/or present participation in the sport of rugby. In this regard, Stephen currently plays rugby and, while Chris, Mtholeni and Terence are no longer active participants, each of these men refer to their immense enjoyment of the game, a sport that is associated with physical strength, fearlessness, and an ability to give and take physical punishment, all key components of the traditional definition of masculinity.

An ostensibly less crude or basic version of strength is identified with by Stephen and the three black participants who live in townships (E.13 - E.19) This is the masculine quality of being a conqueror and/or survivor of life's challenges, constructed as having strength of one or more forms, including strength of character, courage and bravery, and even a measure of physical strength. Without fail, their narratives evoke the common image of a young man struggling bravely against innumerable obstacles and conquering them, all with little expression of any number of 'unmanly' emotions, including that of fear, hopelessness or anxiety. Such a strong-willed and courageous battle against a range of difficult life circumstances seems to epitomize the masculine ideal of strength. Kwanele appears to allude to some of these forms of strength when he states,

"...what I believe in (.) to <u>be a man enough</u> (.) you have to go through some difficulties (2) and (.) then (.) you will be a man (1) if you (.) you have (1) come through (.) difficulties (2) and conquer those difficulties..."

Rather than physical strength and/or competence, Mtholeni suggests, in the following extract, that the "alternative" masculine standard is a verbal / intellectual strength or competence enabling conversational prowess and alertness:

Mtholeni: ...I feel as if, you know, you've got to dominate. You cannot, you
              cannot be just some, some normal guy. Normal whatever, you know.
              You kind of need to be outspoken about everything (.)
Interviewer: Okay?
Mtholeni: You can take anyone on, not necessarily physically, no.
Interviewer: Ja
Mtholeni: Verbally, ja, obviously, ja...

Perhaps a more sophisticated version of strength is that which Bongani, Khulani and the two white participants frame as the aspirational standard of a masculine identity, the protection of one's future family from malevolent others and/or the powerful forces of poverty (E.10, E.20, E.22, E.23). As Bongani states, this is about a young man "... being able to defend...himself...and his family..."

Masculinity defined in terms of actively looking for opportunities to engage other young men in physical fights emerges within the narratives of the majority of the research participants. Although none of these young men admit to having ever been involved in such expressions of physical aggression, a number of them identify with this dominant norm (E.48, E.49, E.51), suggesting that they would be willing and able to fight another individual should the need for such action arise. In a possible attempt to support their identification with this norm and their suggestions of bravery, or 'manliness', some of these men draw on a conversational toughness (or "fighting talk"), often speaking with some aggression about fending for themselves and family, as is indicated by Terence (E.10), when he states, "...it's the guys that should go in the front line and maybe take the hits." Bongani appears to be an exception to this

rule, and does not buy fully into these norms or practices of hegemonic masculinity. In this regard, he suggests that where most of his peers would think that getting into fights is important, he claims that he would take the uncommon approach and "rather talk".

However, regarding this hegemonic norm of strength, all of the participants, other than Chris, stress that they are different from their male peers in a number of ways. Here, most appear to draw implicitly upon the notion of a moral strength and an associated (strong) self-discipline that allows them to both resist the pressure to conform to one or the other less acceptable norms or practices of their peer groups and to identify with one or more alternate norms (E.101 – E.122).

As such these young men employ the notion of strength in a number of distinct ways; as a physical notion that involves playing sport and enduring physical injury, for example; as a psychological notion that involves the mental strength that is required to endure difficult life situations; and as a moral notion, that resists risky behaviour and the possibility of HIV infection. In this way they construct themselves as achieving the hegemonic standard of strength, while resisting some of its less desirable manifestations.

4.10.2 Recreation and entertainment

Most of these young men align themselves with the "doing" of hegemonic masculinity in terms of social activities, such as spending time together in night clubs, partying, having fun, and drinking, specifically in the collective space with other young men. As such, recreation and entertainment are important (sites) for the construction of masculine identities. The research participants produced narratives which indicated that, to a large degree, an identification with the dominant hegemonic norms and practices requires the demonstration of a certain frivolous, risk-taking attitude to life (E.24 – E.53). When talking of young men, Bongani suggests that "what we do is mainly for entertainment", including having sexual intercourse with young women for the purpose of entertainment, rather than for the purpose of a relationship.

Again, the young men involved in this study employ the notion of recreation and entertainment, and an associated light-hearted and/or risk-taking attitude to life, in various ways. In this regard, Terence may not engage in risky/unsafe and recreational sex, drinking or 'clubbing', because of his religious beliefs, but he, too, identifies strongly with this norm, stating:

"... guys (.) need to be (.) able to be boys every now and then... um:: (.) and::/and just play with each other and (.) go off and climb a tree: or/or explore...".

Most of these young men identify with those personal characteristics that are associated with the above-mentioned peer-focused recreational activities, such as being sociable in nature, and having a sense of humour, for example.

4.10.3 Engaging in risky behaviour

The young men participating in this research project invariably construct masculinity in terms of undertaking one or more risky behaviours, such as engaging in potentially risky promiscuous sexual behaviour (E.39 – E.44), drinking copious quantities of alcohol (E. 24 – E.28), and being willing to engage in physical acts of aggression (E.48 – E.51), all of which are constructed as important means of building a peer-verified 'acceptable' masculinity.

The narratives of these young men indicate that regularly drinking vast quantities of alcohol is considered the normal way for young male university students to behave in the present yet is a potential danger if located in the future. As such, most of the young men provide narratives which construct drinking ambivalently as a means to gaining the acceptance of peers and as a potential barrier to educational and future success beyond the university, if continued at the current high level.

Masculinity defined in terms of engaging in apparently harmless risk-taking or rebelliousness emerges within the narratives of Mtholeni (E.52) and Chris (E.53). It takes various forms, such as occasionally not studying as hard as one's peers, or being untidy and messy, particularly within one's own bedroom, in full view of visiting friends but out of the control of one's caregivers/parents, for example. Such innocuous rebelliousness seems indistinguishable from what might be termed an

"imperative immaturity", suggested by Bongani to be an inherent aspect of maleness. The behaviour, in this case, involved a small number of his inebriated "friends", apparently disturbing the peace on the university campus and being taken to task for their actions by the university's Risk Management Services. In a somewhat similar fashion, Terence comments on his participation in the potentially risky behaviour of taking on the challenges of the outdoors.

4.10.4 Emphasised masculinity and emotional imperturbability

Overlapping with the above construction of masculinity as risk-taking, a number of the research participants largely hold that masculinities are constructed around emphasised hegemonic standards and practices and the need to prove acceptable masculinity, and an emphasis on 'doing' over 'being', especially in the context of interacting within the male peer group. The narratives of various young men suggest that alcohol consumption (E.24 – E.28 and E.45 – E.47) and, to a much lesser extent, smoking feature prominently in the emphasised masculinity that many young men display when socialising with their peers after hours, especially in the local night clubs and 'drinking holes'. Although Bongani distances himself from this dominant masculine practice, the following extract demonstrates a certain envy for a particular friend who does "extreme things" and is popular because of this:

Bongani: You know even when he's drunk

Interviewer: Mmm mmm

Bongani: He tends to:: uh:: (.) perform (.) ((laughs))

Interviewer: Mmm mmm

Bongani: He just dances you know, uh:: (.) on the/on the/on the:: (.) table (.) And he's loud::

Interviewer: Mmm

Bongani: And you know he does (.) extreme things (.)

Interviewer: Mm mm mm

Bongani: So I mean that's how you tend to be popular (.) But (.) uh (.) unpopular men tend to :: (.) tend to:: control themselves…

It was implicit within many of the narratives produced that the overt objective of these displays, which include drinking vast quantities of alcohol and remaining standing

was about impressing one's male peers. In this regard, Mtholeni comments on the (occasionally subtle) bragging that he and his peers engage in at lectures the following day, explaining that a young man will drink himself "to a pulp and talk about it the next day" and, in order to indicate his ability to handle alcohol, might say such things to his peers as, "I haven't slept, I just drank supplements and came to class..."

Such narratives suggest a hegemonic display enacted as conversational performance around (physical) competence. A number of the participants, however, are explicit in differentiating themselves from those young men who want to impress their peers (i.e. have something to prove) with stories of their sexual conquests, positioning themselves as more mature than these other young men. As an example, Stephen (E.122) suggests that such risky sexual activity most often occurs as a prelude to spreading rumours about the young woman involved. This behaviour is both misogynistic in nature and suggests bravado. It does not appear, however, to be equivalent to being emotionally self-contained, which is, in contrast, a norm that many of the participants identify with.

Masculinity defined in terms of an imperative emotional imperturbability is common across the various participants (E.54 – E58). The exception to this is Terence, the white participant with strong Christian values, who holds that a "real man" is not afraid to express emotions traditionally thought of as unmanly. Emotional "hardness", or being emotionally self-contained, manifests itself primarily in the "cool" and composed attitude of two of the young men who hail from townships, while it is also demonstrated by Mtholeni (E.54 and E.55) and Stephen (E.57 and E.58), the two relatively high SES participants, as an apparent belief that men should not (need to) express emotional upset when with their peers and, likewise, should not discuss anxiety-provoking issues or concerns with their male friends.

4.10.5 Oppositional and relational constructions of masculinity

For most of the young men involved in this research project, masculinity is constructed in relation to and/or in opposition to young women and other young men (E59 – E.64). Masculinity constructed in opposition to femininity and all things female is particularly common. The majority of the research participants spend time within their interviews positioning themselves to a greater or lesser extent in

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opposition to young women as the 'Other', constructing them primarily as subordinated and as inherently different to men. As examples of this, Mtholeni (E.61) and Khulani (E.50) are both invested in subject positions that are to some extent defined in opposition to women (and men). Their narratives implicitly suggest that men and women are different. In this regard, it is apparent that their views on (the roles of) men and women are partly culturally informed views, indicated when Khulani comments that this "… is in my culture…".

It is clear that relationships with other young men are central in the construction of masculine identities. When speaking of being in relationships with male peers, especially when interacting within the male peer group, the research participants position themselves in relation to a range of dominant hegemonic norms and practices, which serve as inclusion criteria in the male peer group at university, including joking with each other and, in general, maintaining a light-hearted mood while socialising with each other (E.29 – E.38), drinking (if money is available (E.24 – E.28)), playing and/or watching sport (E.1 – E.8), partying (which includes drinking (E.33, E.35, E.38)), and talking about girls. Bongani perhaps captures the imperative nature of the above masculine practice of <u>having</u> to be with other people (men) to enjoy oneself when he states, "…you have to be…". Interestingly, he refers especially to media images which define masculinity in relation to other young men.

Once again, although these young men largely identify with these norms, they adopt a variety of subject positions in relation to them and live them out in numerous ways. With regard to social situations, Bongani articulates his desire to conform to these norms in stating that he and other young men have to "play characters". This is also evident with regard to identifying with the norm / need for maintaining a cheerful mood and/or joking with each other. In this regard, it is Bongani who states "we never talk about home….those are too serious", indicating that he is unable to raise within conversation the personal challenges or problems he is facing, referring to this as being "serious".

Kwanele's narrative about interacting with peers in the township in which he lives reveals a tension between identifying with various dominant masculine practices, including "whistling at girls" and an imperative to discard these practices with his

developing university maturity (E.65). His ability to interact with passing girls in a (sexually) suggestive manner within the township environment was ambivalently understood as both a context for displaying masculine adequacy and experiencing belonging as well as a threat to his growing maturity, associated with his university persona.

When speaking of being in relationships with male peers, especially when interacting within the male peer group, it is apparent that the adoption of a dominant, dominating and/or controlling position is also of central importance to the majority of these young men in the construction of their masculine identities (E.79 – E.84). As an example, Khulani explains that within his peer group "everyone tries to, to be the dominant one." He, like Mtholeni (E.80), indicates that everyone wants to plan and direct the activities of their particular peer group, suggesting a strong alignment with the dominant masculine norms of control and domination.

Directly related to this, a number of the research participants produced narratives that identified powerful processes of domination/subordination, and social exclusion/isolation which serve to maintain dominant hegemonic norms and standards (E.73 – E.78). In almost all cases, these young men strengthen their own masculine acceptability within their peer groups by denigrating other subordinate men, including the more effeminate men, "moffies" (gay man), "nerds" and "wusses". As such, many of these young men construct masculinity in opposition to these "other" men, including the subordinated "feminine" and gay men, who are positioned as failed men.

Interestingly, a number of these young men also construct those male students who appear to be more successful in living out dominant hegemonic norms as either excessively macho, as unintelligent rather than cool, or as arrogant rather than physically competent. As an example, Chris speaks in a derogatory fashion about those "guys that think they're clever". Stephen talks in a similarly critical manner of his male acquaintances who appear to be successful with the opposite sex, stating that "...they're quite dogs when it comes to girls. They'll go out to town to ... reel in the fish..." And in a similar fashion, Mtholeni states quite disparagingly, "Macho is that

kind of guy who will walk in the corridors with his shoulders up all over the show..."
In this way they appear to defend their own masculinity.

A number of these young men also show this oppositional or othering process in the
way in which they construct young men who engage in unsafe sex. In referring to
these Other men, it is again Mtholeni who comments,

"It is as if to them it's the only thing (promiscuous sexual behaviour) that
defines your manhood and its kind of ridiculous, I think."

Many of these narratives construct relationships between men, an important part of
masculinity, as based on competition, and involving highly precarious relationships.
This is seen in the following extract from Chris's interview drawing attention to young
men talking together about young women:

Chris:	...I mean <u>guys</u> don't really talk about their girlfriends because
Interviewer:	okay
Chris:	<u>then</u> when a guy starts talking about his <u>girl</u>friend (.) <u>other</u> people, they think he's bragging
Interviewer:	okay, ja, ja
Chris:	boasting

While having a girlfriend is an important part of masculinity, Chris makes it clear that
when talking about girls, a young man needs to be very careful not to talk about his
girlfriend for fear that this will be construed as vanity, so disturbing the precarious
relationship with other young men. In a very similar fashion, Mtholeni asserts that
men should be cautious in publicly demonstrating their particular competencies, or
abilities, in order that they do not upset their uncertain relationships with other men:

Mtholeni:	...what I notice is that people (.) it's not that they do not like you, but if you tend to be too (.) brilliant.
Interviewer:	Okay?
Mtholeni:	People feel there's ( ) automatically, there's an inferiority complex there. That's the way I see it.

Interviewer: Yes.

Mtholeni: I'm not a psychologist or something, but people (.) it is as if people wouldn't want to engage in anything with you now ...

4.10.6 Success, respect and status

The hegemonic masculine norms of being successful and, thus, of having the respect of one's peers (and therefore of achieving a certain status) are aspirational features of masculinity. This is especially apparent for each of the black participants together with Chris, the Coloured man, none of whom have yet achieved financial success. As such, having a good job, being financially successful, and having expensive possessions appear to be central to constructions of masculinity (E.87 – E.94). In this regard, almost all of the young men participating in this research project indicated that (ownership of) a car signifies an acceptable future masculine identity. Multiple narrative perspectives were presented, however, on imagined car ownership in the future.

While for Terence a motor vehicle connoted freedom from dependence upon others, for the black participants a flashy motor vehicles and expensive belongings signified an acceptable future masculine identity, because of the professional lifestyle and material success that such possessions indicated. Clearly, the above norms and practices are closely linked to the need for achieving the respect of others, primarily through visible consumerism and/or through wearing fashionable clothes, mostly, as one young man stated, in order to "make ourselves look good". This, too, appears to be intimately linked to the need to "build status for ourselves".

Although it is unclear whether having a tertiary education is a dominant hegemonic norm, it appears to be viewed by a number of these young men as an essential means to achieving the above standards (E.117, E.118). In contrast, neither of the young white research participants explicitly identifies with the acquisition of material wealth as a feature of an aspirational masculinity.

In essence, the narratives of most of these young men would appear to indicate a hierarchical view of masculinity, where hegemonic masculinity is of the young men who possess some level of financial wealth, and/or have achieved a measure of status

amongst their peers through, for example, being popular amongst their male and female peers, and/or having realised some sort of success in relationships with young women, while versions lacking these features are inferior and less acceptable.

4.11 Alternative norms of masculinity

As indicated in the introductory chapter, an important aim of this research project is to identify alternative norms and versions of masculinity. Rather than opposing the dominant, hegemonic norms and practices, however, these young men demonstrate a variety of ways in which they are able to live out the norm without appearing to be complicit. Having said this, however, all of the male university students participating in this study, other than Chris, occasionally present evidence of a disidentification with one or more of the dominant norms, values or practices of hegemonic masculinity as well as provide a limited range of alternative masculine norms, or versions of masculinity, within their narratives. Many of these norms are clearly identified with, while others are entirely aspirational in nature. Ambivalence is again the common denominator.

It emerges within many of the narratives produced by this small group of young men that space and time are particularly important in terms of identifying with alternative masculine norms and practices. In this regard, identification with non-hegemonic norms and practices appears to be located predominantly in private spaces, including those of the family home, and at times when these young men are removed from the 'prying' eyes of the male peer group. It is apparent that very few of these alternative norms are situated in the "modern" space of university, or during those times of social interaction amongst peers. It is also evident that the alternate versions of masculinity, with which these young men identify, are subjugated to other norms and standards.

In response to the question below, the following section briefly describes a range of alternative norms, standards and practices, against which the research participants commonly position themselves:

What alternative masculine norms emerge, and how do the research participants position themselves in relation to these norms?

4.11.1 Responsibility

The interview data suggest that of all the alternative masculine norms and practices with which these young men identify, being responsible is the most frequently revealed, presented in multiple ways (E.107 – E.112). Responsibility sometimes emerged as a dominant hegemonic norm of masculinity in the narratives. As an example, some of these young men refer to it in terms of being responsible for one's future family and, as such, would appear to draw upon the hegemonic norm of control.

However, a number of these young men also present responsibility as an alternative norm, separating them from dominant hegemonic practices e.g. suggesting that drinking responsibly is important. Khulani suggests that this is an important feature of his particular masculine identity, being located, however, only in the private space of his family home. It is within the 'safe' space of home that Bongani, too, identifies with a more responsible masculinity where, he suggests, he "...and some other friends..." "...sometimes do the dishes and the washing... the garden... (and) sometimes look after the children." As such, he identifies with the alternative standards and practices of a more relaxed "family man" who is willing to take on domestic responsibilities and help at home.

Mtholeni also identifies himself with the above masculine norm, demonstrated in his assertion that he is not only aware of but takes precautions against contracting the HI Virus, and is careful with how he uses his financial resources.

4.11.2 Relationships with women

The desire for a committed relationship with a young woman not only for purposes of sexual intercourse but also to meet the need for intimacy and, in some cases, in order to share personal information, is an alternative masculine norm that almost all of these young men spontaneously identify with (E.101 – E.106). Such a meaningful, loving and/or long-term and committed relationship is one that Mtholeni alludes to when he suggests that if a young man is "...going to have a girlfriend..." he should "...just give it everything..."

In a similar vein, Khulani states that rather than simply wanting a sexual liaison, he is looking for a "... woman with a good heart... a sense of humour... social skills..." and who will be someone with whom he "... can spend most of my time..."

In having a number of platonic relationships with young women, and in supporting long-term monogamy there is clear evidence within Stephen's narrative of his identification with a set of alternative masculine standards. He indicates this when he states with some awkwardness, "...I'm a virgin now and I, I'm planning on:: (.) when I'm married and stuff..."

As is evident within this young man's narratives, and as is suggested by the interview data of the majority of the young men participating in this research project, having a "girlfriend" within a long-term intimate relationship, signifies an alternative yet acceptable masculine identity.

4.11.3 Being caring

Of particular interest within the context of this research project is the finding that a number of these young men identified themselves with an emotionally expressive and/or caring version of masculinity (e.113 – E.116). In almost all cases, such alternative practices appear to be situated only in private spaces, outside of the surveillance of male peers. As such, these practices are evident within the narratives that focused attention on relationships with young women and, interestingly, cut across racial boundaries as well as socio-economic status. In this regard, Mtholeni (E.116), Terence (E.113, E.115) and Bongani (E.114) each produced narratives that identified with such non-hegemonic norms and practices.

While Terence expresses how "painful" it is to be separated from his long-term girlfriend, Bongani openly speaks of the strong emotional attachment that he feels for his (older) brother when he says, "I love my bra so much..." He goes on to demonstrate an acute awareness of the fact that "... a lot of young men can't... talk expressively..." in terms of their problems, and as a result he thinks that young women are the best people to talk to because not only are they "...in touch with their feelings..." but they are also "emotionally sensitive."

Likewise, Mtholeni demonstrates the possession of a more emotionally expressive and empathetic masculinity in the following extract,

"... some other people don't really have emotional attachment to, to what they're saying but you do find with the more feminine man... he's much more compassionate about everything."

4.11.4 Aspirational alternative masculine norms

The interview data suggests that a number of these young men view one or more of the alternative masculine norms as aspirational features of masculinity at which they are currently aiming, rather than those that they have already achieved. One such common feature includes engagement in a long-term, monogamous relationship, for example (E.101, E.103 – E.106).

Kwanele (E.117) wants to become popular and "be known in the community" mostly by the standards of this alternate masculinity, such as having a tertiary/university education. In general, the alternate forms of masculinity with which he aligns himself are primarily associated with the (future) life of a married man, and involve such aspects as being responsible and being answerable to / for one's family. These alternative norms and practices seem to be related to the lives being lived by his older / more responsible friends.

Setting goals for one's life appears to be a feature of an alternate masculinity that is related to the above, and appears within the narratives of each of the three young black township men (E.114, E.119, E.121). In this regard, Kwanele demonstrate his identification with this norm in commenting on the importance of "...knowing what you want from life..." In a similar vein, Bongani comments on the fact that he cares, and is "sensitive", about his future. And, likewise, Khulani states that a young man "...must always have a vision..." of what he wants to be in the future.

4.12 Personal versions and positions

As has been clearly indicated above, almost every one of the young men participating in this research project indicates an investment in more than a single masculine identity

position. Such subject positions appear to be in line with the dominant, hegemonic norms while, at other times within the interview texts, they appear to partly be in line with alternative masculine norms, and sometimes apparently the latter, but actually the former. In other words, some of these young men simultaneously identify with hegemonic norms and practices and oppose them.

As previously indicated, these young men frequently appear to occupy different versions of masculinity at different times – past, present, and/or the future – and in different places and, hence, result in what might be viewed as contradictory and ambivalent masculine identity positions. Evidence of at least two different versions of masculinity is often provided within the narratives produced, one of which is commonly a subject position aligned with the problems, challenges and difficulties that are associated with the life of a young South African man, including material deprivation, increasing responsibilities, and an uncertainty regarding a male university student's masculine adequacy, and hence acceptability, amongst his circle of same-sexed peers. The second position in which most of these young men invest revolves around a masculinity that emphasises the recreational, frivolous, and often irresponsible, dimensions of a young man's life. Understandably, there is often a sense of uncertainty and ambiguity that implicitly pervades many of these masculine constructions.

In an attempt to answer the question posed below, this section gives attention to some of the commonalities and differences in masculine identity positions evident within the interview texts. It goes on to provide a single case vignette, exploring the positionings of one particular research participant, paying particular attention to his oppositional/ relational construction of masculinity:

> *What are the personal versions and subject positions that the research*
> *participants adopt, and why are there differences in the positions adopted?*

It is important to note that it is often unclear whether a young man's particular subject position represents a widely performed version of masculinity for the particular man, and to what extent a version is constructed in and through the interview with a "modern" university (adult) man or woman.

As indicated, these young men generally maintain a version of masculinity that draws attention to the frivolous and fun aspects of being a man (E.24 – E.38). A number of these young men, from different socio-economic backgrounds, construct a version of masculinity that draws attention to the difficulties, or challenges, of young masculinity, common amongst which is the constant contest that is experienced with other men, to be popular, or for a dominant position within the peer group, for example (E.79 – E.84). Although few of these young men create space in their narratives to acknowledge this contest and sense of precariousness, Khulani explains that within his peer group "everyone tries to, to be the dominant one." He indicates that everyone wants to be the one to plan and direct the group's activities, suggesting a strong alignment with the dominant masculine norms of control and domination.

Khulani and Stephen position themselves as young men who are in most respects part of the hegemonic masculine group. They both construct at least two versions of masculinity, one of which strongly draws attention to their social competence, which apparently provides them with an adequate sense of masculinity. This includes the ability to communicate effectively with peers, having a sense of humour, and having a respectful attitude, which in Stephen's case is most evident in relation to women.

Each of the township men position themselves as "Other", to a greater or lesser extent, in relation to those young men who have financial resources and expensive possessions, such as a car. The importance that they place upon achieving financial success suggests that any current lack of conformity to hegemonic norms is due primarily to a lack of resources, specifically money. In this regard, they suggest that both men and women are attracted to young men who have possessions (as well as well-developed social skills).

Although these men continue to engage in various hegemonic practices, there are often features of having resisted some of the pressures of a hegemonic masculinity. As described earlier, most of these young men position themselves as "Other" in relation to those who want a relationship with a woman only for the sex. In this regard, almost all demonstrate an ambivalence in claiming to want a loving

relationship with a woman, but will be willing to engage in a sexual relationship at some stage.

Bongani is a good example of the above, and will be used to demonstrate different versions of masculinity. He maintains two different versions of masculinity, one involving the daily management of "problems" and challenges and the other involving "entertainment" and having fun with his male peers. In this regard, he seems caught between the two, speaking in an upbeat and amusing manner about entertainment, including sexual entertainment, and then talking about the hardships of life, to the point where he comments, "my life is too much for me". In this regard, an important part of Bongani's personal identity, and something which connects him with the rap artist 50 cents, or Mandoza, is having been through many difficulties. In a similar fashion to his role-model, Bongani comments that he hopes to "….be able to make success of myself as an adult".

The problems and hardships experienced by Bongani are an important issue in defining his identity as a man, and relates to the emphasis that he places on seeing himself as "serious", because of the time he spends thinking about these problems, and is therefore an unacceptable version. "I'm always full of tension, I'm always more serious". This version is also partly constructed around his inability to participate in the peer group conversations about current television programmes, because his family do not own a television, as well as the fact that even the food he brings for lunch is embarrassing. Related to this version, and of particular importance, is the fact that Bongani, at various points in the interview stresses his biography and "background" and "what he's been through" and surviving or being "able to make it". This appears to be a continuation of his ongoing 'personal burden of life' theme, where "everything is a challenge", and "I have to fend for myself and my sister".

Bongani's other version of masculinity relates to his very strong sense of self as different, which is evident throughout this interview, especially when he states that, "I wouldn't think I have met somebody who is like me". Apart from an uncommon biography, which includes the fact that he has lost both of his parents, he sees himself as caring and sensitive in a way that he thinks other young men are not. He further states that "I am unpopular", and distinguishes between a muscular, grouchy macho

masculinity and a non-hegemonic one that is more identified with a relaxed "family man", who is "willing to help at home", and with which he identifies. Rather than showing awareness that there is a plurality of hegemonic masculine positions to choose from, this extract indicates that Bongani is appropriating and defending a non-hegemonic masculinity.

In essence, Bongani indicates that the two different versions of masculinity, mentioned above, are class related, space related and dependent on a young man's biography. He emphasizes the issue of a "big difference" between the versions in the extract below:

Bongani:	...I don't click (.) with other people because I mean (.) you know there's a <u>big</u> difference between us (1) [mm] you know <u>I've</u> got/ You know there are a <u>lot</u> of people who come from (.) the suburbs
Interviewer:	Hmm
Bongani:	And (.) You know (.) <u>townships</u> which are (.) you know (1) are/are (.) are more:: (5) um::: (1) I don't know how to put this (2) <u>my</u> township is/<u>my</u> township is less like um:: [mm hmmm] (2) I mean I'm sorry what I'm trying to say is that (.) is less -
Interviewer:	Well its fine (.) perhaps are you looking at um::: (1) wealth (.) at um perhaps is that one of the things?
Bongani:	Ja, ja, like well I mean <u>my</u> township is like homes that are built/are built of/ of mud...

In the extract below, Bongani's narrative continues, clearly indicating a hierarchical view of masculinity, where hegemonic masculinity is of the young men "who come from the suburbs", while Bongani's township version is inferior and far less acceptable:

Bongani:	I mean we (.) we got less stuff (.) [ja] than others
Int:	Ja, ja
Bongani:	I mean if you talk, I mean like you know (.) we're talking about (2) TV:: I mean TV shows:: and whatsoever. Me, I can't talk about that ((laughs)) cos I don't have a TV.

Int:	Okay (.) because your aunt doesn't have a TV?
Bongani:	Ja:: ja you know? (.) and all (.) and all those things I mean (2) I mean it (1) like little things
Interviewer:	Like?
Bongani:	(1) Like (.) lunch, as in like, okay:: (.) W/I mean:: lets say::: for example we're talking about okay (.) what you/ what I'm gonna (.) bring in tomorrow for lunch (1) [ja] and I can't talk about that because I mean (.) I'm more poorer/I (.) I mean I'm poorer than them and (.) my lunch is gonna be (.) you know:: it's like ((laughs)) its embarrassing to talk about because (1) they all bring lunch which is like more ah:::(.) of quality ((laughs))
Interviewer:	Okay, high quality
Bongani:	Ja:: (.) I mean (.) little stuff like that (.) tend to separate us

Related to this hierarchical view, Bongani constructs himself as not having had control in his life because of having little money. As such, not only is having money and thus control important, but these are also key features of a hegemonic masculinity. He also often refers to his personal background which puts him in a different position, commenting that "I come from somewhere where there's …..I don't have friends".

With regard to Bongani's oppositional/ relational construction of masculinity, he provides some evidence of 'othering' women, and has an empathic understanding of women, seeing them as more abused than men. Although he describes the great similarity between men and women, he does suggest that men have more agency in dealing with their difficult experiences, such as abuse, while he also makes minor reference to biological differences between men and women. Importantly, Bongani constructs women as "more sensitive" than young men and therefore "the best persons to talk to". Interestingly, there is no reference in this interview to the need for women to confirm him in his sense of self. Rather, Bongani looks for a woman who he can love and who will love him, who can express herself, and "who doesn't keep things to herself". Towards the end of the interview, however, Bongani does indicate some ambivalence, constructing women as needing "someone to depend on", and suggests that what they want in relation to men is "security and entertainment".

Bongani says that young masculinity is defined by relating with other young men, whom he consistently terms "people", specifically through light-hearted social interactions, suggesting a sense of compulsoriness to these relationships, commenting that "you have to be with some <u>people</u> in order to enjoy yourself..." In this regard, he produces a narrative in which he holds that part of the pattern of hegemonic masculinity is the way that young men socialise together "...just laughing and sharing jokes...", something that he suggests is illustrated clearly in media images. Bongani also states that an important aspect of socialising involves impressing one's friends and peers. In the following extracts, he demonstrates a strong awareness that many young men find conforming to hegemonic masculinities a struggle, in particular maintaining a façade of both emotional imperturbability and an easy-going and relaxed personality, stating:

"...We tend to:: (.) to try to forget about the <u>problems</u> and just play certain characters..."

"...You know (.) you tend (.) not to::: (.) to talk (.) about (2) what happens at home and whats<u>oever</u>."

"We just play along of (1) with what is <u>happening</u> (.) at the mo/at that particular moment..."

In the following extract, Bongani again demonstrates a firm recognition of the fact that maintaining an appearance of frivolity is essential if a young man wants to be accepted and included by his male peers, stating:

Bongani:	...I mean/ I mean / okay if we're watching a rugby game/ just say we're watching a rugby game
Int:	Okay, okay (1) ja, ja
Bongani:	You'll try to relate to:: to other people (.) [ja] I mean if they are happy you have to be happy together
Int:	Sure, sure
Bongani:	You can't just be uh::: (.) isolated or be alone

4.12.1 Voices of masculinity

Analysis of the data revealed multiple voices that exist within the narratives of the research participants, and different means by which they negotiate, or dialogue, these different voices. In particular, it is often apparent that these young male university students attempt to maintain both a global identity as well as a cultural-specific identity and, as a consequence, constantly shift between the two, revealing ambivalence as to an essential nature of masculinity or what it is to be a "real man." As an example, the voice of the *Modern man* is heard in Mtholeni's narrative drawing attention to the fact that "gender equality" is unfortunately often an illusion. Within the same narrative, however, the voice of the *Traditional man* begins to dominate when Mtholeni comments that he does not "…feel that women are kind of that able…" and then proceeds to explain that, "…in my culture, once you've been (.) initiated, you kind of gain some sort of… leverage."

Depending upon the particular research participant, a certain voice may be dominant resulting in other voices being subjugated, or less perceptible or less frequently heard. Space and time are particularly significant dimensions within which these different voices are audible. It is generally the case that the dominant voice is identified with certain dominant, hegemonic norms and practices, and is situated in the space of peer interactions and within the university environs. In contrast, subjugated voices are often aligned with non-hegemonic norms and practices, and are located predominantly in private spaces, away from the male peer group.

Within the narratives of these young men, one of the most commonly heard voices is that of the *Sociable and/or Popular man*, a full participant in hegemonic masculinity. For many of these young men this is the dominant voice, located in the present, and arising mainly in the space of the university when interacting with the university peer group. It is associated with a strong sense of being related, or enjoying a sense of "brotherhood", with friends and peers. It is situated in opposition to being alone, and is almost always located in the space of the present wherever young men congregate. It is generally evident in a subject position that is aligned with the dominant, hegemonic norms and practices of drinking large amounts of alcohol, partying and, generally engaging in light-hearted homosocial interaction. This voice resides especially in the space of parties, and emerges from peer pressure. This voice is part

of a collective voice in which individual voices are generally drowned out, and is often evident in the use of the pronoun "we". This is the voice of masculinity as "entertainment".

In contrast to the above, the voice of the *Unacceptable man* which is most often subjugated, speaks for the young man who does not have the means to conform to certain of the hegemonic norms and practices and thus fails. This voice reflects the subject position of young men who especially identify with the material wealth/success and expensive possessions as signs of hegemonic masculinity, but do not have the means to attain these standards and therefore other themselves as subordinated young men. This voice is evident when Bongani compares his pitiable lunch to that brought to university by the wealthier young men who hail from the suburbs:

Bongani: Like (.) lunch as in like/okay:: (.) W/I mean:: lets say::: for example we're talking about okay (.) what you/ what I'm gonna (.) bring in tomorrow for lunch (1) [ja] and I can't talk about that because I mean (.) I'm more poorer/I (.) I mean I'm poorer than them and (.) my lunch is gonna be (.) you know:: it's like ((laughs)) it's embarrassing to talk about because (1) they all bring lunch which is like more ah::: (.) of quality ((laughs))

Interviewer: Okay, high quality

Bongani: Ja:: (.) I mean (.) little stuff like that (.) tend to separate us

Another common voice in the narratives of these young men is that of the *Survivor of life challenges*. This voice usually speaks for young men who have survived difficult life circumstances, and thus proved their masculinity, or presently live with very limited financial resources and/or with other challenges within the family, such as the death of one or both parents. This voice reflects the typical hegemonic norms and standards relating to strength and fearlessness and also an emotional imperturbability.

The voice of the *Responsible and/or Goal-directed man* is also often in evidence. This is a voice that often speaks in opposition to some of the apparently unacceptable pressures of hegemonic masculinity and is, rather, responsibly goal-directed.

Although situated predominantly in the context of family life in an envisaged future, this voice may reside in the present, located in the context of taking some responsibility for limited financial resources and/or studying responsibly in order to ensure future educational success, for example. This voice is especially located in the time and space of future permanent employment as a university graduate. It is also often situated in the context of being a future husband and provider/protector, and is indicated in the following extract when Khulani suggests that to be a young man means,

"...achieving what you want (1) like getting a high education so I can get a reasonable job, one that will pay you so I can do/so I can be independent... be able to support your family..."

Alongside the above voices there is also the highly individual voice of the *Different man*, who identifies with certain non-hegemonic norms, practices, role-models, and activities. For most of these young men, this voice resides primarily in the present, most often in the disidentification with promiscuous sexual behaviour, as well as in the struggle against a particularly challenging life (or financial) situation. This voice is usually subjugated, and is assumed outside of the collective space of the university environment, as Kwanele demonstrates in the extract below, when speaking of socialising with his older male friends:

Kwanele: My, my friends (.) they, they are not the same age that I (.) mo (.) most
             of them (.) they are working and
Interviewer: Mmm
Kwanele: Again (.) whenever I've got that, eh (.) like personal problems (.) they
             (.) they are the one who (.) who I talk to

4.12.2 Dealing with multiple voices

Wherever multiple voices are audible they are dealt with in one or more ways, the most common of which may be to compartmentalise them, articulating them in different, or separate, times and spaces, such as that of the space of university versus the space of the family home, for example.

Multiple voices may also be dealt with through a process of subjugation/domination. If a dominant voice is apparent, it is the most common or least contested voice and results in the other, less audible, voices becoming subjugated.

Another approach to dealing with multiple voices of masculinity is to run them in parallel, allowing them to dialogue with one another. This is evident in the interaction between the voices of Bongani's *Serious man* and that of the *Different man*. In this regard, the voice of the *Serious man* emerges as "I can spends some time alone....I try to make decisions for myself". This voice is highly individual, seen especially in Bongani's switch in pronouns from "I" to "they". This voice is heard in the words "I will be myself", which is separate from friends. This is a self in which he tries "to stay to my rules...stay to my values...norms you know". This is a voice which is still present, even when he is drunk, indicated when he states, "there's still some sense left". But this self is positioned by his male peers and by some women as "homosexual" for failure to act according to the promiscuous sexual norms of hegemonic masculinity. As indicated, this voice is closely related to, and dialogues with that of the *Different man*, whose voice is that of the young man who is atypical amongst his peers, and who makes a conscious choice not to conform to certain hegemonic norms or practices, such as engaging in promiscuous sexual behaviour, but is still a "manly man".

Khulani and Stephen, too, appear to hold multiple voices of masculinity which are run in parallel. This often seems possible because a level of consistency has been achieved between the different voices and, as such, little conflict is experienced between them, with none being explicitly dominant or subjugated. As an example, Khulani frames his ability to cook well not as an indication of a stereotypically more feminine side, but rather as an indication of his masculine independence (which he highlights as an important feature of hegemonic masculinity).

4.13   Explaining the investment in subject positions

As indicated within the section above, analysis of the interview texts consistently reveals that the research participants speak with multiple voices and that they occupy divergent and contradictory positions. The following section attempts to elucidate some of the potential reasons for the investment in multiple subject positions. In this

regard, there appear to be a number of potential reasons for this. Multiple voices reflect a diversity of personal and cultural beliefs, as well as a variety of other processes including efforts to respond to the interviewer in a politically correct, socially desirable manner, and attempts to conform to perceived societal expectations of masculinity. In addition, many of the research participants appear to find themselves caught between traditional and newer notions of masculinity, between discourses that draw on traditional cultural concepts of what it is to be a man and more modern or liberal notions.

This section seeks to explain the investment that each young man has in taking up one position rather than another, and it explores the possible motivations and benefits that might encourage identification, or alignment, with subject positions of conformity/non-conformity. This section gives particular attention to the reasons, either explicitly stated and/or implicit (or unconscious) within the narratives produced, for the positions that these young men adopt in relation to young women and other young men.

For what reasons do the research participants invest in the subject positions that they do?

Almost without fail, all of the black research participants who reside in townships, together with Stephen, one of the young white men, repeatedly refer to the ongoing challenges that they have had to contend with throughout much of their lives as they have grown up into the young men that they are today. The problems and crises experienced include a general lack of financial resources and, for three of these four participants, the death of one or more parents, as well as various quite unique and generally ongoing or recurring difficulties. They construct their problem-fraught biographies as relatively uncommon within the broader university context, and so construct themselves as unique and different from the majority of their peers. This sense of being different or "other" provides the flexibility for each of these young men to, at times, inhabit a position outside of the collective or hegemonic, aligned with non-hegemonic masculine norms and practices, while still presenting themselves as effective and acceptable men.

These young men are able to shift between these relatively unique subject positions and their collective identity with their male peers. In general, however, the interviews demonstrate that each of the young men invests in particular subject positions apparently because of the intersection of gender with a certain combination of personal/ biographical and contextual factors, including amongst others a participant's history, his race and socio-economic status, and as a defence mechanism to protect him against certain anxiety-provoking feelings about his masculinity.

In addition to what a particular research participant says, informed by a psychoanalytic methodology, this study is also interested in the gaps in the young men's discourses of masculinity, their contradictions, silences and other absences that reveal certain unconscious gender positions alongside their conscious positions. These are young man's less clearly articulated wishes and desires, and require constant reflection with regard to the subjective, or unconscious, aspects of his particular self-positioning.

An ostensibly hegemonic subject position common to Stephen and the black participants living in townships is that of being a survivor of life's challenges. The reason for Stephen having invested in this position seems likely to be related to the fact that he has endured the death of his mother, with few visible signs of emotional distress, suggesting strength of character, and has been raised in a family where only relatively limited finances are available. The young black men who construct similar subject positions all experience comparable, although apparently more severe, tenuous financial situations at home. Two of these young men have also suffered the loss of at least one of their parents.

Each of the young black research participants hailing from townships, together with Mtholeni, whose parents are both professionals, is strongly identified with the hegemonic norms and practices of masculinity, especially those of having a good job, being financially successful, and having expensive possessions. (These are aspirational features of a masculinity at which they are currently aiming, rather than features which they have already achieved.) It seems quite possible that their fervent alignment with these norms is an attempt to buttress what they view as a failing masculinity. The young men from the townships then rationalize this apparent failure

- their lack of conformity to these hegemonic norms – by resorting to explanations from their life histories, specifically the fact that they lack resources, particularly financial capital.

The following example attempts to explain the investment that Chris has in taking up one masculine identity position rather than another, while also exploring the possible motivations that might encourage his alignment with subject positions of non-conformity and/or conformity. In this regard, the interview with Chris suggests that it is the intersection of his biography, especially his race, with his school experiences and his history in relation to girls/women and boys/men within, and outside his family, that most strongly influences his current positioning, which is in clear opposition to men and women.

4.13.1 Experiences with women

Chris constructs a version of masculinity in firm opposition to women. His personal history provides various clues as to the reasons for inhabiting such a position, especially his experience of losing out in relation to his father because of his father's new wife. He also refers to an unpleasant experience with a young woman at university so that "my self-esteem kind of dropped", while there was a girl who humiliated him at school and avoided him. In essence, it appears that all of these women had some control over Chris, undermining his sense of successful masculinity. It is likely that it is against this backdrop that Chris accesses a common canonical narrative of the "Macho man" in opposition to women. This is his dominant voice, indicated within his narrative as "macho macho". This macho voice is or wants to always be in control of women rather than be controlled by them. He has decided that it is not safe to trust women, commenting that "I don't trust women much". This is also a plausible reason why Chris does not allow women any opportunity to be in control. Such a narrative may be viewed as a defence against Chris's feeling of vulnerability and unacceptability amongst women (and men). But Chris's narrative also hints at a subtle, unconscious, construction of women as very powerful and able to damage him, leading to his need for control as protection.

4.13.2 Racial differences

Chris's position in relation to other men involves a strong sense of competition, but also a parallel sense of vulnerability and unacceptability, and appears to be firmly based within his peer interactions from the time he entered high school and onwards. He felt "othered" at school, which was partly the result of being the only Coloured boy at a predominantly white school. Such racial issues impact on Chris's construction of masculinity where being the 'odd one out' appears to have resulted in the voice of the *Unpopular / Vulnerable man* being clearly audible, evident in the unpopular/vulnerable coloured boy in the space of school. In the following extract Chris provides a vivid description of having difficulty finding a space to be at school because he felt unpopular and unaccepted:

Chris:	...at least at varsity it's <u>better</u> 'cause at least it's (2) / I feel a <u>lot</u> more accepted than I did at school
Interviewer:	okay, yeah
Chris:	'cause (1) I dunno 'cause like also/ ( ) in my class I was the <u>only</u> coloured guy in my class
Interviewer:	okay, ya
Chris:	and you know it's a bit (5) you know its like/ they say you're <u>too</u> white for the black man to/to/to (.) and too black for the white man
Interviewer:	okay (1) and that's how you felt?
Chris:	yeah:: (1)

This may account to some extent for his struggle to find a place where he feels he really belongs. Also, when referring to race, Chris says that the white boys' lifestyles were completely different, and that "they have more money than me." At school he experienced vulnerability and unacceptability among many of the boys, where masculinity was primarily about constant contest with other boys, who he could not really trust, and the constant struggle to be popular. He creates little space in his narrative to acknowledge this sense of vulnerability and unacceptability. Interestingly, things have been only a little different since leaving school and coming to university as, here, he is still apparently struggling in what he portrays as very uncertain relationships with other men. This is because he persists in his construction of young men as being in unremitting competition with one another, in constant danger of

disturbing the insecure relationship. In describing what makes a young man be seen to be a "proper man", Chris again alludes to a sense of vulnerability, constructing men as "arrogant" and as untrustworthy:

Chris: (4) I think it's <u>one</u> you have to be popular

Interviewer: okay, so how does one ensure that?

Chris: to be popular? (2) uh::: it's <u>hard</u> to be popular [ya] 'cause (.) you know <u>everyone's</u> got enemies and friends

Interviewer: sure, sure

Chris: and (4) a <u>lot</u> of guys/I know a <u>lot</u> of guys who think they're men and they're arrogant

Interviewer: ya, ya

Chris: and I mean they think that they're men/ their friends probably think that you know (.) and then, now it's the other peoples who are talking behind their back...

4.14   Strategies for maintaining an adequate sense of masculinity

The majority of the young men participating in this research project produce narratives which indicate shifts between various subject positions, including that of a relatively unique masculine identity position, aligned with one or other non-hegemonic norm, in spaces removed from the peer group, and a collective identity with male peers, complicit with the norms and practices of a dominant hegemonic masculinity. In answering the question posed below, the following section provides a description of each of the strategies utilised by these young male university students within their interpersonal interactions, both within the interview situation and amongst their peers, to maintain an adequate sense of masculinity. In this regard, some men repeatedly exploited a limited selection of strategies, while others appeared to draw upon a much larger repertoire. In essence, each strategy provides a young man with the sense that he is performing a more acceptable version of masculinity which augments his sense of masculine security and comfort.

What are the strategies employed to maintain an adequate sense of masculinity
(in the face of non-conformance to hegemonic norms)?

Identification with some aspects of a hegemonic masculinity

This strategy was possibly the most regularly used amongst this group of young men. It involves an alignment or identification with one or more norms or practices of a dominant, hegemonic masculinity. As an example, Kwanele particularly aligns himself with a compulsory heterosexual masculinity, commenting on his sexualized verbal interactions with young township women and indicating that he has a steady girlfriend. In a similar fashion, Mtholeni assures the interviewer that he is socially confident and adept at flirting with girls when he states, "…ja, obviously I, I do have chicks…" His use of a 'subtle' misogyny, in speaking of "chicks", has much the same effect, serving as a means of indicating his confidence in himself and/or his sexuality.

Mtholeni also indicates an awareness of the existence of non-hegemonic options with regard to masculine standards and practices and, in the following extract, explicitly frames his "slight" identification with some hegemonic norms and standards as primarily in order to be accepted by his peers:

Interviewer:	Is that something you… have experienced, having to live up to standards set by peers, being accepted by peers?
Mtholeni:	Um (.) well no, no, not, not that much.
Interviewer:	Okay.
Mtholeni:	Not that much, but yes, slightly because you, you see, that happens when you have to live up to your peers, to everyone…

In Stephen's case, he aligns himself with a physically strong / competent masculinity, assuring the interviewer he can look after himself and would engage in a physical fight if the need arose. In a somewhat similar manner, Bongani tries to take on a deliberate character who adopts the practices of his particular peer group interaction, as indicated when he says, "we try to fit in to every context that we are in".

Indication of previous attainment of a hegemonic masculinity

In applying this strategy a young man will indicate his achievement of a version of hegemonic masculinity at some stage in the, usually recent, past, often through some kind of public sign. As an example, Kwanele indicates that other men "…think that you must have a girlfriend and… have a kid…" and that having sired a son he

therefore has already attained some standards of hegemonic masculinity which he can now reject. In a similar fashion, Khulani draws attention to the fact that as a socially competent and popular young man, who drank irresponsibly in the past, he has already achieved some standards of hegemonic masculinity and so can indicate his aspiration to reject certain hegemonic norms in the future.

Indication of an aspiration to attain a hegemonic masculinity in the future

This strategy involves a young man emphasising his strong ambition to achieve various hegemonic norms or standards and/or a particular version of hegemonic masculinity in the near future including, in particular, the acquirement of material wealth. As an example of this strategy, all of the black participants in this study place a lot of emphasis on owning expensive possessions (now and in the future). As is evident in Bongani's comment that men "… buy … expensive cars (and) try to make them look good … just for our appearance and our status…" it seems likely that this is predominantly for the prestige and status associated with attaining the masculine standard of being materially wealthy.

Identification with models of an alternate masculinity

Amongst the young men who hail from townships, the previous strategy often seems to proceed hand-in-hand with a strong identification with prominent men who are in one way or another non-hegemonic. Such men include Mandoza, the South African rap artist, who Khulani states is from a township "…and I'm from a township as well, and when he was growing up he was involved in gangster-ship and taking drugs but as he grew… up he stopped."

In other words, this strategy involves young men in looking for forms of authorisation or legitimation of their version of masculinity. This often involves a young man who has not yet attained the hegemonic standards appealing to examples of successful men whom they are, in some way, similar to. It may also involve a young man indicating his deliberate decision not to align himself with certain hegemonic standards, but rather to seek out alternative role models who serve to give authority to his alternate perspective. This strategy is relatively well-applied within this group, and includes identification with men who are not publicly celebrated, as well as those who are, such as Jesus, in Terence's case. Mtholeni, too, maintains an adequate sense of

masculinity because he identifies himself with his ex-school principal and other adult men with whom he interacted during his formative years and who have been important influences in his life. Similarly, Kwanele identifies himself with his older adult male friends, while a number of the other young men identified with older family members, including brothers and, in Stephen's case, his mother.

Principled non-conformance

A number of young men maintain an adequate sense of masculinity, despite positioning themselves in opposition to aspects of hegemonic norms (particularly multiple sexual partners) because they position themselves for principled and value-based reasons. Stephen adopts this strategy and speaks of men who are easily influenced as, "very much like sheep... and just follow the crowd" suggesting that these young men shape their actions according to other's questionable moral standards.

In a similar fashion, Mtholeni frames young men who align themselves with sexual risk-taking hegemonic norms as "ridiculous", "sick" and "immoral". The other young men who use this strategy frame hegemonic masculinity as "bad" or "immature" and, in general, adopt the moral high ground, thus enabling them to maintain a sense of their own adequate masculinity.

Exposing the weakness / fragility / negative consequences of hegemonic masculinity

In utilising this strategy, a young man will denigrate hegemonic masculinity. This he may do by making explicit the negative costs involved in conforming to a particular dominant, hegemonic norm or practice, so devaluing the aspired-to standard of hegemonic masculinity, and making it less appealing. As an example, in the following extract Kwanele indicates that those men who conform to the hegemonic masculine practice of engaging in unprotected sex are likely to contract HIV:

."... you end up like (2) having unprotected sex and getting AIDS and (.) end up dying very young..."

In applying this strategy, a young man may also resort to the denigration or belittling of certain 'types' of hegemonic men when they do not attain their hegemonic standards. This may be the result of the projection of a young man's anxieties onto others regarding how his peers may view his sexual prowess, and/or his physical, intellectual or other competencies. As an example, Mtholeni frames "macho men" who align themselves with hegemonic norm of physical domination as "dumb", and those young men who are arrogant as "know-it-all" types. In a similar fashion, Stephen frames young men who align themselves with sexual risk-taking hegemonic norms as "dogs" and "dirty ous". He also belittles or denigrates those who conform to hegemonic masculinity and are "… trying to live up to other people's standards…" Similarly, Chris constructs those 'successful' hegemonic men who indicate visible signs of financial wealth, including those who possess expensive cars, and those who regularly engage in sexual relationships with members of the opposite sex, as "arrogant".

Hiding problematic/alternative masculinity

Perhaps one of the most commonly exercised strategies is that of simply keeping private a young man's alternate masculinity and/or any thoughts of identifying with alternative masculine norms or practices. In this regard, five of the seven participants have alternate masculinities that only find expression in carefully guarded spaces. It is an important strategy that Bongani has adopted, and plays out in his withholding of all thoughts relating to his home-life and its associated difficulties and challenges when with his peers. This "serious" nature represents a problematic masculinity that has to be compartmentalized away from the cool space of young men being together.

This strategy also involves the performance of an alternative masculinity within environments and/or at times that are usually free from the scrutiny of male peers. Such a strategy serves to ensure that a young man is neither criticised nor denigrated for his particular non-hegemonic practices, thus allowing the maintenance of an adequate sense of masculinity. In this regard, Kwanele relates that his alternative masculinity is evident in particular physical spaces, especially that of his home, as well as within the university environs, such as those in which he spends time interacting with his girlfriend. He also relies on the figurative space identified by a

particular group of young men who have entered the adult world of work and responsibility. In a similar fashion, Mtholeni relies on the figurative space identified by the skateboarding subculture / interest and activity (which appears to involve young men outside of the university environment). Terence relates that alternative masculinities are most evident in actual physical spaces, such as the wilderness or in his religious cell groups. Stephen indicates that his alternative masculinity is most evident in the physical space of the night clubs he visits, and of the university environs, where he spends much of his time socializing with his numerous platonic girlfriends. He also relies on the figurative space identified by a particular fantasy book-reading subculture / interest and activity which involves his group of young men who enjoy JR Tolkien's books.

Drawing collective support

Another regularly utilized strategy involves a young man aligning himself with other men who have adopted similar alternate, or non-hegemonic masculinities Kwanele's alternative masculinity depends on the social norms and individual support of his older, more mature friends. Mtholeni suggests that other normal young men also do not conform to all of the hegemonic norms; In particular, he frames a "lack of confidence around girls" as a common experience amongst young male university students. Relating to the above, Mtholeni's alternative masculinity may also depend on the social norms and individual support of a likeminded skateboarding subgroup. There is clear evidence that Terence's alternate masculinity depends on the social norms of his particular religious subgroup (his church-going peers), while Stephen's alternative masculinity also depends on the social norms and individual support of his likeminded fantasy book-reading subgroup. He also aligns himself with other non-promiscuous men, stating that it is not "uncommon."

Reframing of an alternate masculinity / Rationalising non-conformance to hegemonic norms

This strategy involves the reframing of alternative norms and practices, using a language that makes them sound acceptable within a hegemonic masculine world. It provides a young man and his male peers with a sense that he is enacting an acceptable version of young masculinity which enhances his sense of masculine well-being. As an example, Bongani reframes his experience of "problems" more

positively as "challenges", commenting that, "I won't say its problems, I'll say its challenges". The implicit suggestion is that rather than feeling overwhelmed (by problems), he is going to gather his courage, face up to these particular difficulties, and attempt to conquer them.

A further example of the use of this strategy involves Stephen in identifying with the alternative masculine practice of long-term intimate relationships without engagement in sexual intercourse. As this sets him apart from the hegemonic norm, he reframes it in terms of a strong, unbending will, commenting on his belief that it is important "not to back down from what you believe in."

In employing this rather widespread strategy, young men may also emphasise the ways in which they are dissimilar from their male peers. What often seems to enable them to define this uniqueness positively, however, is the implicit assertion that their identification with an alternative masculine identity position is due primarily to a personal courage, or strength of character, that allows them to make the choice to be different. As an example, Bongani is at pains to tell us that "I'm a little bit different / well I'm not saying that I'm not a man". In this regard, rather than being at pains to conform to the hegemonic norm, Bongani, as with the two other township men and Stephen, emphasize their uniqueness, which may provide them with a sense of being able to stand up to the overwhelming pressure to conform to the local, dominant norms and standards of masculinity. This serves to maintain an adequate sense of masculinity and may, in turn, give each young man a sense of individuality away from the collective norm, resulting in less pressure to conform to hegemonic norms

As a further example of this strategy, Bongani relates a story of being invited by a young woman to partake in what appears to be a potential, brief sexual liaison. He declined the offer, much to the disbelief of the friends that were accompanying him at the time, but appears to maintain a sense of acceptable masculinity through rationalising his non-hegemonic position through locating himself in a history that is different to his peers and that has resulted in the development of a different set of personal "rules...values...norms". It appears he also tries to rationalize his alternative masculine position to his peers.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION

"Masculine identity is born in the renunciation of the feminine, not in the direct affirmation of the masculine, which leaves masculine gender identity tenuous and fragile".

Kimmel (1997, p. 230),

5.1   Introduction

This study set out to investigate a small group of male university students' constructions of masculinity, and their positioning in relation to these constructions. It sought also to examine the alternative constructions of masculinity that some of these young men might create and maintain. It is with the above in mind that the findings presented in the previous chapter are here discussed in the light of recent research.

5.2   Constructions of masculinity

According to Frosh et al (2002), it is widely acknowledged that a 'dominant' form of masculinity influences men's understandings of how they have to act in order to be 'acceptably' male, and this dominant mode, or construction, is associated with heterosexuality, toughness, power and authority, competitiveness and subordination of other men, for example gay men.

Although uncertainty and ambivalence emerges strongly around constructions of masculinity in the findings, these young men commonly identify with the local hegemonic standards and norms. Masculinity is thus constructed in very similar terms

across race, culture and socio-economic status. At the same time there appears to be some divergence between the young masculinities constructed by this particular group of males. As such, this research is in agreement with Frosh et al (2002), who suggests that disparity in socio-economic status may differentiate masculinities as strongly as racial differences.

In general, masculinity is defined by these young men predominantly in terms of strength and fearlessness, a compulsory heterosexuality, a willingness and ability to engage in violence, or physical fights (if ever the need should arise), and engagement in recreation, entertainment and risky behaviour, particularly within the collective space with other young men. The White and Coloured participants referred to strength and violence in relation to sport, specifically rugby. Burstyn (1999) suggests that masculinity, violence and sport are closely related and, as such, competitive sport (particularly in schools) allows for positively sanctioned expressions of masculine violence.

Identification with the dominant masculine practice of physical violence is also evident in terms of a willingness and ability to fight others in situations that call for such action. According to Morrell (2001), common township conditions, which include a high level of poverty and the growing expectation of a better life, foster the growth of violent masculinities. However, none of the men, including those from the townships, suggested that they had ever been involved in physical violence.

According to these young men, hypermasculine displays, or an emphasised masculinity, including the drinking of copious quantities of alcohol, and to a much lesser extent, the smoking of cigarettes, with the specific objective of impressing male peers, are further key components of a local hegemonic masculinity.

These various constructions of masculinity are enacted in different ways, however, such that rather than opposing hegemonic constructions, these young men articulate and live them out in different ways. Masculinity defined as strength is an example of this, where masculinity is constructed or enacted as physical or verbal strength, a strong will and/or character, and a fearlessness when faced with physical discomfort. This finding is in agreement with that of Mac an Ghaill (1994), and Haywood and

Mac an Ghaill (1996) who emphasise the existence of a wide range of masculinities that overlap and/or oppose each other. This appears likely to be the case within this particular university environment.

5.2.1 Oppositional and relational constructions of masculinity

The findings of this research project suggest that amongst this group of young men masculinity is most frequently constructed both in opposition and in relation to other young people, including male and female students in particular. One of the most common findings is that these young men construct masculinity in opposition to women, although this often emerges with some ambivalence. It appears that a fundamental assumption of these young men draws on the dominant ideology of "natural" difference between males and females. This relates directly to Kimmel's (2000) view that women are the traditional Other for men. In this regard, these young men construct their ideas of what it means to be a man in frequent reference to an unquestioned, and regularly unacknowledged, definition of femininity, and what they perceive young women to be, in particular as talkative and emotional. Masculinity is often defined in relation to and in opposition to women, who are constructed primarily as subordinated and often as sex-objects.

Segal (1993) suggests that young men experience a sense of dependency and vulnerability in relation to women in many conscious and unconscious ways. Amongst this group of young men, there is rarely an explicit acknowledgement of such a sense of vulnerability and/or lack of confidence, although the narratives of a number of these young men occasionally reveal this to be the case.

What emerged as Other could be identified not only as women, however, but also various members of the male population, such as homosexuals and effeminate men, who are often positioned as failed, or not real men, although this, too, often emerges with some ambivalence. The projection of anxieties, and of feelings of aggression and/or aversion onto these Others appeared to emerge to a greater or lesser extent amongst all of the participants. Attwell (2002) suggests this Othering of relatively

unknown "forces" might be viewed as an attempt to preserve the privilege and power previously bestowed on heterosexual men.

Interestingly, and in a somewhat contradictory fashion these young men also commonly other the 'macho men', as well as those men who accede to the pressure to conform to the dominant practice of engaging in promiscuous or unprotected sex. This resonates strongly with Wetherell and Edley's (1999) view that young men may position themselves in opposition to hegemonic men who appear to be more successfully aligned with certain dominant norms and, as a result, are constructed as either excessively macho, unintelligent, or simply arrogant.

The emergence of the Other, whether male or female, is explained by Tacey (1997), who argues that by elevating their own particular group, young men ensure that all other groups are automatically regarded as Other, or not self. This seems to be the case with this particular group of young men who, as Paechter (1998) suggests, define the men outside of their peer group as Other apparently in order to maintain their positions of dominance.

Regarding young men who have invested in somewhat alternative masculine identity positions, Wetherell and Edley (1999) argue that the othering of women and/or effeminate men works against transforming their own relatively vulnerable positions and, rather reinforces the very dominant hegemonic norms and practices that marginalise their non-hegemonic subject positions. Following Renold (2004, p. 259) it is clear that while the gender politics of these young men offered "possibilities for them to interrogate the stylized practices that maintain localized regimes of hegemonic masculinities" they still appeared to build their sense of manliness in opposition to young women and femininity. This suggests that this group of young men do not have access to anti-heterosexist discourses or a more sophisticated understanding of the ways in which alternative masculinities might work with femininities in fostering less hegemonic masculinities.

5.2.2 Strength, sport and the male status hierarchy

Masculinity defined as strength is common amongst all of the young men participating in this study. The young black men from the townships define strength predominantly in terms of a particular strength and fearlessness that is evident in the courageous struggle against difficult life circumstances. However, amongst all other participants, strength is most widely defined in terms of sporting prowess. This accords with Smith & Winchester's (1998) suggestion that the importance of strength to definitions of masculinity is reproduced within traditionally male-dominated sports, such as soccer or rugby.

Sport is an important social institution that has traditionally encouraged boys to live out the ideals of hegemonic masculinity (Miedzian, 1992). It has for much of history been a domain in which boys and young men have created friendships, and fostered and reinforced hegemonic masculinity. Importantly, it has served to promote a separation and stratification of masculinity and femininity, demoting females, homosexuals and those Other men who do not participate in (organized) sport (Beal, 1996).

The fact that women are today engaged in the full spectrum of academic and professional careers challenges conventional gender roles, threatening traditional concepts of masculinity and the social position of (young) men. Kimmel (1995) holds that it is partly in response to these social changes that sport has been promoted as one significant means of ensuring that boys and young men maintain a "proper" masculinity. All of the young men involved in this study raised sport as an important feature of their lives, either through active participation in sport or through watching sport on television. As such, it seems still to be a significant means through which these particular young men are able to promote the norms and standards of hegemonic masculinity.

As Beal (1996) suggests, sport plays a particularly important role in the convention of male bonding and male initiation rites. Beyond introducing boys to, and familiarising boys and young men with the wider male status hierarchy and to male authority, sport promotes the belief that the tolerance of pain or physical distress "proves" a young man's manhood. At least two of the young men involved in this study clearly

identified with this hegemonic norm or standard of masculinity, both referring to the physical discomfort that they inflicted upon themselves or on others in the course of participating in one or other sporting code.

5.2.3 Masculinity as dominance and control

Masculinity defined in terms of a desire to plan and direct the activities of the peer group is evident, particularly amongst the young black men, suggesting a strong alignment with the hegemonic masculine norms of control and domination. With regard to relating to women, most of these young men claim to acknowledge gender equality, yet showed signs of confusion and ambivalence regarding notions of male dominance. Importantly, Wood and Jewkes (1998) hold that if masculinity is partially constructed through men's ability to control other men and women, this weakens their position as it makes them dependent on these Others adopting reciprocal subordinate roles.

A number of participants intimated that they were vulnerable to criticism from girls. Assumptions of dominance therefore appear to rest on the expectation that girls will adopt a submissive role. In this regard, McMahon (1993) suggests that while many men appear to show contempt for women based largely upon a sense of superiority, this is in fact likely to be the result of a fear that can only be endured by disempowering the opposite sex, and by convincing themselves that women are fragile beings.

According to Kenway, Willis, Blackmore, and Rennie (1998), when young women refuse to abide by the socially validated norm of subservience which allows males to dominate, men are often left feeling vulnerable, displaced, angry and confused. Interestingly, even though these young men are faced with an increasing confidence and independence amongst young women, there were few overt signs that they were feeling uncertain of their role or place.

Frosh *et al.* (2002, p. 51) indicate that while political, ideological and social change results in the potential for boys to take up a wider range of masculinities, this change at the same time threatens "...taken for granted privileges of power". This may relate to the fact that although in most cases these young men oppose patriarchal discourse, in the context of the family they appear to identify with such narratives, holding the

taken-for-granted assumption that it is in the nature of men to be in positions of dominance and control within one's future family or, in the words of these young men, to be the family's provider and/or protector.

These young men commonly construct relationships between men as involving ongoing competition and, thus as very precarious. As in relation to women, they construct themselves as relatively cautious and somewhat vulnerable in relation to other men. In general, it is not uncommon for relationships with other men to be portrayed as uncertain.

As Connell & Messerschmidt (2005, p. 844) argue, the dominance of men and the subordination of women is not a self-reproducing system, but requires some effort to sustain through particular ways of relating to Others, including the discrediting or exclusion of women and the policing of men.

5.2.4 Masculinity constructed in relation to young men

Masculinity defined in terms of an imperative to engage in homosocial relationships is relatively common across the race groups and socio-economic statuses, though most prevalent amongst the black and coloured young men. For most of these young men relating to, and relationships with, other young men are sites of central importance in the construction of masculine identities. These findings clearly supports Mac an Ghaill (1994), and more recently Frosh et al (2002), in their belief that young men experience the male peer group as a space in which they are expected to prove their manliness.

The black participants, in particular, identified the male peer group as a powerful normative influence on their concepts of themselves as masculine. They position themselves in relation to a range of dominant hegemonic norms and practices, which serve as inclusion criteria in the male peer group at university, particularly that of maintaining a light-hearted mood. Amongst the Black participants, the peer group notions of masculinity include a focus on gaining and displaying one's material wealth and status, on the capacity for drinking copious quantities of alcohol, a potentially self-destructive behaviour, and on notions of a compulsory heterosexuality, if not promiscuous sexual behaviour. The relative absence of any

overtly expressed misogynistic or homophobic attitudes stands in some contrast to the views of Gilbert and Gilbert (1998) and others.

While an imperative heterosexuality emerges as a defining feature of masculinity amongst these young men, different attitudes towards homosexuality emerged amongst different men. A conceptualisation of homophobia as playing a role in the "policing" or structuring of heterosexual masculinity has attained widespread acceptance amongst researchers, including Epstein (1998), Frosh *et al* (2002) and Mac an Ghaill (1994). Although Frosh *et al* (2002) hold that masculine identities are largely constructed through performances of homophobia, this topic resulted in the expression of ambivalent views.

5.2.5 Masculinity as success, respect and status

Masculinity defined in terms of success, respect and status is common amongst the black and coloured men and across socio-economic statuses. Having a good job, being financially successful, and owning expensive possessions are aspirational features of a masculinity at which each of these young men is currently aiming, closely associated with the achievement of a certain status amongst one's peers. This is in accordance with Blackbeard's (2005) study, where for almost all of the young Black research participants, a showy car ensured the respect of one's peers and indicated an adequate future masculine identity. In contrast, neither of the young White men defined masculinity in terms of material possessions.

5.2.6 Masculinity as recreation and entertainment

Masculinity defined in terms of recreation and entertainment is common across the race groups and socio-economic statuses. Although most of these young men construct masculinity in terms of engaging in light-hearted socialising with male peers, the young White men indicated that young women were also included in their social activities.

5.2.7 Masculinity as engaging in risky behaviour

In much the same way as the young men in Blackbeard's (2005) study, many of these young men define masculinity as requiring engagement in risky behaviour, but indicate contradictory and ambivalent positions in relation to engaging in potentially risky promiscuous sexual behaviour, drinking copious quantities of alcohol, and being

willing to engage in physical acts of aggression, all of which are generally constructed as important means of building a peer-verified 'acceptable' masculinity.

Most of the young men construct an implicit opposition between educational success at the tertiary level leading to future employment against present risk-taking behaviours, such as drinking copious quantities of alcohol and engaging in potentially risky sexual relationships. Connell (2000) holds that where boys lack resources for proving their manliness, rule breaking and self-destructive behaviours, such as violence, may become central to the making of masculinity, and in order to acquire or defend prestige. Some of these young men express a tension in how they manage the appearance of adopting the dominant masculine norms and practices while at the same time managing future aspirations.

The finding that a number of these young men construct masculinity as an ostensibly harmless risk-taking or rebelliousness is important because it suggests that rather than asking young men to give up on these hegemonic norms and practices which are potentially dangerous, they can adopt modulated forms of the hegemonic norm, such as maintaining an untidy bedroom, or missing a lecture now-and-again.

5.2.8 Masculinity as hypermasculine displays

The young Black and Coloured men construct masculinities, to a large extent, around emphasised hegemonic standards and practices and the need to prove acceptable masculinity. The consumption of alcohol in large quantities is an important feature of the emphasised masculinity that these young men engage in after hours. Importantly, almost all of these young men suggested that the objective of these hypermasculine displays, was to gain the respect of one's male peers. As in Blackbeard's (2005) study, almost all of the young men, however, differentiate themselves from those Others who want to impress their peers with stories of their sexual activities.

The research participants who had girlfriends or who desired a long-term relationship were particularly keen to draw a boundary between themselves and the other young men who talk of their sexual exploits. This suggests a subject position which excuses a young man from hypermasculine displays situated in the explicit desire for a heterosexual relationship and/or in the 'possession' of a girlfriend possibly as a

displayed acknowledgement of 'acceptable' masculinity. As Blackbeard (2005) suggests, this opposition serves to normalise the displayed hypermasculinity around drinking and sexual promiscuity.

5.2.9 Masculinity constructed in relation to young women

Masculinity defined as an imperative heterosexuality is common to all of the young men. Contradictions abounded, however, in how these young men described their relationships to/with young women; in general, they not only viewed them as considerably different but also as objects to view and as sexual partners. As in Beal's (1996) study, there was very little evidence to suggest that any of these men made the distinction between sex, as biological attributes (and behaviour), and gender, as socially expected roles and behaviours.

In contrast to Attwell's (2002) research findings around relationships with young women which suggest that Black adolescent males from certain townships define their masculinity not only in terms of heterosexual success, but also in terms of control over girls and a capacity for violence, the young Black men in this study give primary attention to the importance of a compulsory, or imperative, heterosexuality.

Although these men appear to engage in the hegemonic practices previously discussed, there are often features of having resisted some of the pressures of a hegemonic masculinity and, thus, of positioning themselves as "Other", especially in relation to those who want a relationship with a woman only for sex. In this regard, almost all demonstrate an ambivalence in claiming to want a loving relationship with a woman, but will be willing to engage in a sexual relationship at some stage.

5.2.10 Masculinity as (hetero)sexual success

According to McFadden (1992), heterosexual sex is essential in the realization of maleness. This was currently untrue with regard to the young White male students, who appeared to shun sex before marriage, for religious or other reasons. Masculinity defined in terms of a sexualisation of relationships with young women was, however, taken for granted amongst the Black and Coloured young men and across the socio-economic statuses. Wood and Jewkes (2001), in their research with Black township youths, found that sexuality is a very salient feature of these young men's sense of their

own masculinity. Connell (1996) claims that heterosexual success is a source of prestige amongst the adolescent male peer group. Wood and Jewkes (1998; 2001) argue further that this emphasis on sexual success is an offshoot of powerlessness in other spheres.

In terms of township boys, Wood and Jewkes (1998) hold that multiple sexual partners is an important defining feature of 'being a man'. In this regard, the young Black men in this study emphasised the role played by heterosexual success in achieving status within the peer group. And although conditions in the townships from whence three of the research participants hailed appear very similar to those described by Wood and Jewkes (1998; 2001), the prevalence of sexual harassment of girls was not evident. Interestingly, assumptions of male sexual entitlement and female sexual passivity seemed mostly to be absent amongst this group of young men.

5.2.11 Masculinity as violence within relationships

In contrast to Atwell's (2002) study, where violence and sexual harassment emerged as issues of concern particularly in the Black township interviews, this research project did not make similar findings. Although in research by Jewkes *et al* (1999), and Wood and Jewkes (1998), violence consistently emerged as a common feature of young Black sexual relationships, it did not emerge at all in the narratives produced by the young men involved in this research.

5.3   Alternative norms of masculinity

The findings of this study indicate that although a sense of ambivalence is often in evidence, most of the young men both oppose certain dominant norms or practices of masculinity and also identify with various alternative masculine norms. These alternative norms, standards and/or practices include being responsible in certain situations, desiring a committed, long-term relationship with a young woman, being caring, and/or engaging with friends, especially with female friends, in an emotionally expressive manner. Some of these norms and practices are entirely aspirational in nature however.

According to Renold (2004), there are often relatively few strategies available to boys and young men who wish to experiment with alternate masculinities other than to

remove themselves from the physical spaces occupied by hegemonic males. As such, a common approach adopted by these young men is to withdraw to the private space of the home, either that of family or friends, or to their private rooms where, it would often appear, the motivation to occupy such a safe space involves more than finding a secluded spot. It may provide young men with the privacy to engage and interact in non-hegemonic ways, with family and friends of both sexes, specifically in experimenting with softer masculinities, which in most university contexts would not have been possible. However this is complicated by the fact that, according to Smith and Winchester (1998), the domestic spaces of the home have largely been constructed as female spaces.

As Frosh *et al* (2002) intimate, finding and inhabiting spaces that escape the vigilance of fellow (male) students, who 'police' and maintain gendered norms and behaviours, clearly incurs a cost. Amongst this group of young men, this cost includes the loss of opportunities to engage with male and female peers in a less oppositional, and perhaps more expressive, manner than appears largely to be the case, for example.

Although Wetherell and Edley (1999) suggest that one of the most effective ways of being a "real man" is for a young man to demonstrate his distance from the local hegemonic masculinities, within this group of young men the identification with an alternate masculinity is uncommon. In attempting to understand this infrequent identification with alternate versions of masculinity it may be useful to reflect on the research of Paechter (1998), who suggests that subordinate masculinities are often stigmatised as feminine, a fate apparently provoking a degree of anxiety for most these young men. It is important to note, however, that a small number of these men were able to maintain a sense of masculine acceptability despite the fact that they did not conform with one or more dominant, hegemonic norms or practices of masculinity.

5.3.1 Responsibility

As an alternative norm of masculinity "responsibility" emerges relatively frequently in the context of managing one's finances sensibly, taking precautions against being infected with HIV, and sharing domestic responsibilities. In most cases responsibility, as an alternative masculine norm or standard, is located primarily in private spaces,

such as the family home. Masculinity defined as responsibility is, however, an area of contradiction and ambiguity and appears often to relate to what Wetherell and Edley (1997, p. 204) refer to as a "modernising of patriarchal practices", such that most of these young men invoke the notion of responsibility in the context of assuming the envisaged 'responsible' role of provider, protector, and head of a future family. In this case, such a construction of masculinity draws upon the dominant hegemonic norm of dominance and control.

5.3.2 Relationships with women

Most of these young men position themselves in opposition to the hegemonic masculine practice of having multiple sexual partners and of engaging in unprotected sexual intercourse, although with some sense of ambivalence. This seems linked to the further alternative masculine norm, that almost all of these young men identify with, of desiring a committed, meaningful, loving and/or long-term relationship with a young woman. Although such a monogamous relationship promises future sexual intercourse, it is also likely to meets the need for emotional intimacy. For most of these young men, having a "girlfriend" within a long-term intimate relationship, signifies an alternate yet acceptable masculine identity, but also identifies with hegemonic norms.

Although many of these young men identify with an emotional invulnerability, specifically in the context of relating with male peers, a number of these young men identified themselves with an emotionally expressive and/or caring version of masculinity. Such alternative practices again appear to be situated only in private spaces, outside of the surveillance of male peers. These practices are identified with in regard to relationships with young women and cut across racial boundaries as well as socio-economic status.

5.4   Masculine identity positions and multiple voices

As indicated earlier in this chapter, all of these young men shift between various subject positions, including a collective identity with male peers, complicit with the norms and practices of a dominant hegemonic masculinity, and a more individualistic self, different in some ways from the hegemonic man. As such, perhaps the most basic process that emerges as common amongst this group of young men is the

positioning of themselves in a multiplicity of ways. This makes sense in light of Mkhize's (2004) view that certain power, status, respect and/or the lack thereof, results from a young man's positioning within a social field. As Wetherell and Edley (1999) posit, such positioning is dependent on context.

In much the same way as the male secondary school students in Blackbeard's (2005) study, these young men often shift their subject positions from an identification with one or other dominant norm or practice, to a more individualistic position opposed to the same or other hegemonic norm or practice, clearly revealing an ambivalence between a subjectivity situated with dominant hegemonic norms and one positioned within an alternative masculine identity. As an example, most of these young men invest in subject positions that are aligned with the hegemonic practice of engaging in one or the other risky behaviour and, in a contradictory way, position themselves as 'different' from the other young men with whom they interact.

According to Wetherell and Edley (1999), by constructing themselves as Other or different from those who engage in promiscuous and/or unprotected sex, these young men are declaring their individuality, maturity and superiority. These young men speak with multiple voices however, at times distancing themselves from those men invested in a hegemonic masculinity aligned with sexual risk-taking, while at other times suggesting their alignment with other norms and practices of dominant, hegemonic masculinities. The young men from the township environs commonly adopt such opposing subject positions, revealing a tension between identifying with various dominant masculine practices, and an imperative to discard some of these practices with their developing university maturity.

Attwell (2002) suggests that the diversity of voices reflects contradictions and uncertainties arising, in part, from the numerous and conflicting discourses of masculinity available to young men in contemporary South Africa. It is important to note that, according to Hearn (1998), the capacity of individual men to hold opposing views can legitimate and perpetuate gender power imbalances, where individuals can, for example, assume the voice of the Responsible man, expressing views consistent with a 'new man discourse', in one context and identify with certain hegemonic norms in another. These young men clearly have the capacity to hold opposing views and it could be argued that this does serve the perpetuation of an imbalance in gender power.

Further, it is important to note that in much the same way as inhabiting 'safe' spaces, outside of the vigilance of male peers, incurs certain costs, Frosh *et al* (2002) hold that certain subject positions also preclude other experiences. This is clearly evident with regard to the dominant masculine practice of relating to other young men in a light-hearted, joking manner. Certain of these young men "hint" that they would perhaps enjoy opportunities for a more meaningful sharing of personal challenges (as well as opportunities for the expression of the associated emotions) but the construction of masculinity does not allow this.

5.5   Investment in subject positions

The findings of this study indicate that there are a number of potential reasons for these young men investing in multiple subject positions. They reflect not only a variety of conscious processes, including efforts to respond to the interviewer in a socially desirable manner, and attempts to conform to dominant, hegemonic masculinities but, they are also likely to be the result of unconscious dynamics and the use of various defence mechanisms, such as projection and denial. According to Frosh and Young (2006), psychoanalytic theory suggests that there exist alongside a young man's conscious subject positions certain unconscious positions which reflect his less clearly articulated fears, wishes and desires. Investment in certain subject positions may therefore be subconsciously fuelled by anxieties about being constructed as somehow less of a real man than effeminate and homosexual men, for example.

In general, these young men appear to invest in particular subject positions because of the intersection of gender with a particular combination of personal/ biographical and contextual factors, including amongst others a young man's history, his race and socio-economic status, the spaces in which he interacts with others, and as a defence mechanism to protect himself against certain anxiety-provoking feelings that arise in relation to women and/or other men.

5.6   Strategies for maintaining an adequate sense of masculinity

The research of Frosh *et al* (2002) indicates that young males who do not conform to the local hegemonic norms of masculine practice place a lot of effort into providing credible reasons for their failure to conform to these norms, so enabling them to preserve a sense of adequate and acceptable masculinity. This seems one of the most important challenges for young male university students living alternative versions of masculinity. In this regard, the following briefly draws attention to the range strategies utilised by this particular group of young men to maintain an adequate sense of masculinity in the face of non-conformance to particular hegemonic norms.

In essence, each of the strategies listed below provides a young man with the sense that he is performing a more acceptable version of masculinity which augments his sense of masculine security and comfort. They include an alignment or identification with one or more norms or practices of a dominant, hegemonic masculinity; the indication of previous attainment of a hegemonic masculinity; the indication of an aspiration to attain a hegemonic masculinity in the future; an identification with models of an alternate masculinity, including those who have been successful in a particular endeavour, and who serve to give authority to alternative norms or practices; the reframing of a hegemonic norm or practice; principled non-conformance, or the adoption of the moral high ground; exposing the weakness/ fragility / negative consequences of hegemonic masculinity so devaluing the aspired-to standard of hegemonic masculinity, and making it less appealing; hiding problematic/alternative masculinities away from the scrutiny of male peers; drawing collective support or aligning oneself with other men who have adopted a similar non-hegemonic masculinity and suggesting this is common practice; reframing of an alternate masculinity to make it sound acceptable within a hegemonic masculine world / rationalising of non-conformance to hegemonic norms; and denigrating /

dehumanising hegemonic masculinity (which may be the result of the projection of a young man's anxieties onto others).

In Renold's (2004) study, the young male research participants who identified with non-hegemonic subject positions denounced girls and women in order to reinforce and maintain their identities as 'proper' boys, separate and different from their female classmates. Although in this research project the young men rarely gave expression to overt misogyny, there was often a subtle questioning of female competence, suggesting that similar processes were indeed in play. In general, it seemed clear that these young men did not have a mature, or complex, understanding of the ways in which alternative masculinities might work with (alternative) femininities in fostering alternative or less hegemonic masculinities.

5.7   Implications of this research

As Campbell, Mzaidume & Williams (1998) suggests, masculinity constructed upon notions of male dominance over women, and defined in terms of risk taking behaviours, for example, would perhaps account for the observed failure of educational programmes that focus predominantly on safe sexual practices, but fail to take into account the constructions of masculinity which support HIV/AIDS risk behaviours. A significant finding arising out of this research is the fact that a number of the young men participating in this study were able to reject, or oppose, one or more hegemonic norms of masculinity. The fact that such non-conformity to dominant masculine standards and practices occasionally took place amongst male peers, and that the young men in question were apparently able to maintain a sense of masculine acceptability is especially noteworthy. This is clearly an important finding that has direct implications for the design of both future research as well as of interventions that are developed in order to slow the spread of HIV/AIDS, especially amongst young South African men and women. Further implications of this research are outlined in the next, and final, chapter.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Introduction

Lindegger & Durrheim (2002), Morrell (2001) and Wood and Jewkes (1998; 2001) and others are of the firm opinion that the dominant, hegemonic norms of masculinity serve to foster promiscuous sexual behaviour amongst young men. Within the field of gender research, however, rather than focusing on boys and men, attention has to a large extent been focused on the role and status of South African women (Morrell, 2001). There have been relatively few studies that have investigated the discursive practices and/or other processes through which some young men construct masculine identity positions that both conform and do not conform to the local, hegemonic norms and standards of masculinity. This has been a key focus area for this study.

This research project has been undertaken within a social constructionist framework . I have used a combination of social constructionist and narrative methods, drawing on the British study undertaken by Frosh *et al.* (2002), in designing a research process that involves a small sample of seven male university students, who range in age from 18 to 21 years. This study conceives of masculinity as a discursive practice rather than as a psychological attribute and, as such, the methods employed have enabled the identification and exploration of the discursive practices that result in the creation and maintenance of multiple masculine identity positions and their positioning in relation to the dominant, hegemonic norms and practices of masculinity.

6.2   Research aims revisited

This research project set out to identify the ways in which this small group of young men are socialised into the popular, dominant, or hegemonic norms of masculine practice in particular sociocultural contexts. It aimed to investigate the narratives that these young men produced of the dominant norms and practices of masculinity. Importantly, it attempted to identify and explore the various masculine identity positions that each has invested in, including alternative positions in terms of masculine identity and practice. It has given particular attention to the processes that serve to create and maintain healthier and/or alternate modes of masculinity. In particular, this study has aimed to identify and understand practices based on alternative versions of masculinity, in order to investigate the developmental processes by which such nonconformity is developed and maintained.

This research project set out to provide tentative answers to a range of key questions, which have guided the interactions with each of the research participants. These questions focused attention on the dominant hegemonic norms of masculinity, and the positioning of the young men in relation to these norms. They gave attention to the alternative masculine norms that emerged, and the positioning of the young men in relation to these norms. Attention was also drawn to the personal versions and subject positions that the research participants adopted, and the associated voices of masculinity that were evident in the interviews. And, finally, a question was posed around the strategies that some of these young men used to maintain an adequate sense of masculinity in the face of their non-conformance to hegemonic norms and practices.

In essence this research project has focused attention on a group of young male university students some of whom have chosen, to a greater or lesser extent, not to cultivate their masculinities through only hegemonic discourses and practices. One important goal of this research project has, thus, been to explore and theorise the degree to which it is possible to live out the category 'young man' in ways that sometimes oppose dominant, hegemonic (heterosexual) masculinities in the university setting. Drawing upon a series of individual interviews, this thesis focuses upon the constructions of gender and sexual identity of seven young men , and examines the ways in which these young men challenge the prevailing hegemonic norms, standards

and practices of local masculinities. The interviews were conducted during the 2006 academic year, and were designed and managed in such a way as to maximise and foreground the subjective experiences of each of the young men involved.

6.3 Summary of findings

The first important finding is that there are numerous commonalities as well as differences in the constructions of masculinity that exist amongst these young men. A further finding is that a sense of uncertainty and ambivalence regarding the nature of masculinity is a very regular occurrence for almost all of the participants. These young Black, White and Coloured men indicate that the dominant hegemonic norms and standards of masculinity are contested both within the university and outside of its walls.

Situated with an emphasised masculinity, various risk-taking behaviours, such as the consumption of alcohol in large quantities, as well as visible affluence/material wealth, and an imperative heterosexuality were identified as common means of accomplishing an acceptable masculinity. The finding that masculinity defined as strength was widespread amongst these young men clearly parallels the findings arising out of Wetherell and Edley's (1997) British study involving adolescent males of 17 and 18 years of age, in which the research participants also drew attention to the importance of strength, either physical and/or mental, to their definitions of masculinity.

There were limited signs of alternate masculinities within this group, and there was a restricted range of alternative norms and practices with which most of these young men aligned themselves. As in the research by Smith and Winchester (1998), small number of these young men indicated that they were relatively comfortable taking on various responsibilities in the domestic sphere, illustrating how local gender hierarchies and inflexible sexual divisions of labour are beginning to be questioned and gradually dismantled.

The individual interviews provided an opportunity for each of the young men to reveal multiple voices of masculinity. Particular attention was given to their narratives of their self-positioning in relation to hegemonic and alternative norms of masculinity,

and how this positioning varies by time and space. A significant finding that has come to light is the fact that a fundamental way in which all of these young men define their sense of masculinity is through the adoption of subject positions in relation to and opposition to young women and other young men. The findings of this study support those of Blackbeard's (2005) research, which indicated the significance of the male peer group as a site for masculine identity construction.

It is apparent that although these young men identify predominantly with the dominant, hegemonic norms and practices of masculinity, there are multiple subject positions that they occupy in relation to these norms and standards. Almost every one of the young men holds a variety of masculine identity positions that may appear contradictory to some degree. This research project highlights the fact, however, that not only are hegemonic masculinities associated with an inherent vulnerability and contradictoriness but they are also ultimately unachievable, resulting in what Edley and Wetherall (1996) term 'troubled subject positions'.

6.4   Limitations of this research

It must be borne in mind throughout this thesis that my beliefs and assumptions and, to a lesser extent, those of my colleagues have been inevitably built into the interpretative framework and various other aspects of the research process and have thus shaped the results obtained. As Coyle & Walton (2004) point out, 'hegemonic masculinity' is a central aspect of an interpretative framework that is imposed upon the research data and, as such, the imposition of this framework may have resulted in interpretations that reflect the concerns of the researcher rather than those of the seven young men participating in this research project. Thus, there is a real danger that in my concern with accounting for how these young men construct and 'do' hegemonic masculinity, I might develop an analysis that does not reflect the complexity of discursive resources and strategies drawn upon by these young men.

Although psychoanalysis views researcher subjectivity as a resource, enabling a deeper knowledge of research participants (through focusing on the countertransference that takes place), it must be recognised that this is an area of contestation within the social sciences.

An important potential limitation inherent in this type of research is that the procedures and methods leave the researcher a great deal of room for interpretation and misrepresentation. I attempted to hold this constantly in mind during the research process. Another potential weakness is the fact that my interpretations of the young men's experiences is influenced by my biography, and various conscious and unconscious process. How I have understood the contexts of each of the research subjects, and what information in the end I have drawn attention to, all reflect to some extent my own life experience. Similarly, in interpreting the data I have drawn a number of potential conclusions and am aware that there are plausible alternative explanations. I have attempted to deal with this by describing the position, expectations and impact of myself (the researcher).

6.5 Directions for future research

Connell (1995) holds that it is in the workplace that the constructed polarities between male and female, competition and collaboration, and other gendered dualisms, are often in evidence. Although s/he holds that the most important site of change and negotiation of masculinities is located within the changing nature of work and its gender relations, I am of the opinion that future research needs still to focus attention on the years prior to a young man's entry into the job market.

Within everyday life, a young man's ability to negotiate between spaces and identities is limited by structures of domination and subordination (imposed particularly by work). Thus the provision of opportunities for young men to renegotiate the gendered spaces and identities in their lives seems essential. Research in this area would appear to be important. A further important question to focus research upon is whether (alternate) versions of masculinity, indicating a disidentification with oppressive practices and attitudes, specifically in terms of controlling and dominating women and/or other men, can avoid being subordinated.

I concur with McQueen and Henwood (2002), who state that in order to work more effectively with young men, educationalists and other service providers need to develop an increased knowledge of male psychological processes and how men make sense of their experiences within their cultural contexts. Further research in this area would appear to be important.

Over the past decade, models of masculinity have emerged that have stressed sensitivity, introspection and domestic responsibility, introducing a new form of masculinity; the 'new man'. As Morrell (2005) suggests, however, this model is primarily a product of the well-resourced nations of the world and, as such, it is unclear to what extent it will assist men in poorer countries, such as South Africa. Here, and especially in households that are struggling with unemployment and/or underemployment, models of masculinity which stress protection, provision and responsibility may well be better at fostering life and promoting harmony. As Morrell (2005) states, men and women, particularly within an African context, depend on one another and, as such, attention needs to be given to creating healthy bonds between the sexes. Research might assist in clarifying what alternate and desirable masculinities might look like here.

In particular, research needs to be conducted in order to understand how conventional hegemonic masculinities and their associated practices might be transformed such that young men are able to develop more constructive, less risky, alternate masculinities and still to be viewed as 'real men', both by their male peers and by themselves.

6.6 Recommendations: Opportunities for change

The social nature of masculinity and, thus, the potential for change in the conduct of boys and young men has long been recognized. This research made it apparent that not only do differences exist in young men's performances of masculinities but that this creates spaces for constructive change and adjustment, perhaps through educational and other interventions. It is believed that hegemonic masculinities come into existence in specific circumstances and are therefore also open to change. Frosh *et al* (2002) hold that changes in normative gender relations force young men to develop new, more flexible masculinities.

Although one solution to the problem of poor self-esteem amongst men may be to respect the man's role as head of the household this is very likely to negate women's attempts both to achieve some autonomy, as well as to become equal partners in family decision-making processes. Following Morrell (2005), this thesis suggests that a starting place for promising gender work is with 'new men', or what this research project has termed 'responsible men', who accept gender equity in relationships with children, women and partners.

As children have been shown to benefit from a father who is actively involved in their parenting (Barker, 2004, in Morrell, 2005), fatherhood needs to be viewed as an important component of masculinity and as a goal for people striving to promote healthier gender relations. Within this research, the young man who is the father of a small child seems to view his role as a father in terms of taking responsibility for providing for the material needs of his child. This is a rather narrow view and indicates the sensitivity with which fatherhood needs to be promoted.

As in Beal's (1996) study, in which a fundamental assumption of her young male research participants was the dominant ideology of "natural" difference between males and females, the young men participating in this research project also accepted the notion of male and female essences. I believe that if essentialism is rejected, men might find the space in which to actively and freely engage in the continuous negotiation of identity.

6.7   Concluding comments

In a culturally heterogeneous country such as South Africa, there is clearly no unitary masculinity. The young men interviewed during the course of this research project do not allow generalization about young men's experiences as a whole.

By examining their negotiations and constructions of various masculine identities, I have attempted to identify ways through which young men adopt various identity positions and, in particular, position themselves in relation to women and other men. Those men who are able to maintain a strong sense of their masculine acceptability

despite a degree of non-conformity with the local hegemonic norms provide interesting and useful clues for how best to intervene to change the constructions of masculinity which put adolescent males and females at risk of HIV infection.

Research highlights the changing nature of masculinity over time and the struggles to establish certain constructions of masculinity as dominant and hegemonic. Kimmel (1997) has argued that it is during times of social and political change, in particular, that gender certainties are threatened and traditional modes of dominant heterosexual masculinities are called into question. Political and social transition in South Africa is likely to result in the ongoing questioning and challenging of such traditional concepts of masculinity for some time to come. I believe that boys and young men need to be provided with opportunities to play an active role in this process.

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APPENDIX A

SANPAD MASCULINITY STUDY

UKZN are wanting to come to a deeper understanding of masculinity in South Africa, and what it means to be a boy or man, and what the challenges are that boys and men face. We are ideally looking for about 12 boys to assist us with the study who are between the ages of 17-20.

What would participation in this study involve?
- Taking 20 photographs of my life as a boy or man in SA
- We will provide you with cameras
- Being interviewed by researchers about your photographs
- Taking part in a group discussion about some photographs
- Attending one or two follow up interviews

In all we would probably need a maximum of about 5 hours of your time over 2-3 months.

What would you get out of this study?
- We would provide cameras and copies of photos free.
- You will have the opportunity to learn more about masculinity
- We will pay you R50 for each interview that we do with you

You would be free to leave the study at any time. All the information you provide would be confidential.

If you are interested please complete this form, and return it to Chitra Ranchod in Room 10, School of psychology. Should you require any further details please contact me in Room 10 at the School of Psychology or on 033-2606043.

Name: ---

Age: --

Contact Telephone numbers: (Home) ------------------------------

                           (Cell) ------------------------------

          E-mail address: ---

RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS

1. Mtholeni

Racial group:	Black
Age:	18
Year of study:	1st year
Home language:	isiXhosa
Parents living:	Yes
Siblings (living):	2 younger brothers and 1 older step-sister
Home town:	Urban

2. Stephen

Racial group:	White
Age:	19
Year of study:	2nd year
Home language:	English
Parents living:	Yes
Siblings (living):	1 older brother and 1 younger sister
Home town:	Urban

3. Terence

Racial group:	White
Age:	19
Year of study:	1st year
Home language:	English
Parents living:	Yes
Siblings (living):	1 younger brother
Home town:	Urban

4. Kwanele

Racial group:	Black
Age:	20
Year of study:	2nd year

Home language:	isiZulu
Parents living:	Yes (separated)
Siblings (living):	2 younger brothers and 1 younger sister
Home town:	Township

5. Chris

Racial group:	Coloured
Age:	20
Year of study:	3rd year
Home language:	English
Parents living:	Yes (divorced)
Siblings (living):	1 younger step-sister
Home town:	Urban

6. Bongani

Racial group:	Black
Age:	20
Year of study:	2nd year
Home language:	isiZulu
Parents living:	Both deceased
Siblings (living):	1 older brother and 1 younger sister
Home town:	Township

7. Khulani

Racial group:	Black
Age:	20
Year of study:	3rd year
Home language:	isiZulu
Parents living:	Mother deceased
Siblings (living):	2 younger sisters
Home town:	Township

APPENDIX C

CONSENT FORM

Informed Consent For Participation in a SANPAD Masculinity Research Project

I---, voluntarily give my consent to serve as a participant in a research project being run by the University of KwaZulu-Natal (Pietermaritzburg).

This study wishes to come to a deeper understanding of the challenges facing teenage boys and young men as they move towards adult manhood, and how they cope with these challenges. We are interested in where, when and how teenage boys and young men experience these challenges, and how they make decisions to cope with them. All the information you provide will be confidential and your identity strictly protected. You are not obliged to divulge any personal information that you do not wish to and you have the right to withdraw at any time and may terminate participation in the interview. With your permission this interview will be recorded and transcribed. The tapes recording the interviews will be kept private and only the researchers will be allowed to listen to them. All the interviews (including your own) will be used to write a research report. At the end of the interview you will be given R50, 00 as compensation for your time.

Please answer the following questions about this research study by circling "Yes" if you understand and "No" if you do not understand:

Do you understand the general aim of the project?	Yes	No
Do you understand that participation in the study is voluntary and you can stop participating at any time?	Yes	No
Do you understand that you all information you provide will be confidential and your identity strictly protected?	Yes	No
Do you understand that with your permission the interviews will be tape-recorded?	Yes	No
Do you understand that the tapes recording the interviews will be kept private and that only the researchers will be allowed to listen to them?	Yes	No
Do you understand that your name will not be recorded when we write down what you have said in the interviews?	Yes	No
Do you understand that all the interviews (including your own) will be used to write a research report?	Yes	No
Do you understand that you will be given R25, 00 at the end of the interview as compensation for your time?	Yes	No

Please sign here if you have answered the questions above and you agree to take part in the study:

_____   _____
SIGNATURE   SIGNATURE OF WITNESS

_____   _____
YOUR NAME   NAME OF WITNESS

_____   _____
DATE

Please mark the appropriate box:

I agree that the interviews can be tape-recorded: ☐

I would prefer that the interviews are not tape-recorded   ☐

APPENDIX D

INTERVIEW PROCESS: FOCUSING ON PHOTOS

Chat informally about aspects of the student's life in order to get to know a little about the student and so as to understand the photos.

Copies of the photographs are then handed to the student, and he is allowed some time to look through them. This part of the interview involves a general conversation about the photographs. e.g. Do you think they are good? Etc.

Looking at the photos, keep a careful note of which photo the student is talking about (number the photos at the back)

—   Ask student to look at the photos one at a time.

—   Ask student to talk about each photo, i.e. to provide a free description of each photo:
1.   Why and how did you decide to take this photo?
2.   How do you think the people in the photo felt about being photographed?

—   Use each photo to get a description of aspects of masculinity visible in the photo
3.   Is this (activity illustrated in the photo) an important part of being a young man?
4.   How important do you think this might be for most young men?
5.   Do you think that there are young men who would not think this is important?

-    If any of the photos raise issues of interest, talk more fully about them.

APPENDIX E

AIDE MEMOIRE FOR SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW

After looking at the photographs, thank the student for being willing to share their photos and their stories. Ask them if you can discuss a number of general and more specific questions about being a young man.

Family details
- Do you have brothers or sisters, and if so how old are they?
- How do you get on with them?
- How do you and your siblings get on with your parents?
- When not at university do you live with your parent/s, guardian/s?
- What do they do?
- Where do they live?

General
- What is it like to be a young man?
- Is it very different from being a girl/young woman? How so?
- What do you like most about being a young man?
- Could you tell me three things that you think are important about yourself?

Interests and activities
- How do young men spend their time? Where? With who?
- What do they talk about?
- When do you most feel like a young man? What would you be doing? Who would you be with?

Expectations regarding masculinity
- How must a young man behave or be, in order to be a proper man?
- What kinds of things make boys think of other young man as real men?
- What kinds of things make girls/young women think of young man as real men?

Different kinds of young men
- Are there different kinds of young men?
- (Provide examples to prime the person: some young men may be very sporty, others may prefer academic pursuits; some may be quiet and reserved, others very sociable?)
- Are some young men more popular than others?
- What about homosexual young men?
- What makes some young men popular and others not?
- What makes boys popular among other young men? What do they have to do or be in order to be popular?
- What makes young men popular among girls/young women? What do they have to do or be in order to be popular?
- What is it like for unpopular young men?
- Do you think that you are popular? What makes you so?

Ideal masculinity
- What in your view, is an ideal man?
- Who are the men you admire? Why?
- Who do young men generally admire?

Being masculine in different situations
- Do you think that young men feel and behave differently in different situations? e.g. at school or home? How so?
- Do you feel and behave differently in these different situations?
- Do young men behave differently when with girls/young women than with other young men?

Relationships with girls
- Do girls/young women expect young men to behave in particular ways?
- What kinds of young men do young women like?
- What kinds of young men do young women not like?
- What kinds of young women do young men like?
- What kinds of young women do young men not like?
- What do young men want out of dating relationships?
- What are your preferences with regard to young women and dating relationships?

Challenges of being a young man
Some people say that it is not easy to be a boy or man.
- How do you find being a boy or man?
- What do you like best about being a boy or man?
- Do you think that there are challenges or difficulties to being a young man?
- Do you think its okay for young men to talk about their difficulties/worries, or is it better to keep quite about them?
- What kinds of challenges or worries do you experience about being a young man?
- (Prime the person e.g. have to have money, have to have many girlfriends, etc.)
- Are young men able to talk to other young men about their worries and/or challenges?
- To whom would they talk?
- To whom do you talk?

Influences on masculine development
- What has taught you or helped you in becoming a man?
- How have members of your family played a role?
- Have friends played a role? If so, how?
- Have teachers or coaches played a role? If so, how?
- Who else has played a role, and how?
- Do you ever wish that there had been other people to help or guide you?
- Who are the men who have had the strongest influence on you? Tell me about them?
- Have any women influenced your understanding of what it is to be a young man/boy?

Race
—   Do you have friends from other race groups?
—   Do you do the same things with them as with male friends from your 'own' racial group?
—   Do you think that young men are treated differently because of their racial group?
—   Is your race / ethnic background important to you?
—   What difference do you feel it makes being a young man with your race/ethnic background.
—   What are the things that you admire/like and dislike about young men from other racial groups?

Relationships with other young men
—   How do you get on with other young men at university and outside of this environment?
—   What do you and your male friends like doing together in your free time?
—   What kinds of things do you talk about?
—   How would you describe the young men you mix with?

Socio-economic status
—   Do you feel that you belong to a particular social class or socio-economic level?
—   What makes you recognise someone as belonging to the same social class as yourself?
—   What difference does it make being a young man with this background?
—   Are there things that you like/admire and dislike about young men from other socio-economic backgrounds?

Conclusion
—   Thank the person for doing the interview and for being willing to chat so freely.
—   Ask if you can keep the copies of the photos until the discussion with other young men.
—   Ask which of the 5-8 pictures they would like copies to be made for them.

Note: All transcriptions of the above interviews are available from:

Prof. Graham Lindegger,
School of Psychology,
University of KwaZulu-Natal,
Pietermnaritzburg,
3200.

TRANSCRIPTION AND CROSS-REFERENCING CONVENTIONS

These apply for both the interviewer and interviewee.

/   **indicates a correction or stumbling speech**

e.g.
I: And are/were you angry?
P_A: Ja/wel/wel/not really

(4)   **Numbers in parenthesis indicate elapsed time in silence in seconds**
e.g.
P_C: Ja (2) its okay (1) it hard being a boy (2)

(.)   **A dot in a parenthesis indicates a tiny gap, no more than half a second.**
e.g.
P_A: Ja (.) I'm doing better now.

_____   Underscoring indicates some form of stress, via pitch or amplitude.
e.g.
P_D: Its tough very <u>tough</u>

::   **Colons indicate the prolongation of a sound. The length of the row of colons indicates the length of the prolongation.**
e.g.
P_A: Um::::: I'm not sure

(( ))   **Double parentheses contain the author's descriptions rather than transcriptions**
e.g.
P_B: Ja ((laughter)) it was so funny

( )   **Empty parentheses indicate the transcriber's inability to hear what was said.**
e.g.
P_C: Everyone said that about ( ) but I don't feel like that

(3 words) or (2 turns) indicates the amount of speech that is inaudible

Speech that the transcriber is unsure of should be placed in single parentheses

e.g.
P_A: You know (when I mumble like this) it's difficult to hear me

TEXTUAL EXTRACTS UNDERLYING TABLE 4.4

Strength / Fearlessness

Physical competence

Kwanele: E.1

I'd have to take photos of me play playing soccer (.) because I (.) I love playing soccer and (.) eh (.) that's what takes my (.) my mi mi mind off (1) of off off lots of things and: (.) I love playing soccer (.) playing soccer

Terence: E.2

I'm/I'm/I'm a sports men (.) sort of through and through

Mtholeni: E.3

Well my interests, rugby [Ja, ja] Uh, um, Enjoying whatever, like going to a pub and watching a game or something, um, playing rugby

Chris: E.4

I used to enjoy rugby [and when you hurt another guy you feel uh:: (1) ((cough)) it feels nice

Chris: E.5

the ideal man? [ya] (7) strong:: (3) doesn't (.) take any nonsense::

Stephen: E.6

I'm an alright rugby player

Khulani: E.7

when I'm with my friends always have, have something to do like playing soccer or doing anything like sports

Khulani: E.8

ya sometimes we go to the parties, (1) we drink, uh, play sports like soccer

Risks physical discomfort / injury

Terence: E.9

Um:: (.) But I run:: (.) and er (.) ja: (.) play a little bit of tennis here and there/so (.)

I've done (.) most of the things and at the moment (.) I'm missing rugby:: [Ja, ja] But

(.) its (.) quite a (.) er/er/you get injured from it and I can't avoid that

Chris: E.11

lets say a group of like guys over here you [know and you just happen to be in their

neighbourhood [mm, mm] you walking pass (.) they don't like you because you not

from there [okay, ya] so:: (.) one guy will start causing trouble (2) you know you

ignore him but then it gets to the point where::: you can't take it [(.) and you'll say

something and then you're fighting with the guy

Stephen: E.12

Those friends, if they were to start a fight I would help them even if they had started.

Conqueror / Survivor of life's challenges

Kwanele: E.13

what I believe in (.) to be a man enough (.) you have to (1) go through some

difficulties (2) and (.) then (.) you will be a man (1) if you (.) you have (1) come

through (.) difficulties (2) and conquer those difficulties and (.) at the end (.) and I

think you are going to be a (.) a man

Terence: E.14

Um::: (1) and as a man I felt like (.) yeah! you know (.) I have (.) I/I/I've beaten

the/the(.) the pull of the duvet [ya, ya] (.) and I'm out here [mm, mm] (.) pushing

myself and (.) getting better (.) [mm,mm] at the thing that I do [mm] So I just took a

photo of the cycling track early in the morning to (1) ja: (.) to/to catch that moment

cos that's how I felt then.

Terence: E.15

Ja (.) ja Ch- (.) Ch/child likeness is (.) well/well/in biblical terms [ya] is encouraged to be:: (.) sort of to humble yourself (.) [hmm, mm] um: and (.) as much as we: (1) we:(.) we need to be making ourselves better at stuff and trying to achieve things and challenging ourselves (.)

Bongani: E.16

Well:: its like a childhood (1) because I got problems at home [mm] and I have to fend for myself

Bongani: E.17

Because I have to fend myself/ for myself and my sister (1) [mm hmm] you know it's like a chall/ every/everything is like a challenge [Ja ja] And:: (.) you know (.) bus fare:: I have to make/I mean I have to make (.) bus fare:: I mean for me to/to/to go to school (.) here to come here. [mm mm] And::: (.) you know? (2) it's hard for me to study /so it's a challenge to/to to study

Stephen: E.18

ja and with the whole like trynna be social, trynna find the girl ( ) getting work, trynna make money to pay for varsity type thing it does all, does all add up and ( ) that's a very huge challenge is trynna just survive really, um (1) I'm sure a lot of the guys who are financially safe, who got like their parents paying for their varsity don't really have that many challenges and for myself I think one of my hardest challenges is going to trynna find a job out there and cause I can't rely on my dad

Khulani: E.19

I'll start with Mandoza [yes] in his case (1) I think he's from township and I'm from a township as well [hmm] and when he was growing up he was involved in gangster-ship and taking drugs [hmm] but as he grew, as he grew up he stopped, uh, he quitted drugs

Intellectual competence

Mtholeni: E.21

You can take anyone one, not necessarily physically, no [Ja] Verbally ja, obviously, ja,

Protector of future family

Terence: E.10

Their natural reaction is to kind of (.) draw away slightly and/and take that thing on (.) [mm] by themselves (.) Men/men (.) do that because (.) in a family situation or/or in a (.) sort of (.) religious situation [mm] it's the guys that (.) that should go in the front line and maybe take the hits

Bongani: E.22

And being able to (.) to defend, eh, (1) I mean (.) himself [Mmm?] And:: his family what so ever (.) [Through:: talking, through:: physicalness?] ((Giggling)) (Wanting to be physical) [Hey?] Ja ((laughs)) well I think both [Okay] Um (.) Through physical (.) a/acts and:: (.) through verbal communication

Stephen: E.20

I think I was going to say family as well, like having a family. I think that's like a man. He's got to look after his family ( ) my dad quite a bit ( ) he's like, he is like (.) my mom had been sick for a while and looked after the three of us, and putting us through school, and stuff like that, like I'm not saying we're not rich but we're not well off, we just ( ) he, he, he's had to sacrifice a lot to put us through school. So being able to do that is being a real man I think

Khulani: E.23

be able to support your family (1) help here and there

Recreation and entertainment
Able to drink a lot of alcohol

Kwanele: E.24

(2) In our spare time (2) eh (.) we spend mo (.) most of our time like (.) watching (.) soccer on TV (.) and (.) going to parties (.) and drinking (.) ja

Mtholeni: E.25

Okay, clubbing and drinking yourself to a pulp and talking about it the next Day [Ja?] "I haven't slept, I just drank supplements and came to class", that kind of thing,

Bongani: E.26

Ja ((laughs)) (.) I know/knows (.) it's just that (1) It's just that somethimes /I don't understand (1) [ja ja ja] why they do it (.) but then it's/it's it's like a challenge that we face (.) and sometimes it happens because of/I mean after partys (.) [ja] I mean (3) everyone wants to get laid (.) after the party [mm, mm] but then (.) we are /we are/ we (.) are usually you know? (.) drunk and what-so-ever

Chris: E.27

Uh, well I don't like passing out anymore [okay] 'cause (1) yeah (1) um, I'd rather make it back to my place and pass out there [ya ya] at least if you pass out means you had a good night

Khulani: E.28

if I'm here I'll drink like uh: like the way I wanna drink (.) get drunk ya

Socialises with male peers

Mtholeni: E.29

Ja, open, you know, you can share jokes and crap, you know, even laugh at crap and, you know, that kind of thing [Ja, ja] Ja, you can (.) obviously you won't survive if you're kind of, you know, reserved

Bongani: E.31

On the weekends we just/w- (.) sometimes we chill:: if we had money we drink ((laughs)) [Ja?] Ja::: (.) We watch rugby games, soccer games

Chris: E.32

(3) yeah (2) although nowadays I mean I'm mostly in may room (.) get like (.) okay I get a lot of friends coming over

Stephen: E.33

we also do go out quite a bit like I said before we (.) when we've got money we do, well, I do go out, when I've got money. A lot of guys I know from church, from varsity, they go out all the time [as in you've been going out to Crowded House?] Crowded House, Crowded House, Crowded House, um. Its like really the only place

to go in Maritzburg, Crowded House ( ) Red Door that's like Tuesday, Thursday, Saturday [ja, ja, for sure, for sure, for purposes of just socializing, drinking ( ) ok?] and its for a good time ( ) with friends and stuff ( ) socializing.

Khulani: E.34

it's the way I live, like interacting with my, my boys (.) my friends, ya, and uh: the social life

Frivolous attitude to life

Chris: E.35

(3) 'cause like at times (.) like maybe I'll be given a hundred bucks to like (.) for a week (1) you'll find it will be gone in one night ((laughter)) just going to the club

Chris: E.36

You know::: (1) ways of (1) looking for excitement [and stuff (2) 'cause um (.) otherwise life is boring if you're not doing anything (4) you know (.) dunno (.) 'cause I guess we're more on the: (1) you know (.) the drinkers

Khulani: E.37

uh in my case I think (.) it's my sense of humour [mm, okay] ja and the way I communicate and my social skills

Khulani: E.38

like how to have money and uh: how to spend it if you haven' you haven't like some of like some of us (1) spend money like most of our money on drinking

Risky behaviour
Sexual promiscuity

Mtholeni: E.39

You know, you've got to have a fling once in a while, you know.

Mtholeni: E.41

Ja, the girl thing, ja, obviously I, I do have chicks and all that stuff but then – well there's just (.) I'm messing around, you know (.)

Bongani: E.42

Um:: (.) Well um::::: (1) we do some relationships with girls ((laughs)) [Mmm]
Sexual entertainment ((laughing)) [Mmm] And all:: um: (.) ja and all those things, ja

Bongani: E.43

Ja:: (1) and because I mean/ a lot of young mens/I mean young men (1) I mean uh::
(.)I mean uh:: (3) we like/uh:: (.) I mean (.) we like (3) doing sex [mm mm] and uh:::
(.) sometime/I mean some people (.) do not like use condoms (.) [ja] (.) so (.) so that's
why I think it's a/ it's a/ it's a big issue /I mean it's a/it's a big issue for us young men

Chris: E.44

well um::: (1) if you have a girlfriend (.) or if every weekend you're with a different
girl (.) um (1) I'm like the player

Uses substances

Bongani: E.45

Ja ((laughs)) (.) I know/knows (.) it's just that (1) It's 1294 just that somethimes /I
don't understand (1) [ja ja ja] why they do it (.) but then it's/it's it's like a challenge
that we face (.) and sometimes it happens because of/I mean after partys (.) [ja] I
mean (3) everyone wants to get laid (.) after the party [mm, mm] but then (.) we are
/we are/ we (.) are usually you know? (.) drunk and what so ever

Chris: E.46

and the, you got like some of us, we just go to a party to get drunk

Khulani: E.47

if I'm here I'll drink like uh: like the way I wanna drink [get drunk ya

Willing and able to fight

Bongani: E.48

And being able to (.) to defend, eh, (1) I mean (.) himself [Mmm?] And:: his family
what so ever (.) [Through:: talking, through:: physicalness?] ((Giggling)) (Wanting to
be physical) [Hey?] Ja ((laughs)) well I think both [Okay] Um (.) Through physical
(.) a/acts and:: (.) through verbal communication

Chris: E.49

lets say a group of like guys over here you [know and you just happen to be in their neighbourhood [mm, mm] you walking past (.) they don't like you because you're not from there [okay, ya] so:: (.) one guy will start causing trouble (2) you know you ignore him but then it gets to the point where::: you can't take it [(.) and you'll say something and then you're fighting with the guy

Stephen: E.51

I've, I've never been in a fight in my whole life but like I think I would be able to handle myself

Rebelliousness / imperative immaturity

Mtholeni: E.52

Chris: E.53

I mean I used to dress differently:: [and (.) you know (2) also I guess like I started getting like (.) no care attitude

Emphasised masculinity

Emotional imperturbability

Mtholeni: E.54

it's not like that sensitive kind of thing you know.

Mtholeni: E.55

at least I've got a better way of expressing my emotions, you know. I can suppress something, really I can. These things will make me feel like a moffie or something. You know, you can suppress that. Um: you don't have to cry about (.) and whine about everything

Chris: E.56

there's some things I can tell him but there's some things that are too personal [like like what?] mm (4) like (2) like (.) like a real (2) family [problem (.) I can't be telling this guy my family problems

Stephen: E.57

ok me personally I don't, I don't, I'm not going to tell anyone like my problems ( )

Stephen: E.58

guys aren't meant to cry.

Relational / Oppositional

'Othering' / denigration of women

Kwanele: E.59

When (.) like when: (2) I:: (1) I (.) I'm at home [Right] When there's a girl passing (.)
I can whistle at her (.) and stuff like that (.) but (.) when I'm here at school (.) I cannot
do that (.) because (2) this person that I I I I (.) don't know that that that person I'm
I'm whistling at (.) how how she's going to react

Terence: E.60

It's difficult (.) often to s/to tell about what's big and what's small in someone's lives
[ja, ya] but (.) and I thi- /many girls (.) are/are less concerned (.) um: [okay] or some
they respond by trying to find boyfriends who have cars [right ((laughs))] and others
they just happy to accept that [ya, ya] um::: (.) but I think for guys it's:: (.) you know
m/men often (.) want (.) to not have to rely on people

Mtholeni: E.61

at least I've got a better way of expressing my emotions, you know. I can suppress
something, really I can. These things will make me feel like a moffie or something. You
know, you can suppress that. Um: you don't have to cry about (.) and whine about
everything, you know, like women, you know, "hana (.) hana"

Bongani: E.62

I mean (.) you can't/ you can't be a manly man if you think uh:: uh:: (.) I/I think (1)
I/I (.) I wish I was a girl or whatever ((laughs))

Chris: E.63

mm (5) mm (2) and I guess also you got those one's who are really bitchy (.) and (2) and some of them I mean like it takes a while to get /you know::/ through that (2) um I like a friendly person [for sure, ya, who doesn't] mm (1) so uh the one's that/ I guess/ don't like ( ) get like/ The girls like who think they're too hot [okay] ya (1) I mean a lot of guys I mean they don't (.) you just sit in a group you find this girl like (.) maybe one guy will be like "yoh, (.) check that one" and you'll find this other guy "ah, that one's a bitch" you know

Stephen: E.64

ja for sure, um, I think its just the whole way, just (.) society shows like, like girls are getting stronger and they are getting liberal and stuff like that, but I think being a young guy in South Africa you've more authority really [how?] ( ) like how do I explain it (2) um, ja. You're probably looked at as the stronger sex

Khulani: E.50

as a man you have to take, uh, lot of responsibilities like, uh, and at home they're more looking upon you than the, the girl 'cause you have to support ( ) a girl (1) hai, like in my culture we believe [that if you're a girl, ja, uh::: you are temporarily a family member 'cause you're still gonna get married and move out [and if you are a man, uh: if you get married you gonna bring your wife here

Misogynistic behaviour

Kwanele: E.65

When (.) like when: (2) I:: (1) I (.) I'm at home [Right] When there's a girl passing (.) I can whistle at her (.) and stuff like that (.) but (.) when I'm here at school (.) I cannot do that (.) because (2) this person that I I I I (.) don't know that that that person I'm I'm whistling at (.) how how she's going to react

Compulsory heterosexuality

Kwanele: E.66

He must own a car [Ja] have money (1) ma (.) and be married (.) and have kids (.) that (.) that's a real man

Terence: E.70

Um::: so there's that and then there's also just the understanding of (.) of respecting women and/and/and (.) treating them like sisters until you married [hmm,hmm] and a whole bunch of things that many guys just wouldn't really think of (.) if they (.) w/weren't (.) Christians.

Mtholeni: E.67

You know, you've got to have a fling once in a while, you know. But (.) in a sense you do need to have a girlfriend, you know.

Bongani: E.68

Um:: (.) Well um::::: (1) we do some relationships with girls ((laughs))

Chris: E.69

I mean like (.) obviously like (.) the::: the ladies you know (1) if you are always seen with(.) with a girlfriend and, um, people they give you like props and stuff [yeah, they give you?] props, oh, like respect

Stephen: E.71

[how do non-homosexual men, sporty types, drinking types, how do they view Homosexual men? I mean what's the, is there a general feeling, a general attitude?] I think, I think, well, I think, I think its wrong my self

Khulani: E.72

(1) uh::: I'm looking for good heart, the woman with a good heart

'Othering' / denigration of subordinate men

Kwanele: E.73

(2) Eh (1) for the homosexual people (.) uh (.) me (.) personally [Mm] I (2) I (.) I don't like them (.) I I I have to be honest with you [Mm] 'Cause (5) Eh (.) for (.) for me (.) if (.) if God created you to be a man (.) and (.) and you (.) you changing it (.) and behave like (.) like a (.) like women [Mm] I (.) I don't think it's right (.) the right thing

Mtholeni: E.75

Well, first of all to eliminate the moffie factor, you need to play sport, you know, that kind of thing, um: The moffie and the nerd factor, obviously no one wants to be labelled as a nerd, so (.) playing sport, obviously if you play it, you've got to be good at it, that kind of thing.

Chris: E.76

'cause I just can't get why a guy must act like a girl (2) you know (.) and so the whole (.) moving the hands (.) mm 'cause I mean that's not how a guy's supposed to be (.) and 'cause like (2) I got a friend who's gay [yeah?] but ever since he told me he was gay (.) I mean (2) I mean like I still talk to him [sure] but I can't ((laughter)) like be with him for a long time

Chris: E.77

these gay guys you find/(.) sometimes you find one guy or two guys and it's just/ the rest (.) the rest are just girls [yeah?] and the guys can even be louder than the girls (.) and even more feminine than the [girls (1) that's the thing I don't get is how a guy can be more feminine than a woman [yeah? hmm] (4) ya 'cause like I know this one guy like on campus and I can't even (.) just looking at the [guy (3) 'cause he's he's just too feminine:: and he's too loud:: [ya, ya, okay] like he's always trying to get attention::

Stephen: E.78

ja ( ) the nerds don't ( ) but um it kinda is like that just because I mean a lot of the nerds they, they aren't ( ) they don't socialize

Dominating / controlling others

Terence: E.79

But (.) there's a/there's a (4) sort/(.)/the:: the understanding I have of relationships between guys and girls is/is that(.) you/you know men are/men should be in/in l/leadership [ok, ok]. (Guys are ready) to (.) to lead the family or/or:: whatever [ya] um (.) and to be (.) responsible when things go wrong (.)

Mtholeni: E.80

So (.) what I do, I never, never enter a group that I feel dominated. Not that I want to be a leader of a group. [Ja] But I want to (.) I want a group where (1) I would be like the leader's advisor (.) not that there's something like that but, um: not to feel dominated. I can say, "no, let's not do this", you know, and they will listen to me and they will not like do it, you know, that kind of thing.

Bongani: E.81

I mean /so I mean (1) I think we value (.) as/ as young men (1) we value power (1) being/being able to/to have control (.) over/ I mean of some sorts (.) over something

Chris: E.82

mm (.) ya, as long as (1) you don't (.) let a woman control you

Chris: E.83

and (.) you know every woman wants (4) they want (1) a guy that they con/can control (1) 'cause (.) 'cause that's the thing like with some of these guys (.) they manage to make the girl fall in love with them so they control the situation

Khulani: E.84

Ja, when uh: when boys are around, alone [hmm] in a group uh: everyone tries to, to be the dominant one, ja the way he acts the way he do's (.) and everyone wants to be the one who's planning what to do and where to go

Other
Self-confidence
Terence: E.85

Ja, it/er/the/the/ sort of metrosexual (.) idea ((laughs)) [ja] (both talk 1 second) who knows what that really means? [ja] but ya (.) socially::: (.) If you/traditionally guys would (.) you know (.) wash with a bit of soap and shave with/with/with shaving cream that's about it (.) um:: And now (.) socially (.) it's acceptable to: (.) to do these other things (.) and (.) That's cool (.) I think we/we need to be:: kind of secure in (.) in who we are (.) and not/ and just use what we think is actually (.) good to use

Mtholeni: E.86

you won't survive if you're kind of, you know, reserved and (.) you know, you need to be confident.

Material success and status

Kwanele: E.87

He must own a car [Ja] have money (1) ma (.) and be married (.) and have kids (.) that (.) that's a real man

Mtholeni: E. 88

Ja, ja, ja. It is part of (.) right on (.) so, ja, actually you need to have a bit of everything the way I view it (.) a lot of guys dedicate a lot of time on that, you know. Um: they need to show people that "I'm sort of financially stable and I can do anything," you know

Bongani: E.89

Well:: ((laughs)) We buy cars (.) expensive cars like I told you before [Mmm] Um::: We try to make them (.) look good (.) ((laughs)) just for/ just for our appearance and our st/status I mean to build like um::: (2) um::: (2) respect [okay::?] we/it's like we want respect (.) [From your peers::? (.)] From our peers exactly [ja] ja (.) So we do:: those things we::/we::/ I mean we go to (.) to a certain extent where we/where we/ I mean we will buy expensive cars:::

Chris: E.91

(4) um: (5) I just thought that with the money and the car (.) basically you're set.

Chris: E.92

mm:: what kind of guy women like? [ya ya] dunno, 'cause (.) I've seen them, I've seen a skinny girl (.) going with a fat guy:: (1) um (1) a guy that everyone thought was ugly has got a nice chick [mm, yeah?] so (2) although, I know the main thing is that if you have lots of money

Khulani: E.93

uh it's, the it's the possessions, it's what, it's what you have [Int: okay] ja ( )
expensive stuffs (1) and (.) and having money

Khulani: E.94

as a person it's like being educated [yes] that's the fist one, and (.) being social, ja (1)
uh::: third one like (2) like having a nice job, ja the one that's paying

Admires hegemonic men
Khulani: E.95
I can't say it's (2) it's, it's Mandoza

Khulani: E.96
I'll start with Mandoza [yes] in his case (1) I think he's from township and I'm from
a township as well [hmm] and when he was growing up he was involved in gangster-
ship and taking drugs [hmm] but as he grew, as he grew up he stopped, uh, he quitted
drugs

Independent
Terence: E.97
um::: (.) but I think for guys it's:: (.) you know m/men often .) want (.) to not have to
rely on people

Terence: E.98
Ja it's a symbol of independence [ja] or er:: like motor bike I suppose or maybe [ja] in
the old days having your own (.) horse but but I think for/for a/for a (young men)
its/its important (.) to have (.) that independence

Khulani: E.99
Ja, cooking, it is a girls (.) but nowadays (1) um, if you're a real man you have to be
independent

TEXTUAL EXTRACTS UNDERLYING TABLE 4.5

Supports monogamy / committed relationships

Kwanele: E.101

I admire them 'cause (.) you will find that most of them (2) eh (2) at a very (.) young age [Yes] Find that (.) you will find (1) get (.) getting married (.) that means that (.) they are responsible (.) and (.) you don't find them (.) eh (.) a million divorces (.) they have a low divorce rate compared to, to us Blacks (.) like getting married at the age of twenty-four or twenty five (.) they, they, they have a chance that (.) like a sixty percent chance that (.) they're going to get divorced with your (.) with your wife (.) and (2) for the White men (1) I (.) I respect them for that (.) that they are (.) responsible and (1) I think it (.) it is the way they are being brought (2)

Terence: E.102

The relationships are ((Interviewer laughing, fiddling with watch)) (1 second) um::::: (1) relationships are (.) [ya] all guys seeking them [Ja, ja] to some degree (.) of/er/of intimacy or not bu:t (.) b/f/feeling loved by someone else and loving someone else [hmm] is important (.) Um, and so that is just (.) a(.)nother large(.) part of my life (.) [How long have you:: been together by the way?] Two years and one month

Mtholeni: E.103

Obviously I do flirt once in a while but I, I prefer, you know, if you're going to have a girlfriend, just give it everything, you know, that kind of thing, and (.) do not just take a chick and hang out with her for two weeks, that kind of thing, you know. I'm kind of a more committed (.) not committed like saying, like, "Listen, I want to marry you," or something, no, no. That kind of thing, you know, okay, ja, I can hold a decent relationship for like two years. I can do that so (.) which is kind of unheard of for other guys so.

Bongani: E.104

Well:: (1) I want Um:: (3) I want someone who I can love /I mean who I love:: (.) and (.) and (.) who loves me back [Mm mm] And which I can (1) be relaxed (.) when I'm with her/Or/or which I can be un/ (.) which I can be comfortable when I'm with her

Stephen: E.105

for me I'm a virgin now and I, I'm planning on when I'm married ( ) and stuff, but a lot of my friends are not ( ) probably all my friends ( ) just one of my friends is, is still a virgin

Stephen: E.100

Ja, ja they just go out there, "ok, cool" and just bang that chick, you know "lets all joke about it, spread rumors about it", and stuff like that [ja, ja, ja] um, ja, just ( ) they ( ) a lot of guys are like that ((laughter)) it's a bit wrong (1)

Khulani: E.106

(1) uh::: I'm looking for good heart, the woman with a good heart [mm] ja sense of humour (1) ja the one with social skills like ja the one I can communicate well with ja (.) ja and the one I can spend most of my time with

Being responsible

Kwanele: E.107

Firstly (.) uh (.) what I believe in (1) having sex at (.) the young age [Mm] (2) Is not a problem (.) but (.) you have to be responsible that's what (.) [Right] ja (.) that's what I believe in like (.) I agree you have to condomise and stuff

Bongani: E.108

Ah:: they like peace (.)eh: you know they don't like fighting [Mmm, mmm] Uh::: th/ (.) They are::: (.) much in love with their family? [Ja, ja] It's just like (.) they are family men [Mmm, mm] And they/ they tend to look (.) after their family:: (.) and (.) their home (.) And:: (.) sometimes they do the dishes and the washing:: [mm] sometimes they do the garden (.) [mm hmm mm hmm] sometimes they look after the children

Stephen: E.109

um: ja I think I'm more responsible with, like, myself, I am more responsible with like money [ja] cause they just spend or go to town and spend all their money on town, whereas like last night I didn't go out last night cause I was on a budget I can't spend over mine ( ) so just like in those aspects

Khulani: E.111

like at home [right] I have too much, I have to respect (1) ja (.) my granny [mm] and I don't have to, if I drink, I don't have to get drunk (1) but if I'm here I'll drink like uh: like the way I wanna drink [get drunk ja

Khulani: E.112

ja (2) ja she used to tell me some thing like (.) what to do to be a man ja (.) like, like uh (2) like being responsible at home ja (.) when, when, when there's no one around like when she's not around ja and like I'm left with my sisters I must take care of the, of them and take care of the house as well ja

Being caring

Terence:E.113

-I was chatting to:: (.) s/sorry to::/I was chatting to a:: (.) a couple just (.) the other day (.) and she was saying you know (.) girls want these: (.) little signs of/I/little thoughtful:/like pick a rose or whatever [um, mm!] Whereas guys often don't do that (.) well enough

Bongani: E.114

Ja (2) and (.) another thing/oh!:: (.) oh okay I/I/I/I (.) I care lot (1) a lot (.) [ja?] (.) about (.) you know? things and people [Um] You know about:: my future (.) and other people's future (.) I mean (.) other people that are close to me like my sister and so on. [ja] (1) Ja (1) you know ((laughs)) it's like I/I:: (.) What I find (.) important (.) about myself [Yeah] It's like (3) I (.) I/I am (2) how can I put this? (1) I am more (soulful) I don't know how ((laughs)) how to put this / to put it (.) [S/Soul(.)ful?] yeah ((laughs)) [do you say? (.) okay, describe that?] Ja ((laughs)) (1) I'll (.) I'll try to (1) um:: (2) it's like (1) sens/sensitivity [Okay::[ja] so sensitive (1) ja::?] Ja (1) I mean I/I/I I'm sensitive about you know people (.) about my future, about good or bad things [Ja, ja]

It's in that I/I/I care (.) [ja?] about things (.) that's/ that's what I'm/ what I was trying to say

Emotionally expressive

Terence:E.115

She was feeling it was definitely good to Rhodes/to go to Rhodes (.) [okay] So:: we/we just had to/to (.) bite the bullet and say well for the (.) next period we study in different places but [ya] We were both feeling that that was actually really right [ya, ya] and/and the distance has being very good (.) as painful as it is

Mtholeni: E.116

You know, if they're talking about someone being raped, they're like, you know, crying (.) not necessarily that the guy's going to cry, but (1) to them it makes much more meaning. I feel those people in a sense are advantaged because...(Interjection). [They are advantaged, you say?] Ja, because I feel, you know, when you're talking about some Jacob Zuma trial or whatever, "Jacob Zuma, wara (.) wara," but then they're (.) it is as if they understand more and they relate to it and to all that, which is quite a womanly thing, you know, so (1) ja. [Okay, so (.) but do you fall within that group?] No I don't (.) being compassionate about the whole (.) it's not like (.) well maybe with some topics, I do feel as if that you know, this is a pressing issue or whatever, whatever, whatever within university or something. But you, you find men, even, even the typical man that's not feminine, you'll find that they're much more (.) they, they hold something close to their heart as well, maybe once in a while.

Has tertiary education

Kwanele: E.117

(1) Yes (.) I do (.) I do want to be popular (.) for sure (3) that's why I'm (.) I'm studying: and (.) I want to be popular that (.) that's one of the reasons that (.) that that I (1) I I'm studying (.) I (.) I want to be like (.) known (.) in my community

Khulani: E.118

((clearing of throat)) to be a young man to me (1) it's like uh:: what I can say (1) like ha, having achieving what you want (1) like getting a high education so I can get a reasonable job ( ) one that will pay you so I can do so I can be independent

Has goals for life

Kwanele: E.119

If you listen (.) if you listen to: (.) to your parents (.) and also (2) choosing your (.) your friends (2) your real friends and (.) and, and, and people who are not your (.) like your friends (3) and (.) also knowing what you want from life especially (.) and have some goals and (.) I think that's (.) you are in a, a, a (.) position of being (.) a man (2)

Khulani: E.121

(2) uh what I can say, most important thing to be a man in South Africa's like (1) it's like being disciplined uh:: and self-confidence (.) as well as motivation and, and you must know where you, what do you, what do you, what do you want in, in future (.) [ja (.) must always have a vision of what do you wanna be in future (.) like (.) and plan your goals like in (.) in ten years, like in five, ten years to come what, what [do you wanna be (1) ja