

**AMAKHOSI'S CONSTRUCTION OF MASCULINITY AND THE IMPLICATIONS FOR
SEXUAL RISK BEHAVIOURS**

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Declaration

I declare that, unless specifically indicated to the contrary, this dissertation is the product of my work. It has never been submitted in the past but for the very first time. It is being submitted for the fulfilment of my Master's degree in Social Sciences at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, PMB, in the School of Applied Human Sciences, Collage of Humanities, UKZN. This dissertation has not been submitted for any other examination or degree purposes. This dissertation was not copied from anywhere else and all the sources used are acknowledged.

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Abstract

The South African province the province of Kwa-Zulu Natal, location of this study, rural areas are immersed by different forms of cultural masculine power, gender inequality, and sexual pressures. From a young age, boys and girls are modelled to conform under certain norms, with boys assuming masculine, and girls assuming feminine identities. Social norms define a male to be always superior to a female, thus positioning females as inferior to men. Among young people, sexual risks such as engaging in unprotected sexual intercourse may be driven by the definition of how culture sees them. This research study was guided the question of how masculinity and manhood as constructed by Zulu culture implicate/not implicate sexual risk behaviours. Hollway (1984) and Willig's (1994) discourses were used in this qualitative research study to examine how masculinity is constructed in Zulu culture, and how such construction influences risky sexual behaviours. Data was collected through individual interviews with seven chiefs. The interviewed Chiefs prioritized the importance of male power and the importance of Zulu men being respected in the society. The interviewed Chiefs seemed to position themselves in the male sex drive discourse and have-hold discourse.

DEFINITION OF TERMS

- Isoka-** This is a young unmarried man, with multiple partners or girlfriends in different villages and often viewed as superior to his peers. Often considered to be the player.
- Isishimane -** This is an opposite of a player. This is an unmarried young man who is not active in securing girls and is considered to be a shame and a joke.
- Isifebe-** An unpleasant word given to a female with multiple partners. She is referred to as a prostitute and a shame to the village and her family.
- Ummumzane-** A man with a homestead, wife/wives, and children.
- Impohlwa-** An old unmarried man, who has reached a stage where he needs to have a wife but remains single. *Impohlwa* is not a pleasant term and men avoid from being referred to it by securing a wife.
- Isitabane-** This is a Zulu word for a homosexual or gay person.
- Ukusoma-** Thigh sex practise, when a man does not penetrate vagina; used to preserve a woman's virginity or as a form of safe sex.
- Amakhosi-** these are chiefs from the villages in which they reside.
- Amadlozi-** ancestral spirits that are considered to be mediators between human and God. Zulu people believe that ancestors watch over them and bring luck and provide help when they are in need.
- Ilobolo-** This is a bride's price paid by the groom to her parents. It is either paid in a form of cows or money, counting the amount of each cow.
- Isithembu-** it is a Zulu practice where a man can have more than one wife. Often referred to as polygamy.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Masculinity and masculine identity have been recognized as influences that play a significant role in promoting and sustaining gender inequality in different contexts. Despite the introduction of laws regarding gender equality in South Africa, masculinity is still regarded as a core influence of gender inequality, and abuse of women and children (Hunter, 2004). Previous research has suggested that the construction of masculinity is strongly influenced by cultural backgrounds (Sathiparsad et al., Taylor & De Vries, 2010).

This current study questions how traditional Zulu men construct manhood and how this is manifested in sexual behaviours. Sathiparsad et al. (2010) found that men strive for sexual identity (prove their manhood) through taking sexual risks. This research focuses on how masculinity is constructed by culture and tradition, and how this impacts on the behaviour of men, especially, sexual risk behaviours.

There is a general agreement that masculinity is socially constructed in different ways and these different ways may change over-time from one place to another (White & Peretz, 2009). Masculinities are historically rooted and play a huge role in men acting in different ways because of their cultural backgrounds (Sathiparsad et al., 2010). Cultural norms and discourses are delivered by family, peers, and society to a child at an early age, and then enacted in gender roles and social expectations, often based on the assumption that these are biologically inherent.

The research study therefore aims to explore chiefs' construction of masculinity and the implications of this construction for sexual risk behaviours. This research examines how Zulu culture positions men in matters regarding sex, relationships, equality, and manhood. All this was done by conducting a qualitative research study which focused more on chiefs' 'talk' on the issue at hand. A social constructionist approach was used in order to view the way in which chiefs positioned themselves when looking at the above mentioned matter. In order to get a deeper understanding about the material that was gained, Hollway's (1984) discourses were used in this study. These are discourses which present men and women with different positions and powers in the society and were used by listening to participants' 'talk' to understand collected data. The talk collected from the seven chiefs was subjected to discourse

analysis in order to respond to the questions that regard construction of masculinity in the Zulu culture. Participants had to be Black Zulu males that are chiefs at their rural villages. Therefore, a small purposive sample was used in this study. All participants recruited took part in individual interview discussions where they were asked questions related to construction of masculinity. These questions included; what is a man in Zulu culture and what makes or break a man? Seven chiefs had taken part in this study.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

The literature review focuses on literature concerned with the construction of masculinity within a South African context. Culture is a way people live their lives and changes constantly. Different cultures in South Africa construct masculinity in different ways of which some practices may lead to risky sexual behaviours. More specifically, this looks at the way which Zulu cultural practices may have an impact in the implications of unsafe sex (without a condom) and reasons of having multiple sexual partners. As time changes and as HIV infections rises especially among black people, the “talk” about manhood and sexual activity among Zulu elders will be valuable to understand cultural influence on masculinity (Hadebe, 2010).

2.2 What is masculinity?

In the last three decades, social science researchers have populated the field with masculinity studies and this includes Psychology, Sociology, and Anthropology. Connell (1995, 2000), Kimmell (1990, 2004), Messner (1997), and Seidler (1989, 1994, 2006) are among the social science theorists that have contributed immensely in understanding masculinity. However, there is still much that needs to be understood about masculinity and this study aims to take the angle of the influence of the construction of masculinity and impact on sexual risk behaviours, specifically in the Zulu culture.

In different social contexts, there have always been questions of what establishes masculinity. Different writers and theorists have agreed that masculinity is how a man thinks and the way he behaves (Seidler, 2006). Moreover, masculinity is viewed as something that is socially constructed from young age through gender socialization (Connell, 2001). In interaction with femininity, Connell (1995) believes gender identity is thus constructed. This means that masculinity cannot exist separately but needs femininity, and is understood differently from one context to another. The construction of manhood from different cultures is traced to the notion of masculinity, and how a ‘man’ is constructed (Hearn, 1996). Masculinity and masculine identity has been viewed as important factors in promoting gender inequality (Sathiparsad et al., 2010). Masculinity has been viewed as changing from time to time but is also presented as a powerful and dominant gender. In each field (Psychology, Sociology, and

Anthropology), masculinity is defined differently and this makes the process of collectively defining masculinity and what constituted it a challenge (Khan, 2009).

Recent social research makes it clear that there is no general definition that can be used to define masculinity across all cultures. Hadebe (2010) asserts that across all cultures, people construct masculinity differently and this differs from time to time. Morrell (2001) confirms that there is no single typical masculinity in South Africa but the field is populated by the experiences of men and how they construct it throughout history.

New South African studies explain masculinity as is jointly created, it does not exist independently but it is produced as people interact with one another (Swain, 2003; Hadebe, 2010; & Sathiparsad et al., 2010). Masculinity is associated with a man being in power and to achieve it, an individual is guided by social norms in order to achieve masculine identity (Bhana, 2010). The constitution of South Africa gives both men and women equal human rights yet in different South African cultures such equal rights clashes with the culture (Bhana, 2010). Members of some South African cultures decide what it means to be male or female and males are described as masculine, which is associated with supremacy (Hadebe, 2010).

2.2.1 Zulu masculinity

Zulu people of the province of KwaZulu-Natal, widely known by their greatest king Shaka Zulu, are among the group known as the “Nguni”. The Nguni group consist of amaZulu people, amaXhosa, amaSwati, and amaNdebele (Hunter 2004). According to historians King Shaka Zulu was “an aggressive, violent, vicious individual who led the kingdom with a firm hand and directed everyone to be called amaZulu” (Wright, 2008, p 71). Wright (2008) states that King Shaka Zulu was an influential leader and everyone who is called by this clan-name are considered to belong to Zulu culture and follow Zulu traditions (Hadebe, 2010).

Zulu people are known for their strong ancestral beliefs and traditions that they treasure passed down from ancestors (*amadlozi*) (Buthelezi, 2008). It is believed that when family members pass away, they turn to ancestors who thus look after the living, and protect them against evil spirits and bring them luck. According to Vilakazi (1962) Zulu people believe that *amadlozi* act as mediators between God and man, so their prayers are passed on to God through *amadlozi* (Vilakazi, 1962). In order to ensure that ancestors remain happy, Zulu people give offerings to ancestors in the form of cows and goats (Buthelezi, 2008). Hadebe

(2010) states that this is very important for Zulu people as it maintains a great connection between them and their ancestors, which thus makes God happy.

Respect for a male individual in the Zulu culture is much prioritized as the man is regarded superior to the females. According to Bhana (2010) Chiefs are the superior in the Black communities and are given respects as leaders. This is because chiefs and men in the society are regarded as owners and controllers. From a young age, Zulu boys are prepared for manhood by ensuring that they are involved in masculine activities (Bhana, 2010). In order to be regarded as a Zulu man in rural areas, it is important to have a wife, children, and homestead (Buthelezi, 2008). From being an unmarried young man, males need to pay *ilobolo*. These are eleven cows paid to the bride's family before marriage.

A research study conducted by Taylor, Mantell, Nywagi, Cishe, and Cooper (2013) on the notion of fatherhood revealed that fatherhood is closely linked to masculinity and identity in the Zulu society. Fatherhood and providing for a family is a source of meaning because having children gives men prestige and respectable position in the society (Taylor et al., 2013). Participants in this study stated that completion of being a Zulu man depends on having children, especially male children who will continue the surname's legacy. If a man does not have children, cattle, wife, the social status is affected and that male individual is regarded as less of a man (Taylor et al., 2013). Without children, masculinity is weakened, leading to lack of respect from the society.

Polygamy (*isithembu*) among Zulu people is a practice that is still common, even though it has lost its popularity with the introduction of Christian religion (Hadebe, 2010). Zulu people allowed an unmarried young man to have multiple partners in order to develop an ability to control *isithembu* (Hadebe, 2010). Buthelezi (2008) state that even though penetrative sex was not allowed before marriage, young men engaged in thigh sex (*ukusoma*), and the more partners, the more a person's status is respected. Under supervision from older males, young unmarried men were taught about girlfriend treatment and avoiding deflowering a virgin before marriage by the use of thigh sex (Hadebe, 2010).

2.3 Types of masculinity

“The world gender order contributes towards the conception of masculinities as hegemonic, subordinate, complicit, and marginal” (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005, pp 77-80). Connell (1995) proclaims that masculinities and femininities are created in the way that yields gender order.

2.3.1 Hegemonic masculinities

Hegemonic masculinity is particularly used in men studies in order to examine power relations among men and women (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). Compared to other masculinities that exist, hegemonic masculinity is very dominant; superior and subordinates other masculinities and femininities through their acquiescence to it. It is because this type of masculinity subordinates and makes dependents other men. Connell (1995) interestingly defined how men use their supremacy to control women and other men as well, not just several sets of men but also the standards they uphold. Men celebrate and embrace hegemonic masculinity because it is where they want to show how strong they are and how they are able to control other people (Langa, 2012). Furthermore, Langa (2012) asserts that this type of masculinity is used to define principal cultural stereotypes. Men thus use these characteristics to demonstrate their power among other men and women (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; & Langa, 2012). According to this idea of masculinity men have a desperate need for power, authority, strength and being competitive. The other dominant traditional stereotypes which is also associated with hegemonic masculinity asserts that a ‘real man’ must be able to provide and support his family, and should have a steady income that guarantees non-stop provision for those who fall under his authority (Connell & Messerschmidt, 1995; & Langa, 2012). Basically, hegemonic masculinity favours a belief that gender is non-negotiable between men and women.

2.3.2 Subordinated masculinities

Subordinated masculinities are created from the power relations among men. The furthest common example of subordinate masculinity in South African society today is the issue of homosexual men. According to Connell (2001) homosexual men do not live to the social standards of a ‘real man’ in hegemonic masculinity and thus are subjected to insults

and name calling such as 'fags' and 'sissies'. Such situations makes it clear that a certain dominant group set standards and are able to describe a subordinate group. Religious institutions like churches do not allow homosexual men to be part of the church leadership (priests) because they do not fit the stereotype of being 'real men' and they present scriptures from the bible to support this discrimination. Moreover, fear of being excluded from society lead the majority of men to conform to standards and behaviours in conflict with their true selves (Connell, 2001).

In a Zulu culture, men that are not yet married are often referred to as boys or '*impohlwa*' to show how disgraced they are that they have not shown ability to secure wives (Hadebe, 2010). *Impohlwa* is thus differentiated from *isoka* in a sense that *isoka* is male that is celebrated for their ability to have multiple girlfriends. However, Hadebe (2010) states that these men cannot engage in activities with married men, such as sharing meals because they are associated to young boys. In order to be included and be referred to as 'real men', these men must work very hard to behave according to group norms, which may automatically mean that being subordinated is occasionally a choice (Connell, 2005). Langa (2012) concurs that some men reject hegemonic masculinity and are often called *isithipha* (stupid man). A stupid man thus reflects non-hegemonic characteristics and is subordinated and excluded from the Zulu society.

2.3.3 Complicit masculinities

Complicit masculinity refers to men who do not conform under hegemonic masculinity in the society yet they benefit in the male-controlled order (Connell, 1995). These men benefit from the shared norms and the subordination of women (Connell, 2000). Connell (2001) also states that men who draw from complicit masculinity shows respect to their mothers and wives and are not aggressive towards women, and they have no problem in sharing house work because they do not conform under social norms that view women as inferior. Furthermore, these men do not fit into all the characteristics of hegemonic masculinity but do not do much to challenge it either (Langa, 2012). Since they are not challenging the systems of gender that are present in our societies they do receive some benefits from being male (Connell, 2000).

2.3.4 Marginal masculinities

According to Sathiparsad et al. (2010), men are expected by the society to compete amongst each other and behave like an ideal man and give feedback to the society by resembling results of being an ideal man. Marginalised masculinity applies to being treated as less than real men by more privileged men (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). For example, refugee men may feel marginal because they are a minority group in a foreign country. It is factors like class, race, sexual orientation that are taken into consideration when deciding on masculinity. Zulu culture builds and centres manhood on factors such that he should have cattle, wife, and children (Taylor et al., 2013). Men who do not possess properties may always idolize those who have resources and may automatically share hegemonic characteristics they possess (Connell, 2005). Langa (2012) asserts that men may end up feeling marginal because of unemployment while employed men are praised for their steady income.

2.4 Supremacy of *isoka* (player)

Social contexts where people are situated, gender is social constructed based on the notion that masculinity and femininity are treated differently (Sathiparsad et al., 2010). According to Sathiparsad et al. (2010) male behaviour is constructed by social cultural and social expectations. In this construct, a young man will behave and live his life according to the norms and messages he receives from the environment on how he is expected to behave. Hunter (2004); Sathiparsad et al. (2010); Ntuli (2012) state that adolescence and young men find themselves expected to oblige under norms set by the society in order to fit in and be part of a larger group. It is dominant cultural norms which create an environment where coercive sexual relations and multiple relationships can be seen and encouraged for 'real men' (Bhana, de Lange, & Mitchell, 2009).

In the Zulu culture, a young man especially growing up in a rural area should be able to have his family when he reaches adulthood (Bowleg, Teti, Massie, Patel, Malebranche, & Tschann, 2011). Historically, traditional rights of a young man in the Zulu culture involve ability to have multiple partners that he will be able to choose a wife from (Bhana et al., 2009). A young man who possesses such skills in the Zulu culture is called *isoka*, which can be referred to as a player. A player is thus defined as a male that possesses an ability to have many girlfriends at

the same time, and engage in sexual activity with all of them (Bhana, 2010). The concept of *isoka* is not mostly concerned with a male child reaching maturity but more about his ability to acquire and control multiple partners. Ability to control multiple partners is an important feature in acquiring effective masculinity (Hunter 2004; Holland et al., 1998).

2.4.1 Origins of *Isoka* masculinity

In order to challenge any view of *Zulu* masculinity, it is thus important to give a proper understanding of the origins, historical processes of how *isoka* masculinity was made, and how it has evolved over time to the present.

During the 19th century, there was relatively a modest control of non-penetrative sexual relations which thus suggested that unmarried young women were permitted to have more than one dating partner (Buthelezi, 2008). Having multiple partners was not only considered for men. In the 1950s *isoka* masculinity emerged and men were allowed to have multiple partners and women were thus discouraged from having more than one partner (Vilakazi, 1968). During this period masculinity was controlled by the expectations that a man should be able to choose a wife from different partners he had and build a homestead that would indicate his manhood. Buthelezi (2008) argues that having multiple partners was a game for young men who competed among themselves to prove how one was able to have more than the other. Men were thus celebrated for their powerful masculinity and were called *isoka*. *Isoka* is defined as an “unmarried man, handsome young man, accepted lover, a young man liked by the girls” (Hunter, 2008, pp19-26).

The *Zulu* culture allowed non-penetrative sexual intercourse in the form of thigh sex (*ukusoma*) among youth (Buthelezi, 2008). A young man could have as many partners as possible while a woman could only have one. The more sexual partners a young man had, the more celebrated he was by peers and even his family. A man who struggled to have partners was called *isishimane* and he was viewed as being cursed and needed cleansing (Hadebe, 2010). *Zulu* men that become *isishimane* and continue to grow up as ones are later referred to as *isithipha sendoda* (weak man) (Hadebe, 2010). Most young man thrived to be called *isoka* so they can be celebrated and known for their power to control girls. Women who engaged in *ukusoma* with more than one man were called bitches (*isifebe*).

Since males were already considered to be superior gender, men were thus given more power in societies (Hadebe, 2010). According to Vilakazi (1968) as times went on and the introduction of South African laws which favoured equality, as men, females were then allowed to have multiple partners if they wished

2.4.2 Multiple sexual partners to become *isoka* (player)

Competition to prove manhood and sexual powers among males takes precedence over the fear of contracting HIV (Bowleg, 2004). Men who become players and show ability to control women become famous and recognised as *isoka* which everybody wants to be associated with (Bowleg et al., 2011). In this sense, the term *isoka* resonates well with most young Zulu men and want to be referred to as individuals who are able to play a 'game' (Bowleg et al., 2011).

A research study conducted in the rural Ugu District in Kwa-Zulu Natal on young Black youth which focused on construction of masculine identities revealed that young male participants feel a need to engage in sexual activities with multiple partners and if they do not, they view themselves as weak (Sathiparsad et al., 2010). For these young men, it is not a matter of failing to win and control girls but it is failing as a man. According to Ampofo and Boateng (2007) it is through sexual powers that male identity is well-defined by the society. Participants in this study revealed that if a man fails to engage in sexual activity with his girlfriend, he is thus in danger of losing his identity as a man within his peers (Sathiparsad et al., 2010). Boasting to peers about ability to have sex with their girlfriends informs the supremacy position they hold which distinguishes them from those who are not having sex (Bowleg, Teti, Massie, Malebranche & Tschann, 2011).

Among the Zulu culture, polygamy is one practice that has been usually practiced and even with the introduction of the new constitution, most men in the Zulu culture still take more than one wife (Bhana et al., 2009). Bhana et al. (2009) state that in the olden days, men aspired to have more than one wife in order to be recognised as 'real men', as having multiple partners was associated with power. Such norms in the Black culture act as rules for boys to have multiple partners to prove their manhood and power (Bowleg et al., 2011). Currently, Black youth continue with the tradition to having multiple partners as stated by their culture because they fear social stigma and discrimination if they do not (Bowleg et al., 2011; & Sathiparsad et al., 2010). Zulu culture states that young men would want to reach a stage

where they are more than *isoka* but *isoka lamanyala* (dirty player). Carton and Morell (2012) write that *isoka lamanyala* is having as many girlfriends as possible in different villages as status rises from being a normal *isoka* to dirty *isoka*. Older people and siblings encouraged young men to have multiple partners in the Zulu culture and be called *isoka lamanyala* because they believed that a man chooses wives from many girls that he had encountered (Carton & Morell, 2012). A man can marry all his partners because polygamy in the Zulu culture is acceptable (Hunter, 2004; Bowleg et al., 2011; & Carton & Morell, 2012). Polygamy and having multiple partners have not changed because culture is considered to be a way of life (Hadebe, 2010).

2.4.3 *Isoka versus isishimane*

In the history of *isoka* masculinity, majority of single young men becoming *isoka* was much desired and this was much distinguished from becoming *isishimane* or *isigwadi* (Hunter, 2004). *Isishimane* is defined as single young man who cannot get a lover or who is not very “sharp with girls” (Hunter, 2004). The *Isoka* masculinity is figured glorified and praised which describes and define a man that has succeeded and considered a favourite among girls (Hunter, 2004). No one celebrates *isishimane* because such man is considered weak and a failure which no girl want to be with them (Meth, 2009). According to Hadebe (2010) *Isishimane* or a person with no girlfriend would not be taken serious by his peers who exemplify the characteristics of masculinity. In a traditional Zulu society, such individual is a disappointment in the family and older men would seek traditional healers to remove a dark cloud over him so that girls can view him as attractive (Hadebe, 2010). Such constructions of *isoka* masculinity encourages men to be *isoka lamanyala* than to be *isishimane* because they would rather be labelled strong and powerful than to be considered as weak and not be celebrated, which is *isishimane* (Hadebe, 2010; & Hunter, 2004).

2.5 Gender Identity

When talking about masculinity, it is very important to instigate a broad discussion about gender and gender identity. This is because gender involves both biological and physical features whether someone is male or female (Milligan, 2004). Sathiparsad et al. (2010) argue that a society will thus define what it means to be a man or woman according to social norms.

Different societies have conditions in which people are situated. Gender is socially constructed based on the evidence that masculinity and femininity are built in different ways (Sathiparsad et al., 2010). Gender identity refers to a close link between the 'self and the society' (Carton & Morrell, 2012). For any human being, identity is socially produced for a person to know that he or she belongs either to female or male group (Bowleg et al., 2011; & Milligan, 2014). Gender identity can viewed as his or her analysis how he or she acts out the socially accepted description of being a man or a woman (Bowleg et al., 2011).

2.5.1 Masculine identity

Stereotypically, 'real men' are defined as having certain personality traits and this includes being tough, aggressive, strong, physical, competitive, not emotional and independent (Carton & Morrell, 2012). There are also certain behaviours that are expected from 'real men' and this includes: family financial support, physical risks, masculine activities, initiate sex, and control (Holland, 1998). According to Carton and Morrell (2012); Holland (1998) state that men who fail at performing such behaviours are referred to as failures and considered weak in the society. In different contexts, masculine identity is associated with authority, status, rank and right, as true masculine quality is viewed by possession and ability to control (Hadebe, 2010; Connell, 2005). Therefore, Hadebe (2010) states that men who lack possession, ability to control and have low rank are thus seen as feminine and are automatically referred to as boys. In order to ensure full masculinity, men never stop guarding their behaviours and performance to avoid being regarded as feminine men and be excluded from the comfort of masculine identity (Bhana, 2010). As a result, men avoid feminine behaviours and personality characters to be regarded as 'real men' (Hadebe, 2010). Such normative themes of traditional masculinity which are anti-femininity delivers a valuable framework of demands expected from masculine identity.

A research study conducted at *Imbumbulu* rural area in Kwa-Zulu Natal, South Africa on the construction of masculinity and femininity from a young age revealed that social conditions play a huge role in shaping traditional 'real men' as required by societal norms (Bhana, 2010). This empirical study focused on grade 1 and grade 2 learners at Primary school from *Imbumbulu* rural community to explore how gender separations endorse masculine identities. According to Bhana (2010) grade 1 and 2 pupils in *Imbumbulu* are not separated from the cultural patterns and have already embarked on the journey of creating their gender

identities. Customary practices of the regulations of the society are still effective practices shaping traditional forms of gender (Hadebe, 2010; and Bhana, 2010). From a young age, children learn that they must report to the father and wait for their father to make decision for them which thus translate to them that a man is powerful and women are inferior in home settings (Bhana, 2010).

2.5.2 Gender power relations

Unequal gender power relations and male dominance has been widely seen in heterosexual relationships (Sathiparsad et al., 2010; & Deacon 2010). Majority of South African societies, especially Black, considers males to be older than their female partners and this can further explain the increased gender power imbalances in many sexual relationships (Langen, 2005). According to Maharaj (2011) gender roles in societies perpetuate male dominance and decision making when it comes to condom use. This means women find themselves in danger of contracting STD's and unplanned pregnancies because they are expected to conform to male dominance (Maharaj, 2011). This gender inequality escalates chances of women engaging in unprotected sexual intercourse (Taylor et al., 2013). A research study conducted at the Western Cape, South Africa revealed that sex is something that should be for and should be controlled by men. Women are viewed as passive practitioners in sexual activity because sex is viewed as less desirable and therefore should be instigated by their male sexual partners (Shefer and Foster, 2011).

Gender is also one of the contributing factors of risks in sexual relationships. South African young women between the ages of 15 to 24 years are more likely to be infected with HIV (Bhana et al., 2009). Bhana, et al. (2009) writes that it is societal norms such as negotiation of sex, condom use negotiation, and men viewed as having greater sexual needs than women that increases barriers in safe sex behaviours. Women enter into relationships with a notion of submitting and obeying men because they are considered older and failure to satisfy man's needs is a shame in a society, especially rural societies (Shefer & Foster, 2011). Such inequality makes it harder for females (considered young) to discuss issues underlying sexual activity with their male partners because that they fear that they will depict a picture of being promiscuous (Shefer & Foster, 2011).

2.5.3 Gender equality

In recent years, masculinity has received threats by women who are contesting masculine power identity (Hadebe, 2010). Hadebe (2010) argues that the majority of women in South Africa are slowly becoming empowered to have a say in their sexual relationships and that threatens masculine identity. Modern women view multiple partners' discourse for men as an excuse to 'sleep around' and they can also see a need of securing other partners as well. The introduction of equality between males and females (50/50) seems to be threatening males because such rights hinders their masculine freedom (Bowleg et al., 2011).

Equality is more threatening on unemployed men because they feel overpowered by their partners and appear to be feminine within the society (Meth, 2009). Society believes that a man should not be feminine because such is associated with weakness and a weak man loses respect (Swain, 2003; Hadebe, 2010; & Bowleg et al., 2011). This explains a close relationship between employment status and power relations between males and females. A definition of social masculine identity encourages aggression and physical domination from unemployed men to remind their partners about their manhood. Meth (2009) states that men use violence to prove to society the impact they still hold on their partners. Men grow up learning masculine identity from their fathers and introduction of women's rights angers them and they use domestic violence to illustrate their anger (Meth, 2008; Smith, 2007).

Meth (2009) states that men view women's rights as a mistake because if a man tries to 'control' his wife, that is seen as an abuse. In order to defend their position and contest gender equality, men use traditional ancient scripts they grew up with to oppose such laws as offending culture. Meth (2009) states that men may even draw on misogyny from the Bible to support their case that men and women could never be equal. Blame for domestic violence is placed on the government for interrupting social order rejecting the characterisation of domestic violence as the unfair treatment of women (Hadebe, 2010). In the olden days, if a woman was found with multiple partners, it was easy to beat her because she was in fault, currently, it is her right and should not be violated (Meth, 2009).

2.6 Pressure to engage in sexual activity

When exploring risk factor for HIV, research conducted at Kwa-Zulu Natal, Durban Township revealed that the majority of males engage in sexual activity because sex is associated with manhood (Sathiparsad et al., 2010). The pressure to have sex and prove manhood is more important than contracting sexual transmitted diseases, including HIV (Sathiparsad et al., 2010). Pattman (2007) writes that such conceptions are linked to males proving their identity through sexual abilities and accomplishments.

The majority of young Zulu people may be driven by cultural expectations and traditions to behave in a certain way (Sathiparsad et al., 2010; Carton & Morell, 2012; Bhana, 2010). Masculinity thus plays a role in the way young men act because their behaviour is informed by cultural backgrounds (Flood, 2010). "Masculinity is defined as behaviours, languages that exist in each and every cultural and organisation location, which are commonly associated with males and thus culturally defined as not feminine" (Sathiparsad et al., 2010, pp. 2). Furthermore, because of such societal norms, men often feel pressure to prove their manhood by deliberately taking sexual risks (Bhana, 2010).

Young men who are engaging in sexual activity receive different treatment than those who are not, within their peers and society (Ntuli, 2012; Sathiparsad et al., 2010; Smith 2007; & Bhana, 2010). According to Hunter (2004) those who are engaging in sexual intercourse in their relationships are considered superior to those who are abstaining. Men who are 18 years and older who are not having sex are considered as fools because their stage of maturity means that they are ready to engage (Ntuli, 2012; Sathiparsad et al., 2010). A young man engaging in sexual intercourse is praised and called *isoka* in the Zulu culture. Men attempt to escape being labelled by their peers by engaging in sexual intercourse with as many females. Furthermore, most young men do this in order to escape being labelled as gay (*stabane*) because homosexuality is associated with weakness and not being a 'real man' (Msibi, 2013). Therefore, men prove their manhood to society and peers to escape stigma and labels (Msibi, 2013; & Sathiparsad et al., 2010). This differs from females who are having sex when compared with females who are not engaging in sexual intercourse (Milligan, 2014; & Bhana, 2010). When an unmarried young woman engage in sexual intercourse she is called a bitch while the one that abstains is given respect (Langen, 2003). Men thus put pressure on the

women into having sex because their respect means turning the women into bitches (Bhana, 2010).

2.6.1 Sex as a game

A research study conducted at the University of Kwa-Zulu Natal, Pietermaritzburg on contraceptive use among male students in comparison with young males from Mkhambathini rural area revealed that both these populations view sex as a game (Ntuli, 2012). Holland, Ramazanoglu and Thomson (1998) argue that in different contexts, in acquiring success in masculinity, a young man must compete (as in a game) with other young men by means of having many sexual relationships with girls peers. In this study, male participants outlined that does not mean commitment to that girl when one is unmarried but serves as a physical release which men need to experience when they are young (Ntuli, 2012). Such behaviour is a proof to peers of sexual activeness which thus translate to development of manhood. Men put themselves in danger of contracting sexual infections just to prove their manhood among their peers. They put sexual pleasure as more important than protecting themselves (Hadebe, 2010; Sathiparsad et al., 2010). Literature makes it clear that young men play a game of sexual physical release to heighten their manhood status but this game also heightens their chances of contracting HIV and other sexually transmitted diseases (Bowleg et al., 2011; Larcec-Madlala, 2002; & Holland et al., 1998).

2.6.2 Perception of risks

Young men are aware that the biggest risk in unprotected sex is contracting HIV and other sexually transmitted diseases. Having HIV means that they will have to live with the disease for the rest of their lives and be mindful of their health (Bowleg et al., 2011). A study about contraception use conducted at Umkhambathini rural area in Pietermaritzburg revealed that young men want to have babies while they are young, and have multiple partners but they are scared of HIV (Ntuli, 2012). Taylor et al. (2013) show that young Black men want to have babies because it is a sign of manhood and also having multiple partners is a sign of power and becoming *isoka*. In rural areas, in order to show manhood, one needs to impregnate (Bhana, 2010; Taylor et al., 2013; & Hadebe, 2010).

Young Black males who are students are more concerned about pregnancy than they are about contracting HIV (Ntuli, 2012). Students are educated and know the risks of unprotected sex yet they engage in unprotected sex but ensure that their girlfriends use other methods of contraception (Deacon, 2010, Ntuli, 2012). *Isoka* masculinity exists at universities as well but the risks are perceived differently compared to young men who are not students (Ntuli, 2012).

2.6.3 Condom use

The use of condoms is one of the safest and most reliable contraception methods that can be used to prevent pregnancy and transmission of sexually transmitted diseases, including HIV (Taylor et al., 2013; & Milligan, 2014).

In a study conducted in the Eastern Cape Province, Matole rural area about condom use revealed that men expressed fear of condom use (Msweli, 2014). This study wanted to explore factors influencing condom use among males growing up in rural areas of Eastern Cape. According to Msweli (2014) men complain about condom use in the sense that it causes discomfort and eliminates sexual sensitivity that is essential during sexual intercourse. Men state that condom takes away excitement that is brought by flesh to flesh sensitivity (*Inyama enyameni or iskuni*) because the mind will continuously bring out the fact that there is a plastic barrier (Msweli, 2014). Men complain to their partners that condom reduces pleasure and using a condom shows lack of respect for a partner (Shisana et al., 2009). Shisana et al. (2009) state men view the use of a condom with their partner as suggesting that she is unclean and that they are involved with other people. Msweli (2014), states that this leaves a risk of unprotected sex because since they are not using this protective measure for sexually infectious diseases, they are in greater chance of contracting them.

Knowledge that condom use is a good protection against conception and infectious diseases does not necessarily lead to use (Deacon, 2010). Men and women understand that condom use protects from contracting STD's but the use depends on the nature of the relationship (Maharaj, 2011). Maharaj (2011); and Willig (1995) states that the introduction of condom in a stable relationship brings the issue of trust into question, an issue that is of most important for women. Men feel more comfortable using a condom with casual partners and not with

main partners (Maharaj, 2011). Men decide who the main partner is. This is someone suitable for marriage and decide to not use a condom with her (Maharaj, 2011).

2.7 Social constructionist view

If one observes the way people position themselves from a social constructionist point of view, one might value the way in which men locate themselves when talking about masculinity, manhood, sex, and risky factors and how they accordingly create their reality. The social constructionist perspective states that people are authors and actors in the way they construct their realities (Maticka-Tyndale, 1992). Language, experiences, meanings are constructed (Maticka-Tyndale, 1992). Andrews (2012), states that the construction is based on the relationships and sustainability of a person to the social constrictions of realities. The constructionist views the world through the lenses of historic contact and communication between people (Andrews, 2012). Therefore, Cojocararu & Bragaru (2012) argue that social and interpersonal influences are significant for the great existence of human life and thus focuses on culture and society at which people live. Interaction between individuals culture and social values creates realities in which people see as true or false, good or bad, right or wrong, and all these are created by what people view as 'how it should be' according to constructions of their realities Andrews, 2014).

In attempting to make sense of the social world, this perspective brings an idea of constructing knowledge and state that constructionism is more focused on the origins of such knowledge and how it is produced (Andrews, 2012). According to Andrews (2012) social constructionism came as an attempt to understand nature of reality.

When adopting discursive analysis on the Chiefs' talk about masculinity and sexual activities, we assume that they are drawing meanings from their discourses to form reality. Using Hollway's (1984) framework in order to explore the understanding of masculinity might reveal how Zulu people construct their reality and the risks involved.

Masculinity formation begins when separating children as male or female and then slowly converting them in to masculine and feminine young adults (Carton & Morrell, 2012). This

cultural process of building and moulding a person to get a particular final product involves emotional shaping and psychological attitude of children (Carton & Morrell, 2012). For example, messages about masculinity and femininity are sent out to a child every time he notices that his father is the one who drives the car and his mother is the one who is in charge in the kitchen. Bhana (2010) argue that such role differentials develop an awareness of a steady view of the nature of gender identity. Basically, boys will come to know what means to be a boy and a man. Adopting a social constructionist approach in this research study will help us understand the ways in which manhood is constructed.

2.8 Discourses

Hollway (1984) instigated discourses which present men and women with different positions and powers, in the sense that they must both position themselves according to those discourses. The relationship between men and women must depend on how they allocate themselves within the discourses (Hollway, 1984). It is of great importance that these discourses are explored in this study of construction of masculinity because these discourses will be able to recognise sexual relationships explored in this research study. They are namely, male sex drive discourse, have/hold discourse, and marital discourse. These discourses will give different explanations as to what causes men to expose themselves to risky sexual behaviours.

Several discourses are used by different individuals when they are discussing sex and sexual activity (Deacon, 2010; & Coleman, 2009). Hollway (1984) describe three types of discourses that people adopt when they are talking about sexual activity. These discourses are very important in sexual relationships and masculinity studies as they position men and women in accordance to the role they play in their relationships. In this case, men must take a certain position in the context of these discourses (Hollway, 1984). The present study explores chiefs' construction of masculinity and implications for risky sexual behaviours. Two discourses will be of main focus for this study. Male sex drive and have hold discourses will be used when exploring how men construct masculinity and, the way in which they talk about sex (Carton & Morell, 2012).

2.8.1 Male sex drive discourse

In order to deal with ideologies of being a man in the Black communities, especially when it comes to reflecting a tough image, having sex with a variety of women is essential (Bowleg et al., 2011). According to Hollway (1984) male sex drive discourse state that men have high sex drive that needs to be satisfied through sexual intercourse. When the 'heat of the moment' has come it needs to be satisfied no matter what and physical sex interaction is important for its satisfaction.

A research study conducted by Sathiparsad et al. (2010) reveals that men see sex as a need that drives them to satisfy themselves. Men have uncontrollable sexual urges and they need multiple sexual partners in order to satisfy these urges (Bowleg et al., 2011; Hadebe, 2010; & Smith, 2007). Such discourse position women as passive objects who are there to satisfy men's needs first before they can be considered as humans (Hollway, 1984). Furthermore, the male sex drive discourse positions women as individuals that are not in control of their sexual bodies in the sexual relationship but are vessels of sex for men and must satisfy their urges (Hollway, 1984). Society has constructed men as people who are unable to control their sexual urges and women as people who can (Langen, 2005; & Sathiparsad et al., 2010). If men are unable to control their urges, this exposes them and their female partners to risky sexual behaviours. This discourse will be suitable for this study to explore if Zulu culture seniors (Chiefs) foster it for men growing up today.

2.8.2 Have/hold discourse

The have/hold discourse refers to the notion that women can only stop men from leaving them by ensuring that the men are sexually satisfied (Hollway, 1984). Women know about the risks of unprotected sexual intercourse but do not use condoms because they fear that their partners are going to leave them if they introduce condoms in the relationship (Milligan, 2014). Hollway (1984) argues that have/hold discourse is basically referring to when females allow unprotected sex because they are afraid that if they refuse it, they will lose their boyfriends or appear as unfaithful. According to Hadebe (2010) women assume that men prefer unprotected sex and in that sense engage in unprotected sex in order to ensure that their men do not leave them. Basically, men and women engage in unprotected sex for different reasons and are both at risk of contracting STD'S. Bhana (2010); and Maharaj (2011)

state that men's reason is gaining power and recognition while women need to secure a certain position in the men's lives, to be the first and stop them from leaving. Has Zulu Culture also fostered behaviour in accordance to this discourse?

2.8.3 Marital discourse

Sathiparsad et al. (2010) state that men prefer to use condoms with casual partners and introduction of condom use in a long term relationship can eliminate trust. The "marital" discourse argues that people who have been in a long term relationship may see no need for using a condom and view themselves as safe because they are not sleeping with anyone but themselves (Willig, 1995). According to Willig (1995) this discourse situates partners as not at risks and also situates them as clean and innocent to their partners. This means couples completely trust each other that they will never be unfaithful by engaging in sexual intercourse with persons other than themselves (Willing, 1995). Individuals in these relationships often stop using condoms because trust is viewed as a defence (Varga, 2002). Willig (1995) argues that for these couples, condom are used for casual sex and when trust develops as time pass, there's is no need for it.

2.9 Research study focus

In this research study, people are viewed to be positioning themselves in particular discourses and depend on them to define their behaviour. Society constructs men as being powerful and in control compared to women who are viewed as inferior to men. Thus, men enjoy sexual freedom and must have multiple partners. According to the sex drive discourse, men need and must have sex and see no problem with multiple partners. In relation to the Zulu culture this is isoka discourse, which enjoys sexual freedom and multiple partners. Following this pattern in the Zulu culture, safe sexual intercourse may not be a priority. It is important to use Hollway's (1984) discursive framework in this study to see how men and women position themselves to understand power relations, sex, and risky behaviours as impacted by traditions and practices of Zulu culture.

Discourses will be useful in this study to examine the position Zulu people take when constructing masculinity. This will be define in their 'talk' about sex and how this informs implications for risky sexual behaviours. Such discourses will also be useful to understand how Zulu culture impact power relations and gender identity. The biggest question would be how Zulu culture construct masculinity today and does such construction of manhood continue to influence Zulu men? These discourses would be useful in understanding the underlying factors of manhood, its construction in the Zulu culture and relationship to sexual intercourse.

CHAPTER 3: AIMS AND RATIONALE

3.1 Aim and rationale

The main aim of this research was to explore how Zulu chiefs construct masculinity and implications for sexual risk behaviours. Studies suggest that cultural backgrounds and social norms have a major role to play in gender inequalities and how such construction put men at sexual risk (Bhana, 2010). This study thus aims to explore these cultural backgrounds, using different village chiefs from rural areas to see what their perceptions are of the construction of masculinity.

This research study also aims to explore Zulu traditions that have been passed to men today, influence their sexual behaviour and how olden days' Zulu men differ from men growing up today. Chiefs have a rich knowledge of culture and traditions of the clans they lead. This study aims to explore what implications do these traditions have men's sexual behaviour.

Furthermore, this study seeks to explore what is a man in the Zulu culture at large. What protocols does a male person need to follow in order to be called a man and have such masculine power? Current literature suggests that in most rural areas a man is considered a head of the family and no decision can be made without his approval, such that even young boys are considered superior to girls and given ultimate respect (Bowleg, et al., 2011). Therefore a study to explore the passing from one generation to the next of cultural construction of masculinity is needed.

3.2 Research questions

- How does Zulu culture construct manhood and masculinity?
- What is manhood/masculinity in Zulu culture?
- What are the expectations of a Zulu man (From boy to man)
- When and how is a growing boy recognized as a man?
- How do these issues impact on sexual risk taking?
- What are the implications of the construction of masculinity for sexual behaviour and sexual risk taking?
- Are there pressures to have sex if you are a Zulu man?

- What discourses do Zulu men position themselves in and how does such positioning influence safe sex practices?

CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY

4.1 Research design

This study used a qualitative research design to discover the construction of masculinity in the Zulu culture. This research design provides an in-depth exploration of the insights and understanding of people (Babbie & Mouton, 2005). Qualitative research design provides more access to more thorough and richer versions of the phenomena being examined (Babbie & Mouton, 2005). Furthermore, it allows the researcher to collect the 'talk' of participants and this can permit an analysis of the discourses Zulu men are actually drawing on (Terre Blanche, Durrheim & Painter, 2006). A qualitative research design does this by describing and understanding the actions of research participants with orientation to where they are coming from, their beliefs, and their history (Babbie and Mouton, 2005). According to Naidoo (2008) even though surveys are as significant but a large amount of information is lost compared to a qualitative approach where a participants are allowed to discuss. The qualitative approach was useful for this study because participants were able to describe and interpret their feelings and experiences in their context (Terre Blanche et al., 2006). Qualitative design is thus suited to exploring how Zulu men construct masculinity and how this lead to sexual risks.

In order to understand the judgements and feelings of participants a social constructionist approach is used (Terre Blanche et al., 2006). Meanings of the phenomena of the social world are created by social interactions (Andrews, 2012). Therefore, social reality is a creation of groups or people interaction (Andrews, 2012). People develop their reality and make sense of the world they live in relation to the language they use (Burr, 2005). This approach is thus essential to emphasize how practices are created by individuals (Burr, 2005).

4.2. Sample

4.2.1 Sampling method

Purposive and snowballing samplings are used in this study. Durrheim and Painter (2006) argue that purposive sample permits the selection of participants that possess similar characteristics. It does not only allow for willingness but provides cases that are typical in a population (Durrheim & Painter, 2006 and Tongco, 2007). These sampling techniques enable the researcher to identify and access the kind of participants that are needed in order to

answer the research questions for this study (Terre Blanche et al., 2006). These techniques are best suited for this study because it required a sample of black men who are chiefs, live in rural areas and who were keen to talk about their experiences as men (Kerlinger, 1986).

Snowball sampling is a method used in qualitative research which yields study participants through a chain of referrals among individuals sharing similar characteristics, or people who know possible participants (Biernacki & Waldorf, 1981). This technique is suitable if research necessitates certain knowledge that is of interest to the study, or focuses on sensitive issues (Biernacki & Waldorf, 1981). According to Johnson (2005), this sampling method is used to identify potential participants in research studies where participants are hard to find. Key informants could be used to access hidden populations (Johnson, 2005), and existing participants can thus recruit more participants among their contacts (Biernacki & Waldorf, 1981).

4.2.2 Population

Chiefs were selected for the purpose of this research study. Black men (Chiefs) from three different rural villages were selected to participate in this study. These particular participants were selected because they have access to knowledge about Zulu culture and how masculinity is constructed in the Zulu culture. Kings, Chiefs, and traditional leaders are the best people to enquire about the culture of the society they live in. In this study Chiefs were chosen because they are more accessible than the other two. The criteria for the selection of participants for the study were Black Zulu chiefs and residing in rural areas.

Participants were recruited from three different rural locations in the province of KwaZulu-Natal. The study wanted to explore if manhood is constructed the same in rural areas within the same Zulu culture. People from rural areas may be perceived as having sufficient knowledge about dangers of unsafe sex, this study seeks to find out if the construction of masculinity leads to unsafe sex risks as well.

4.2.3 Setting

In order to participate, participants had to belong to the populations listed below. Table 1 shows participants from three different locations. The study aimed at three participants per rural village. These rural areas are namely Impendle, Elandskop, and Umkhambathini. The

basis of selecting these three villages is because firstly they are in Pietermaritzburg and the researcher had informants from these particular villages. They were also chosen because chiefs from other villages were not interested in a study.

At rural area 3, three participants availed themselves to be interviewed, at rural area 1 and 2, two participants were interviewed per each area. The study aimed at 9 participants but ended up with 7 participants that made themselves available to be interviewed.

Table 1: Participants' biographic information

Name	Age	First language	Residential area	Marital Status
Chief 1	69	IsiZulu	Rural area 1	Married
Chief 2	71	IsiZulu	Rural area 1	Married
Chief 3	57	IsiZulu	Rural area 2	Married
Chief 4	59	IsiZulu	Rural area 2	Married
Chief 5	65	IsiZulu	Rural area 3	Married
Chief 6	61	IsiZulu	Rural area 3	Married
Chief 7	55	IsiZulu	Rural area 3	Married

4.2.4 Recruitment process

In order recruit participants, an email was sent to the Cooperative Governance Traditional Affairs Department (COGTA) to conduct interviews with chiefs (See Appendix 1 & 2). The department sent a database of chiefs in the Pietermaritzburg region and chiefs from these areas were contacted via telephone and asked if they were interested to participate in the study (see Appendix 13).

Key informants from different rural areas were also asked to locate participants. The purposes of the study and what the study was about were explained to the key informants who recruited from chiefs' homes. A snowballing technique was used when collecting data. Chiefs interviewed were asked if they know any nearby chief that can be part of the research study.

This is because snowballing sampling method is best to recruit sample through community contacts and acquaintances (Terre Blanche et al., 2006).

The following questions were asked to participants when they were contacted via telephone and key informant personal contact to see if they fitted the study criteria:

- Would you like to be interviewed about Zulu culture?
- Are you a chief?
- Would you like to share your knowledge and personal experience about manhood?
- Are you comfortable talking explicitly about sex?

4.3 Data Collection

In this study, data was collected through semi-structures interviews. Data was collected from seven chiefs from three rural areas at the Pietermaritzburg region. These rural areas are Impendle, Elandskop, and Umkhambathini. In order to drive discussion and not restrict it, semi-structured interview schedule were used in the individual interviews (Terre Blanche et al., 2006). Questions asked in the individual interviews entailed on participants' knowledge and personal experience. The interview questions at Impendle, Elandskop, and Umkhambathini were all in *IsiZulu* language (See Appendix 3 & 4). Data was collected in *IsiZulu* language, transcribed by the researcher and translated to English language by another *IsiZulu* speaker. I then did back translation to check accuracy (Kelly, 2008). Translation was needed for all transcripts because all participants were comfortable speaking in their mother tongue, being *IsiZulu*

4.3.1 Individual interview

According to Babbie and Mouton (2005) interviews are best for obtaining in-depth information about the topic. The reason for using individual interviews in this study was because the researcher wanted to explore more personal and in-depth information about the topic that some participants might not be able to talk about in a focus group (Babbie & Mouton, 2005). There were seven interviews: all participants were males. All individual interviews lasted approximately for about 30 minutes to 45 minutes each. Sessions were held

at participants' households where discretion was sustained. Questions used were focused at getting personal knowledge of participants and their experiences. Topics covered include: what is a man, the importance of manhood in the Zulu culture, the importance of sex, risks involved in proving manhood, gender inequality, and negotiation of rights.

4.4 Instruments

Two audio recorders were used in the individual interviews to capture data accurately. This was done in order to maintain high quality of information recorded. During the individual interviews, field notes were also recorded by the researcher. This was to ensure that no important information get lost after the interviews.

4.5 Procedure

4.5.1 Ethical considerations

In order to determine whether the research is ethical, there are four philosophical principles that are applied, and are namely: autonomy and respect, non-maleficence, beneficence, and justice (Wassenaar, 2006). All these mentioned principles should be put in practice through addressing questions that bring social value, ongoing respect for participants, favourable risk/benefit ratio, informed consent, rational selection of participants, independent ethical review (Wassenaar, 2006).

4.5.1.1 Informed consent

Participants were told clearly about the project and what it entailed in advance, and information sheets about the study were given to participants before the start of every individual interview with contact details of the study supervisor and contact details of the UKZN Research office if participants had questions or complaints (See Appendix 5 & 6). Participants were also given consent forms to sign to confirm that they had agreed to be part of the study and that they were participating voluntarily (See Appendix 7 & 8). They also gave

informed consent for the discussions to be recorded and retained on tape for use in future studies (See Appendix 9 & 10). Finally, they were informed that the study could be published or presented at any conference, and their pseudonyms would be used to preserve anonymity (Emanuel et al., 2004).

4.5.1.2 Storage and dissemination

Data collected was stored at the locked cabinet of the study supervisor at the UKZN Discipline of Psychology, Pietermaritzburg. All documents with the identity of participants will be destroyed and reports will only contain participants' pseudonyms. The findings of the study may be presented at conferences and the thesis will be kept at the UKZN library.

4.5.1.3 Cost/benefit

Participants may benefit indirectly in this study. After the results are presented to Chiefs in their communities, this may facilitate new campaigns on how men need to carry themselves to protect their families. This involves Men's Forum, Brothers for Life campaigns where they focus on how men can carry their households and their communities at large through the involvement of Health Department which will be contacted.

4.5.1.4 Maleficence

The study carried a potential risk because participants were expected to talk about sexual activity which could embarrass some participants. Purposive sampling was used in this study accordingly to manage such risk. Participants knew exactly what the study is about beforehand and what it required from them as explained in the telephonic conversation and key informants. To be more specific, participants were told that the study was about Zulu manhood and how they perceive sex as part of masculinity. Individual interviews were conducted by a researcher (male) in order to minimise risk of embarrassment to the other sex, if interview was conducted by a female. Participants volunteered to be in the study and were allowed to leave the study at any point of the individual interview. Confidentiality was assured to participants by allocating pseudonyms to each participants so that their real identity could not be in the recordings (E.g. Chief 1-Mkhambathini).

4.6 Data analysis

Data in this research study was analysed using discourse analysis. This method enabled the researcher to identify discourses employed for the construction of masculinity and masculine identity. Terre Blanche et al. (2006) argue that discourse analysis finds a pattern of 'talk' that is extracted in particular conversations with reference to the meanings, contexts and intentions contained in the material communicated by the participants. Therefore, one would say that text may be used to refer to written and spoken language. Discourse analysis was used in the study because discourses are regarded as the way in which people or individuals make sense of their social reality (Terre Blanche et al., 2006). In order to make sense of the position which participants took in relation to issue of the construction of masculinity, Hollway (1987) and Willig's (1995) discursive framework was used in combination discourse analysis. (Terre Blanche et al., 2006p. 328) define this as a way of "showing how certain discourses are deployed to achieve particular effects in specific contexts".

4.7 Reliability, validity and Transferability

In qualitative research, understanding the aim of the study provides an understanding of the meaning which one or two people attribute to a certain event (Babbie & Mouton, 2005). In order for the study to be transferred to another population apart from one that is in question, it must be valid and reliable and this will increase the level of objectivity in the study (Babbie & Mouton, 2005).

In ensuring validity and reliability in this study, different techniques used in qualitative research were adopted. These include triangulation, writing extensive field notes, and transferability. This was done to ensure credibility of the study.

Firstly, data was collected at participants' residences in order to maintain credibility and not to take them out of their natural environment. This is because qualitative research focuses on lived experiences of people and data is also dependent on knowledge of their context (Babbie & Mouton, 2005). In order for the study data to be reliable, participants were interviewed in their natural environment.

Transferability refers to a degree at which results are transferred from one population to another (Babbie & Mouton, 2005). Results that were found from three populations (Rural area 1, 2, and 3) are credible to be transferred to other similar areas. Results are credible because all the necessary techniques mentioned above were appropriately used with careful consideration to ensure validity and reliability.

4.8 Anticipated problems

There were major hindrances that needed attention in this study. Locating participants was the major problem in this study as chiefs were not willing to participate or took long to deciding whether to participate or not

The study aimed at having nine participants but ended up with seven participants and no one wanted to participate after that. When I went to interview one of the participants at one of the rural areas, I arrived to his household and he was drunk, I had to reschedule for another day which also delayed the process.

CHAPTER 5: FINDINGS

5.1 Introduction

In this section, results of the analysis of data will be presented. I will firstly present the findings of the study in this chapter. In the following chapter (chapter 6) I will discuss the presented results in relation to the literature reviewed in this study. The focus of the findings section is what was found whereas the discussion looks at “why”, “how”, and looks at the language used by chiefs on the issue.

5.2 Assessment of questions posed

The whole aim of the study is to explore the men’s construction of masculinity and the implications for sexual risk behaviours. Chiefs are the most knowledgeable and foster the traditions of the Zulu nation. Additionally, knowledge about risks involved in unprotected sex is passed to chiefs and those around them in rural areas for them to make means of teaching villages. As masculinity is mostly involved in different dynamics in the Zulu culture, factors affecting construction of manhood needs to be explored.

5.3 What was found?

I will present and discuss the findings of this study by quoting extracts from the data. The data has been coded and participants have been referred to by their pseudonyms. Since data was collected from three rural areas, abbreviations will be used in extracts to indicate which rural village the participant is from (see appendix 11). In the extracts, there are symbols which indicate my own interpretation of the way participants were talking (see appendix 12)

5.3.1 Respect in Zulu culture

According to Buthelezi (2008), Zulu people are known for their ancestral beliefs and traditions, they pass that knowledge from one generation to another. They believe that in order to have a harmonious life, one needs to pay respect to the living and the dead, especially the elders (Buthelezi, 2008; Hadebe, 2010).

Chief 2: *to be called a zulu (.) we are Zulus w- we are black and we are Zulus (.) it is the same as someone to be called sotho which means they are sothos (..) it was created (.) created by god and ancestors our great grandfathers ya (.) we are Zulus we are Zulus*

Chief 6: *=that is why it is important in my own knowledge and you now know eh when you have children you are able to explain their origin*

All participants in this study mentioned respect as the utmost important vector of being recognized as a Zulu individual. It was very interesting to see that when participants were asked about what makes a Zulu person, all pointed towards respect. Participants acknowledged that in order to be respected as a man or anyone, respect must be reciprocal. Zulu people are respected by other nations by their ability to give respect and ensuring that traditions are followed and treasured, said participants.

Chief 1: *=a person becomes a real zulu when they do or follow zulu traditions*

Chief 2: *zulu culture is respect*

Most participants outlined that in the Zulu culture, men are given so much respect because of their power the culture gives them. Therefore, in order for men to be respected, they must show respect in order to receive such respect in return. A man receives respect by having a household, wife and children. The ability to provide for his family also grants him more respect in the society, said participants.

Chief 4: *oh from a man oh what is expected from the man is respect*

Chief 5: *that he must respect on top of that he must be able to take care of his household mmmm raise his children with truth, take care of his household and do things that will carry the nation*

When asked to compare level of respect from when they were growing up and currently, interestingly, all participants mentioned that respect does not exist anymore. Chiefs put a blame on the human rights passed by the government for young men and women growing up. They mentioned that when they were growing up, they learned respect in a Zulu way and their parents had a way of teaching them respect. Punishment had a major impact on learning respect and behaviour. Participants mentioned that currently, there is no respect and all young males and females are doing as they please. Respectable men cannot be moulded by human rights but only culture can, said participants.

Chief 3: *it's very rare (..) with the young stars (..) our children do not have respect*

=it's not the same you try to tell the person and he also tells you his knowledge (.) and what you are telling him does not go to his brain because there is already knowledge that you don't know where he is getting it

Chief 4: *((very softly)) No, it's not the same my child (.) respect of the olden and respect today is not the same*

5.3.1.1 Men, Sexuality, and Masculinity

In the Zulu culture, there is a huge distinction between a man and a boy. This distinction does not only embed to a person's age but a position a male person holds in the society.

Chief 2: a man like me I'm a man I have a house

In a Zulu culture, chiefs outlined that a man is someone that already has a wife or wives. No matter how old the person maybe but if they do not have a wife they are considered to be boys. The level of respect given to someone that is married is higher than a person that is not married. A male does not have to reach a certain age in order to be called a man but as soon as he gets married he will be referred to as a man. If an older person is not married, he is expected to bow down to a younger male because they are considered different. An unmarried older person is considered a boy while a married younger male is considered a man.

Chief 2: a married person is the man of the house (.) it is not a boy (.) you are a boy because you are not married a young man in other words

Chief 4: his image, he knows that someday a man needs to take a wife and have children and in that way you are respected. The problem is that a man needs to have children and you are not a man if you do not have a wife

Chief 6: he doesn't know about children, he doesn't know about children on how to raise a child and what you learn from a child because there are signs you learn from a child from things he used to do

Signs of being a man are dependent on having a wife and children in order not to be considered less of a man. Participants mentioned that no one in a community will respect a man that does not have a wife because he is considered as someone who is mentally unstable and does not reason well to be a grown up and have no family. Therefore, the image of a Zulu man is dependent on having a family. They mentioned that even when he raises his views in community meetings, his point will not be considered because he is not seen as a man who can raise something sensible. Even when or not the discussion is about families, his views are seen as weak because no one takes seriously a man that is unmarried, said participants.

Chief 5: yes he is a boy, a man is a man when he has a wife and a house (.) when you do not have a wife you will always be a boy (.) you will always serve other men in a ceremony because you never married, so you cannot be a man

Chief 3: you find that Ntuli that he would not receive as much respect because he does not have a wife saying how can you respect someone that does not have a wife. Saying if he is man why would he stay and not get a wife. We would not pay attention to this

However, one participant acknowledged that this is an unfair practice because respect in Zulu culture is not dependent on who you are. He mentioned that a man has always been considered to be someone with wife and children and is not taken seriously in the community, which is wrong and does not mean that someone who does not have a wife cannot raise a sensible idea.

Chief 7: (.) let's say it's not a discussion about women because many issues arise (.) there is a view that you can get from that person that is not married but we have that and say I will not hear noting from an unmarried man

Chief 7: it is wrong listen to his view and take it from there

It was very interesting to see that all participants raised an issue of homosexuality. According to Bowleg et al. (2011) there is an idea among Black men, including Zulu people that that Black men should remain heterosexual. Men who show features of being gay or bisexual would be outcasts and referred to as weaknesses in Black societies (Bowleg et al., 2011). All participants raised a concern about the rise of homosexuality when they were asked about manhood. All participants said homosexuality is nowhere related to the Zulu culture. Participants also mentioned that a gay man is not a real man and also not a woman but something that is referred to as abomination to the Zulu culture. Such men are said to be failing to fulfil social expectations of what a man is in the Zulu culture, said participants.

Chief 1: (.....) ey it's just that I don't know where this word gay means but I this that a gay person cannot be a female or a man but something in the middle

Chief 2: that is not is the zulu culture my child a- a- it is not in zulu (..) IT'S HORRIBLE (.) IT'S A HORROBLE ACTION in the zulu culture because you have heard of gay people so these are gay people

Chief 3: ayy I will not say for real because I often ask myself that for real what is the cause of gay people what happens inside him that he changes to be a woman from being a man because it happens but I have never seen it

Interestingly enough, the majority of participants mentioned that it would have to be something wrong with their child if they would report to be gay. All participants showed disappointment about homosexual men because they are associated with *bitches*, which is a weakness. Most participants mentioned that a man is supposed to have a wife and children, then a gay man cannot have all that because he will be in love with another man. This means he will not be respected as a man.

Chief 6: *when you follow it correctly you will see that this was there was such in the olden days but there were practices that were done (.) on that person maybe it would be u-u-u-performing ceremony (.) maybe he would be given types of traditional medicines that will stop feelings that are not of a man*

Chief 5: *we can say it is accompanying bitchiness*

Chief 7: *yes (...) ay no man ay I am complaining that is not a man because he is not doing what men do, no I am not encouraging that*

5.3.2 Isoka versus isishimane

Participants in this study mentioned that in Zulu culture, when a young man has many girlfriends he is thus referred to *isoka* and when you do not, you are called *isishimane*. Each and every young men inspired to become *isoka* because when they were growing up it was very much celebrated being a player that being known for being *isishimane*. Everybody wanted to prove that he is a strongest among his peers by having more and more girlfriends. Participants mentioned that this was more of a game than anything else. *Isishimane*, on the other hand, was not celebrated.

Chief 1: *=because he was called a best isoka because he was needed to be very sharp in females but for females*

Chief 3: *isoka indeed that particular guy is an isoka and he has girlfriends everywhere*

Chief 5: *yes they wanted to be amasoka e-e- that was they nice term (.) if you are a young man that is a very nice term to be called isoka*

Literature state that historically, traditional rights of a young man in the Zulu culture involve ability to have multiple partners that he will be able to choose a wife from (Bhana et al., 2009). Many researchers confirm that in the Zulu culture, a young man with many girlfriends is referred to *isoka*. According to Bhana (2009 & 2010); and Hadebe (2010) a male child reaching maturity should possess the ability to control women and should be known in an area to be

isoka to make parents and family proud. For effective *isoka* masculinity, a young man should thus be an effective *isoka* and show signs of manhood as expected by the society (Hadebe, 2010).

Chief 3: isoka indeed that particular guy is a soka and he has girlfriends everywhere

Participants were asked about what they would think if their sons are either *isoka* or *isishimane*. Majority of participants acknowledge that they won't feel good if they hear that their sons are not players. They mentioned that they will thus enquire from their sons reasons for not having girlfriends because they feel like every young men growing up should have an experience while young on how to handle women for when he is married. Others felt that they would be happy but will not make it known to the society that they are happy about it.

Chief 6: eh if my boy does not have a girlfriend it will call that as a parent ng-ng-ng- to sit down and talk to him to see if I have to do something for him things that would help him.

Chief 7: no I won't be happy about it I would be sad, I would have to come closer to him when a child matures, he is given someone older to come closer to him

Furthermore, becoming *isoka* is important to these fathers because it gives young men high status among their peers.

5.3.2.1 Fall of *isoka* and rise of *isishimane*

All participants mentioned that a matured male who does not have a girlfriend was and still labelled as *isishimane* in the Zulu culture. Each and every young man run away from becoming *isishimane* because it is associated with something unpleasant and no one respects *isishimane*. In order to not be *isishimane* a young man need to ensure that he secure as many girlfriends as possible to become *isoka*. A parent would not be pleased to find out that their son does not have a girlfriend and is referred to *isishimane*, said participants.

Chief 5: he is called isishimane which is an unpleasant name

Chief 7: aw aw aw aw aw if you never had girlfriends you were called isishimane, disappointing to me as his father

However, despite the supremacy of *isoka* in the Zulu culture, participants feel like *isoka* masculinity is no longer necessary because of HIV and other sexually transmitted diseases (Hadebe, 2010). Participants mentioned that even though they won't be happy that their son

do not have girlfriends but at the same time they won't be happy to hear their sons referred to *isoka*. Participants said it's the way they were groomed as boys that they want to see what they were taught to their boys but things have changed now.

Chief 4: in the beginning we had amasoka but now we do not accept that you are still amasoka now, you are now men of these girls

Having multiple partners' today means they engage in penetrative sexual intercourse whereas in the olden day to be *isoka* meant that you will not deflower a girl and now they do. *Amasoka* valued that their girlfriends were virgins because they could boast about that. Participants mentioned that engaging in unsafe sex before marriage gave *isoka* a bad name and other girls never wanted that young men near them because he deflowers virgins. So they prefer that their sons do not become *isoka* because they will expose themselves to sexually transmitted diseases.

Chief 4: but it is not the one they will never get it, they aren't it as you say but they will never get it because isoka supposed to have virgins that love him, and when he does not love her anymore they split up and split up with no bad blood and especially it was virgins that will leave a young man and love someone else they will split up with no bad blood but he has no knowledge of her but they were in love

5.3.3 Importance of sex

All participants in the study viewed sex as the most importance practice for men because it is natural. They mentioned that sexual activity is a way of life and every man should be sexually active when they reach maturity stage. For them, the importance of sex stems from building a household and in order to have strong households, they must have children. They mentioned that even though there can be no noticeable difference in physical appearances between a man that is having sex and a man that is not, nevertheless the power of a man in sexual activity should be known. One participant said this is because if a woman is not receiving enough sex from her partner, she will then go out to look for satisfaction elsewhere. So as black men, these participants believe that sex should be something they enjoy and build their families on. According to (Bowleg et al., 2011) sex is a black thing and men should be able to do it and it is a sign of manhood and ability to build a family/household.

Chief 4: *(.....) yes it is important because sex is nature*

Chief 2: *it's important it's important for a man to have sex wi- with his partner ehh it's very important it's very important for a man to have sex without raping*

Chief 5: *ay we say it has to be a man mhmm a woman must not do it more than you because if she does that means she will go and find someone else*

Most participants mentioned that men need to have sex because there is a certain desire that needs to be satisfied. They said that women do not have such desire but men are ruled by it. Hollway's (1984) sex drive discourse asserts that men must have sex and it is the internal drive that men must engage in sexual activity. Such inherent belief has given men from generation to generation that men are born to want sex. Participants in this study did not differ in term of sex as they view sex as something that is for men and men should have women to satisfy their needs.

Chief 1: *(.....) ehhh I would say yes it is important because in a male person that is that drive that says he must engage, no one tell him to but it comes from the inside.*

Chief 6: *there is no man that does not have desires (..) If I can say there is one who does not desire there would be a problem we don't stop desiring (.) we see a woman walking and you look at her bums and you say eyyyyyy*

In order to ensure that they were sexually satisfied, participants mentioned that their wives would allowed them to have girlfriends outside marriage in order to have more partners to satisfy their desired on. It was interesting to see from the interviews that men see themselves as having internal sexual desires that women do not have.

Chief 4: *yes she does not have those particular desires the man have*

Chief 3: *hhaaay aww in the olden days the world was- yes because you will have a wife and you were allowed to have girlfriend and you will make that agreement with your wife*

5.3.3.1 Sex as a practice

Even though participants placed a huge importance in having sex as a man, they also mentioned how they ensured that their girlfriends never fell pregnant or contracted sexually transmitted diseases when they were growing up. All participants in this research study mentioned that as young men, they did not engage in penetrative sex with their girlfriends but rather thigh sex (*ukusoma*). Participants mentioned that reasons for not penetrating was because they took pride that their girlfriends are virgins, and no virgin wanted to love a man that have deflowered a particular girl.

Chief 1: *when you go to your special place to have sex there were things that you were very aware that they happen eh there was eh the girl would not open her virgin for you*

Chief 3: *thigh sex was done yes thigh sex*

Chief 7: *eh there are stages but you can't- let me make an example with a girl if you are a virgin (.) you will visit your girlfriend but you won't go there ((POINTING AT WHERE THE VAGINA IS LOCATED IN A GIRL))*

Men mentioned to have pride in practicing thigh sex because this allow them to have thigh sex with as many girls as possible. If they were going to a traditional ceremony they will wear their engagement necklaces made by their girlfriends. They mentioned also to have pride in paying a full lobola for a virgin because this is someone that has never been penetrated by another man.

Chief 2: *it is different (.) firstly we never touched (.) we never touched (..) also as young men u-u-u- we loved to wear our traditional necklaces made by our virgin girlfriends because if she is no longer a virgin you are not allowed to wear traditional necklaces of that girl.*

Chief 6: *the girl is protecting that cow her mother must get hehe that cow from you (..) today it is not a shame.*

5.3.3.2 from thigh sex to penetrative sex

Participants mentioned that the way in which young Zulu men are treating sex today is different from them. While they practised thigh sex, young men today engage in penetrative sexual intercourse. Chiefs said that this shift has become normal to people who have lost pride in themselves and the Zulu culture. From practicing thigh sex, participants mentioned that they remained effective *amasoka* and they were celebrated for that and virgins were

celebrated from remaining virgins. All participants in this study mentioned that players (*amasoka*) do not exist in today's generation because their accomplishments are at engaging in penetrative sex rather than ensuring that their girlfriends remained virgins.

Chief 2: *=with our girlfriends we did thigh sex and you will marry a girl without sleeping with her and pay a lobola my child (..) respect that is respect I am talking about*

=you respect your girlfriend even her father

Chief 3: *yes it comes from there to now but as the older generation we will say you have gone wrong if you deflower a virgin, you do not have girlfriends that you make love as you do with your wives.*

Chief 7: *a virgin is a virgin that is full and have never slept with a man*

Chiefs also pointed out that such shift from thigh sex to be the reason for teenage pregnancy and children before marriage. These participants mentioned that in the Zulu culture, it was a shame to have a child before marriage because that showed that a person is having sex and is no longer a virgin. Children are important for a man but only if he is married. They said this is a shame to the Zulu nation.

Chief 2: *rights have impact o-o-o-o- that is not good now because they are doing whatever they like and they get grants for free and they don't even support those children and we support can you see that*

Chief 3: *the girls they are growing up with are not concerned about being virgins and are not in the level of virgins but they are just girls*

5.3.4 Risks involved: Multiple sexual partners

When asked about whether the cultural practice of *isoka* masculinity could be responsible for sexually transmitted diseases, all participants acknowledged the beauty and impact of being called *isoka* to Zulu young men. According to Bowleg et al. (2011) having multiple sexual partners is a Black and Zulu thing and that is why polygamy is still practiced. A man needs more than one woman to satisfy his needs because a man has internal sexual desires that need satisfaction all the time (Hollway, 1984).

It was interesting to see that all seven participants praised becoming *isoka* but did not want young men growing up today to become ones. Young men who inspire to become players (*amasoka*) just like their fathers were praised but it is dangerous today, said participants. When asked if the discourse '*isoka*' is the reason why many young men engage in sexual

activity, all participants acknowledged that young Zulu men want to be called *amasoka* but caution that social conditions do not allow them. Participants mentioned that young men growing today know about the beauty of *isoka* in their Zulu culture and they inspire to be one. Even though they were once players (*amasoka*) the participants blame the practice because today most young men engage in penetrative sexual intercourse and are exposed to STD's.

Chief 4: *in the beginning we had amasoka but now we do not accept that you are still amasoka now, you are now men of these girls*

Chief 5: *mmm today it is not important because e-e-e-e- boys are not behaving well it is not important eh that you must have many girlfriends because they are not behaving well (.) they impregnate girls yes if you are behaving that means you are not impregnating that girl*

Chief 7: *yes I agree but o-o-o- hear me when I say there are diseases i-i-i- where it has led e-e-e- to the government to avail protection and the youth today do not do it to find that they like*

From the interviews, it is clear that participants feel that young men today do not have a potential to be the men they aspire to be and that their behaviour put them at risk of contracting HIV and other sexually transmitted diseases. The chiefs mentioned that having multiple partners in the Zulu culture was not meant to perpetuate sexually transmitted diseases but to keep the spirit of building 'real men' who possess abilities to control his household. Participants said in the olden days a young man would not keep his love life secret and even girlfriends knew one another because it was cultural. Young men today keep their girlfriends a secret because they know they are not supposed to have penetrative sexual intercourse.

Chief 7: *because it is the contraction of this disease ak- ak- no one opened here- it will be worse because contracting this disease because they should be taking care of themselves now*

Chief 5: *you will never be called isoka when you not engaged because that is a secret relationship we will never call you isoka when we do not know your girlfriend. We call you isoka when we know your girlfriends, there is your girlfriend, and we know your girlfriend that's why we call you isoka*

5.3.4.1 Blame for high HIV infections

From the 'talks' of participants, it was really interesting to see that more blame is placed on females for not being able to take care of themselves. Participants mentioned that Zulu *isoka* does not exist currently but more infections are caused by irresponsible behaviours

perpetuated by females. The fact that majority of Zulu females do not value being virgins put young men who they are having sexual intercourse with in danger, said participants. In the Zulu culture, participants mentioned that young women would not drink alcohol or have multiple partners but only a man can. Chiefs stressed that that currently has changed since young Black women are now drinking and securing multiple sexual partners. The idea that they are not virgins makes them carriers of sexually transmitted infections because they are attracted by material things to different males, said participants.

Chief 3: no you will meet her at the tavern or at a bar and buy her 2 quarts of beer and she will leave with you. And you will come tomorrow and she will leave with so and so and she drinks, and leave with so and so she slept with you the previous night but does not pay any attention she does not pay any attention to you but only the one who has money and drink from. They that's why I call them lose and responsible for spreading the disease

Chief 2: it's wrong for a female, it must not happen that she has two boyfriends she is a bitch when she does that (.) she is a bitch when she is like that

Participants outlined that they will not be happy if their sons do not have girlfriends or are not players but at the same time participants put the blame on females for spreading HIV and other sexually transmitted diseases. This confirms what Hadebe (2010) says when he asserts that in Zulu culture, men are viewed to be superior and righteous and women need to follow their decisions.

Chief 2: MANHOOD hahahaha what you saying its MANHOOD MANHOOD YES (.) a man my child has unimaginable power he has power that you can never imagine

5.5 Summary of findings

In terms of construction of masculinity, most of the chiefs felt that as much as they were raised on having multiple sexual partners, that has changed and such idolisation of *isoka* masculinity is responsible for risks. Manhood is thus constructed in a way that all Zulu men expose themselves to risks when using the idea of 'real man' as constructed by Zulu culture.

All participants praised the way they were brought up to be the men they are today. The respect they are given today is because of the way they grew up. Men are praised, given respect in the society and are considered superior to female gender (Bhana, 2010). Bhana (2010) asserts that supremacy of male gender is closely linked to identity and who they are.

Participants in this research study thus were raised in a way that celebrate *isoka* masculinity, polygamy, and view women as inferior. Young men growing up today idolise *isoka* masculinity, but expose themselves to sexual risks as they engage in penetrative sexual intercourse. According to Hadebe (2010) in Zulu culture, young men and women were only allowed to engage in thig sex to preserve virginity. Today, they engage in multiple sexual intercourse and put themselves and their partners at risk of contracting HIV and other sexually transmitted diseases with an eagerness to be called *isoka* and be praised. This can be confirmed with a study by Sathiparsad et al. (2010) which revealed that young men want to have as many partners to prove their supremacy and ability to control women.

CHAPTER 6: DISCUSSION

6.1 Introduction

In order to conceptualize some of the influencing factors of the construction of masculinity and risks involved, Hollway's (1984) and Willig's (1995) discursive frameworks will be used in this discussion section. More significantly "sex drive" and "have hold", and "marital discourses" will be helpful in understanding how men locate themselves within sexual powers, identity and risk behaviours, and how they construct manhood in relation to sexual intercourse. This discussion section is focused at how cultural practices perpetuate sexual risks.

6.2 What makes real Zulu man?

According to the social constructionism, people are the authors and actors of the realities they construct (Andrews, 2012). Andrews (2012) states that this is based on the relationship a person has with the social realities. Bhana (2010) states that a man is constructed differently from one society to another. Each society has expectations it has from someone referred to as man (Bhana, 2010). For instance, psychological attitudes and emotional state of the person are involved in bringing in the final product of the person the society expects him to be. Furthermore, masculinity will develop when they imitate the 'boy stuff' given by society and when they realise that it is unnatural to be feminine (Carton & Morrell, 2012).

All men in the study felt that a man is someone who possesses different characteristics which give him a right to be called a 'real Zulu man'. A 'real Zulu man' should have a family consisting of a house, wife, children, and be able to support all members of the family. It was interesting to see that age does not promote status in the Zulu culture in order to be referred to as a man. It does not matter how old one is but if he is unmarried, that person would be referred to as a boy (*umfana*). This is confirmed by Hadebe (2010) that in order to become a man of the house (*umnumzane*) within the contemporary Zulu culture, a homestead (*umuzi*) with many cattle, more than one wife, and children, qualifies a male person to be considered a 'real Zulu man'. As time changes, cattle are no longer considered important to be a man but wife, house, and children still remain as a major requirement.

Participants argued that a man who does not have a wife, children, and a house is not ranked the same way as the man that has all three. For instance, when in a community meeting, the views of a man who possesses such characteristics will be taken more seriously than a man who has nothing. Zulu culture believes that a man should have something to show, otherwise he will be referred to as a boy. This can be confirmed by Bhana (2010) when stating that “real men” are defined by certain stereotypic characteristics that are set to by the society. Respect is dependent on possessions that Zulu culture considers important. A man who has nothing is considered less of a man and no respect is given compared to a man who has a family.

It is interesting that Willig’s (1995) Marital discourse states that obtaining multiple partners heightens men’s status. Proven ability to reproduce adds to building their identity. However, in this study, although participants viewed having multiple partners as a good thing in the olden days, it is currently perceived as risky, including contracting sexually transmitted diseases. *Isoka* was praised in the olden days and participants would love their sons to be players but are also worried about STD’s. The fall of *isoka* is sorely impacted by sexually infectious diseases which were not much of the consideration in the olden days.

Participants argued that competition to become a player (*isoka*) was glued to proving among peers the number of girls a single person can conquer. *Isoka* was celebrated and respected among peers because of the ability to control girls. Lack of multiple partners is associated with being weak and referred to as *isishimane*.

But *isoka* masculinity has taken a turn since *isoka* is now celebrated through sexual abilities compared to the olden days.

6.3 Sex, practice, and gender

According to Hollway’s (1984) sex is regarded as a male thing and is for the satisfaction of men. Male sex drive ensures that men have high internal sex drive that cannot be controlled except through sexual satisfaction. The way women and men see sex differs as women view sex as involving love and romance, while men view sex as more of a physical release (Hollway, 1984). The importance of sex for men also involves satisfying their desires and also reproduction. (Holland et al., 1991). Therefore, such practice allows men to make decisions concerning sexual activity, including penetration and use/non-condom use (Holland et al., 1991).

The majority of participants argued that sex is something that is for both men and women but the person that needs sex the most is a man. In other words, a man should be the one to want sex. Most participants spoke about men being more knowledgeable about sex than women are. As young men, participants stated that they practiced thigh sex (*ukusoma*) to give themselves experience of how penetrative sex would be done. A man would have multiple partners to engage in thigh sex with while women were allowed to have one partner. Currently, men thus feel threatened as women feel a need to have more than one sexual partner.

The issue of sex practice was most recurrent in the participants' 'talk' where right of sex was given to men. This properly fits into Hollway's (1984) sex drive discourse which suggests that men are seen as more sexual as and in more need of sexual gratification than women. Even though thigh sex reduced the chances of sexually transmitted diseases, men were allowed by Zulu culture to be more sexually active, with multiple sexual partners and women were only allowed one partner. This translates that men need sex more than women, as women would be viewed as 'whores' if they practiced thigh sex with more than one man. A woman engaging in thigh sex with more than one man would be seen as a shame and a 'bitch'. Sexual ability and knowledge should be controlled by a man.

6.3.1 Shift from thigh sex to penetrative sex

Among the Zulu culture, prior to marriage, non-penetrative sex was allowed but currently, there is more penetrative sexual intercourse prior to marriage among youth. Young Zulu men and women have shifted from thigh sex to penetrative sex. Interestingly, participants see the shift as a disgrace to the Zulu culture. Who to blame? Unmarried young women are to blame for penetrative sex because they allow men to penetrate them. Participants argued that women should ensure that they remain virgins and ensure thigh sex at all-times up until marriage. Such an argument may mean that men are not responsible for the disgrace to the Zulu culture as they are not responsible to the penetrative unsafe sex. This may well then say that men's sex drive is not to blame but women must take control because being penetrated is a woman's responsibility, not men's.

Such view yet favours males as passive players while females are key players in the Zulu culture's disgrace because when it is wrong women are to blame. Male supremacy as constructed by the society favours males and their sex drive viewed as biological rather than something that they be able to control (Hollway, 1984). Yet again such views suggests women to be less sexual beings who do not need sex as much as men do. Since the pregnancy evidence is only seen in women, therefore, they are to blame for penetrative sex. These are some of the examples given by the participants:

The above extracts clearly suggests that women should not allow being penetrated because it becomes a disgrace when they are pregnant. Men receive less blame while women are blamed for being penetrated, making it their fault for getting pregnant. It is interesting that most literature including Bowleg et al. (2011); Bhana (2010); Sathiparsad et al. (2010); Hollway (1984) define men as in charge of sexual activity and also view sex as a Black thing that men must have with as many women as possible. But, in this case, women are blamed for satisfying the male sex drive. Participants view satisfaction of the male sex drive as a problem when it results in pregnancy and the blame is placed on a female partner, when unmarried.

According to Hollway's (1984) "have hold" discourse women need to preserve a sense of balance between being viewed as a virgin or as sexually active in order to attract men. This becomes problematic for women because every man is looking for a single females and does not want to share with others but a man shares himself with other females. Nowadays, penetrative sex has become important in heterosexual relationships (Bowleg et al., 2011), while on the other side women who are penetrated, are seen by men as 'lose' or 'bitches'. "Have hold" discourse thus explains that women resort to unsafe sex with their partners so that they will at least keep them from leaving them. This forces risky behaviour upon them and they are unable to protect themselves because women who carry condoms are viewed as promiscuous and ready for sex at all times.

6.4 Manhood and risks

Proving manhood plays a significant role in males. Peers exert pressure to engage in sexual intercourse to prove the capability of being a man expected by the society. In this study, men

use their sex drive as uncontrollable, to justify engaging in unsafe sex. Also, cultural expectations of being a man put them in danger of sexual risks.

Fear of contracting HIV infections and other sexually transmitted diseases is exceeded by the competition to prove manhood among males (Bowleg, 2004; Bowleg et al., 2011). According to Sathiparsad et al. (2010) if men fail to convince women to have sex with them, they feel defeated and not only because they fail to convince them but also because they are seen by peers as failures as men. This happens because male identity is defined by society through sexual power and if such ability is not met or fulfilled, men are likely to lose their male identity (Sathiparsad et al., 2010). It is very difficult for men who are not engaging in sex or who have only one partner because they are seen as weak, poor, and lesser men. This is because Zulu culture sees a man with multiple partners as more manly because of his ability to control women (Buthelezi, 2008).

It was interesting to see from the results of this study how sex is understood in terms of proving manhood. Most males engage in sexual activity in order to prove to their peers that they are 'real men'. Chiefs from all rural villages acknowledged the importance of having sex as a man. Running away from being labelled as 'stupid' drives men into multiple sexual relationships. In the rural areas, identity is very important in terms of belonging with other men through sexual ability.

The issue of competition was commonly used in participants' 'talk' where condom use was not used. This fits what Bowleg et al. (2011) assert about the aim of having sex with multiple partners being about competition with peers. Competition with peers does not include fear of contracting HIV and other sexually transmitted diseases but boasting about sexual abilities and performance. Competing with peers is the only reason for having multiple sexual relationships and this becomes a huge problem because young men put themselves at risk of contracting sexual infectious diseases.

Isoka discourse exposes young Zulu men to risks of contracting HIV and other sexually infectious diseases because they only care about being celebrated as 'real Zulu men'. Hollway's (1984) "male sex" drive discourse and *isoka* discourse work hand in hand to explain how Zulu young men are driven by their traditions to expose themselves to numerous sex risks As elders of the Zulu culture condone that 'real Zulu men' should have more sex to be

recognised as *isoka*, that puts more young men in danger as they engage in unprotected penetrative sexual activity while seeking to be recognised as men by the larger society. They do not use condoms because many of players (*amasoka*) in the Zulu culture never used condoms, as condom use is viewed as weak.

6.4.1 Man must have children

According to Hadebe (2010), a homestead owned by a man becomes respectable when a man is able to have wife/wives able to bear him children. The main aim of having children is to ensure that a man's name does not die. In this study it was revealed from the participants' 'talk' that in order to be recognised as a man, one needs to have children, especially male children, that will keep his surname. The outstanding question can be 'do young Zulu men today wait until marriage?' This can be explained by the study conducted by Ntuli (2012) at Umkhambathini rural area which revealed that young unmarried men believe that their partners should bear them children in order to be viewed as 'real men' among their peers.

Sathiparsad et al. (2010) states that young men need to show their ability to control their women by impregnating them to show their manhood. This shows the importance of having children in the Zulu culture to show manhood to the society. From this study, participants' discussion made it clear that a man without children is not considered a 'real Zulu man', but a boy. Young men today do not wait until marriage but impregnate their girlfriends so that they can be referred to as men, which thus older generation cannot credit because in order to be a "real man", one must be married.

Even though from the participants' 'talk', it is clear that they do not encourage 'sleep around' because of sexual infectious diseases. But, the issue today is that young men know that manhood requires to be called *ubaba* (father) and this requires them to have children. They are longing for fatherhood in such a way that they put themselves at risk of STD's. If they impregnate, they receive respect from their peers and are called *ubaba* by their children, which according to Taylor et al. (2013) *ubaba* brings respectable status. According to Ntuli (2012), if young men use protection (condom), they are mocked by their peers and are taken for granted because they are viewed as boys who are scared of manhood.

Hollway's (1995) "have/ hold" discourse can confirm this because even women know that men need children to be 'real men' and women are scared that if they do not give them

children, they are going to leave them. Women know the risks involved in unprotected sex but they know that in the Zulu culture men need children to be respected and to be referred to as *ubaba*, thus refusing condom use or thigh sex in order to keep the relationship.

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 Conclusion

Male supremacy prioritised by all participants in this research study. What is considered to be the most important is proving manhood referred to in Zulu culture as *isoka* (player). Praises given to *isoka* discourse by the participants was seen to be involved in predisposing young men to risky sexual behaviours which thus diminish healthy sexual behaviour. Proving to be the best *isoka* in the Zulu culture seemed to be crucial in this study as participants put forward as a strong factor of manhood. *Isoka* discourse does not thus involve protection because 'real Zulu men' do not use condoms.

To answer research study questions, the following was found. A 'real Zulu' man is someone who has a family which includes wife, children and steady income. Zulu males aspire to be recognised as 'real men' for different reasons. This includes that society respects a man with children over a man who does not have children. The culture refers to males without children as boys, regardless of their age. Moreover, it was found that the construction of manhood in the Zulu culture requires young unmarried men to have multiple partners to show ability to control women and gain this skill for marriage. Participants referred to this practice as a game that males play and in the olden days would be celebrated for it. Zulu culture refers to a man with many girlfriends as *isoka* (player) and males without girlfriends are referred to as *isishimane*. Only males are allowed to have multiple partners while women who practice such are referred to as *isfebe* (bitch). However, the downfall of *isoka* practice is caused by young males currently engaging in unprotected penetrative sex with girls. Interestingly, participants revealed that they would be disappointed if their sons were not players and not engaging in sex, however, the study results reveal that they are blaming them for defeating *isoka* discourse. Furthermore, sexual intercourse with multiple partners with an aim of being a player and gaining status among peers leads young Zulu men to STI risks.

Participants in this study situated themselves in the Hollway's (1984) "male sex drive" which was useful to explain Zulu men's sexual behaviour. Males used the definition of the sex drive as an uncontrollable internal need to explain their sexual behaviour. Such societal construction of sex thus explains how participants see themselves as superiors and inclined to sexual freedom. Women know these societal norms, and they abide by them to allow men's sexual freedom. It was revealed in this study that men thus blame women as the ones spreading HIV and other sexually infectious diseases because they are viewed as responsible for controlling men not to penetrate them.

Such construction of Zulu male supremacy and practices that places male as superiors also causes them to be exposed to sexual risk behaviours. Young Zulu men know and are taught about traditional characteristics that make up 'real Zulu men' and they follow characteristics while exposing themselves to sexually transmitted diseases.

7.2 Recommendations

The research study produced data that may suggest that strategies promoting health need to take a different route, especially when focussing in rural areas. This can be implemented by addressing issues of culture in relation to sexual activities. For instance, strengthening more sex talk among young Zulu males about how a young man is supposed to treat his girlfriend. In order to remove a stigma that women are only for sexual gratification, women should be more involved in community activities, especially in activities that are historically done by males. Finally women should be empowered to have a say in sexual activity and not only has to accommodate views that favour males. Their self-esteem would be improved if they learn to take control of their participation in a sexual activity. Working mainly with men could achieve such goals because once men understand how culture is determining their behaviour, they would be able to treat women better.

7.3 Limitations

Some limitations in this research study relate to the population that was used because this population has certain beliefs about what is socially desirable to appear socially desirable. Majority of participants had positive things to say about males and were less likely to have positive answers about females. So to ensure that men maintain their superiority, they had mainly positive things to say about men. Interviewing traditional leaders imply obtaining a

traditional view of masculinity. However, all societies change and the younger and urban people in the society are usually the agents of change. Therefore future research should also include younger and urban males and females.

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Appendix 1: Letter to chiefs



To Ndabezitha

My name is Senzo Ntuli. I am postgraduate student from the Discipline of Psychology. I am conducting a study on Amakhosi's construction of masculinity and the implications for sexual risk behaviours and would like to request permission to interview you on this subject matter.

If permission is granted, I will be more than happy to interview you on residence. The interview will not be longer than 1 hour 30 minutes. I have made means to locate someone from the community to come and speak to you first before I arrive and will make appointment with you.

If you would like to discuss any further details of my project or have any questions about this request please contact me on (079 217 2975), or our supervisor, Lance Lachenicht (033 260 5588).

Thank you for your consideration,

Regards,

Senzo Ntuli,

senzojj@gmail.com

Appendix 2: incwadi eya kumakhosi



Sawubona Ndabezitha

Igama lami ngingu Senzo Ntuli. Ngingumfundi wase Nyuvesi yakwa Zulu Natali-eMgungundlovu. Ngenza izifundo zami ze-Masters kumkhakha we-Psychology. Ngenza uphando ngendlela amakhosi abubona ngayo ubudoda nanokuthi loku kuxhumene kanjani nokuziphatha kwamadoda ekuziphatheni ngokocansi, ngakho-ke bengicela imvume yakho ukuba kengixoxe nawe ngalolu daba.

Uma unganginika imvume, ngingajabula kakhulu ukuthi ngikhulumanise nawe ulapho uhlala khona. Ingxoxo yethu ngeke idlule kwi hora kuya kwimizuzu engamashumi amathathu. Ngibe sengisamake ukuthi ngithole umuntu wasendaweni ukuba akhulume nawe kuqala ngaphambi kokuba ngifike mina, lo muntu uzobe esenza isikhathi nawe.

Uma kukhona ongathanda ukuba sikuxoxe mayelana nalesi sifundo noma kwenzeka uba nemibuzo ngesicelo sami, ungangabazi ukungithinta kulenombolo (079 217 2975), noma u Supervisor wami u Lance Lachenicht (033 260 5588).

Ngiyabonga kakhulu,

Usalekahle

Senzo Ntuli,

senzojj@gmail.com

Appendix 3: Generic Questionnaire

1. Tell me about Zulu culture
 - (l) What are make up a Zulu individual)
2. According to Zulu culture, what is a man?
 - (i) What make up a man?
3. What are some of the expectations that people expect from a man?
 - (i) Are role different when compared to women?
 - (ii) Why?
4. Do men ask for help? Please explain.
 - (i) Is it easy?
 - (ii) Do men show that they are vulnerable?
5. What is manhood in Zulu culture?
 - (i) Is it possible that a man lose manhood?

Sex

6. How can you define sex in your own knowledge?
7. How important for a man to have sex?
8. Who should have more sex between genders?
 - (i) Why?
9. Is there pressure to have sex if you are a Zulu man?
10. What is the different between a man that is sexually active and a man that is not?
 - (i) What is the different between a man that have children and a man that does not have?
11. Is there competition to have multiple partners between peers in Zulu tradition?
 - (i) Why?
 - (ii) Are there positive/negative implications?
12. Do you think there are cultural norms that lead to people exposing themselves to sexual risks?
 - (i) Why?

Appendix 4 Imibuzo

1. Ake ungixoxele kabanzi ngosiko lesiZulu
 - (i) Yimi eyenza umuntu azibize ngomZulu
2. Ngosiko lwesiZulu, yini indoda?
 - (i) Yini eyenza indoda?
3. Yiziphi izinto ezilindelekile kumuntu obizwa ngendoda?
 - (i) Kungabe loku kuhlukile yini uma sibaqhathanisa nabantu besifazane?
 - (ii) Kungani?
4. Kungabe abantu besifazane nabantu besilisa bayalingana? Kungabe nasosikweni lwesiZulu kuyafana?
 - (i) Kungani?
5. Yini ubudoda kusiko lwesiZulu?
 - (i) Kungabe kungenzeka ukuthi indoda ilahlekelwe ubudoda bayo?
6. Kungabe amadoda nabantu besifazane bahlukile indlela abakhombisa ngayo uthando.

Ucansi

7. Ngolwazi lwakho, ungaluchaza uluthini ucansi?
8. Kungabe kubaluleke kangakanani ukuthi indoda yenze ucansi?
9. Ubani okumele enzeucansi kakhulu phakathi komuntu wesilisa nomuntyu wesifazane?
 - (i) Kungani?
10. Kungabe ikhona ingcindezi ukuthi indoda ewumZulu yenze ucansi?
11. Kungabe ukhona umehluko phakathi kwendoda eyenza ucansi nendoda engalwenzi?
 - (i) Kungabe ukhona umehluko phakathi kwendoda enezingane nendoda engenazo?
12. Kungabe amadoda ayancintisanaukuthi ubanti onezintombi eziningi kunomunye osikweni lwesiZulu
 - (i) Kungani
 - (ii) Kungabe ikhona imithelela yaloku
13. Ucabanga ukuthi kuyenzeka ukuthi imigomo yosiko kuyenzeka kube iyona eyenza ukuthi abantu bazithole sebezifaka ebungozini bocansi olungaphephile?
 - (i) Kungani?

Appendix 5: individual interview information sheet



Thank you for agreeing to participate in this interview. This sheet is intended to provide you with information about this study and your role in it. **To agree to participate in this study, you must be above 18 years of age.**

My name is Senzo Ntuli. I am a postgraduate student at UKZN (Pietermaritzburg). As part of my degree, I am conducting research on the construction of masculinity among Zulu people. I would like to know how masculinity is constructed among Zulu men and the implications for sexual risks.

The interview process

The interview will last about 1 hour. In this interview I will ask you questions about manhood, masculinity and gender roles among Zulu people. You are encouraged to express yourself freely and informally. You also have no obligation to answer any questions you don't want to.

Your participation in this interview is voluntary and you will not be forced to participate. You are also free to leave the study at any time if you wish.

Recording the interview

A tape recorder will be used to record the interview, if you agree, so that we can pay attention to the details of what you say.

Confidentiality

Your identity will be kept confidential in this process by using pseudonyms (fake names) in the transcription of the interview and in the final research project.

Recordings from this interview will be transcribed into a written form. In this process I will still refer to you by your pseudonym. The transcriptions will then be analysed and a report will be written. This report will be used for Masters Projects. The data for the study will be available to me (researcher), my supervisor and my research mentor.

The transcriptions of the interviews will be kept for future research purposes. They will be stored for five years in a locked cabinet in our supervisor's office, as will any other materials relating to this research. To keep your identity confidential, all data will be stored separately from information which links it to your actual name.

If you have any questions you would like to ask me, you are welcome to contact us using the details at the bottom of the page. If you have any questions you may also contact my supervisor, Professor Lance Lachenicht via phone 033 260 5588 or via email Lachenicht@ukzn.ac.za. If

Thank you for your time and participation, it is most appreciated.

Sincerely Yours,

SenzoNtuli

076 262 7845

senzojj@gmail.com

Discipline of Psychology,
UKZN,
Pietermaritzburg

Appendix 6: Incwadi yolwazi: Ingxoxo ehamba ngamunye



Ngiyabonga ukuthi ube yingxenye yalolu phando kule ngxoxo. Le ncwadi ibekelwe ukukunika ulwazi ngalolu phando kanye nokulindelekile kuwena. Ukuvuma ukuba ube yingxenye yalolu phando, kuzomele ube neminyaka eyishumi nesishiyagalombili.

Igama lami ngingu Senzo Ntuli. Ngenza i- *Masters* yakwa *Psychology* eNyuvesi yakwa Zulu-Natal (eMgungundlovu). Okuyingxenye yezifundo zami, ngilindeleke ukuba ngenze uphando ukuthi abantu besilisa nokwakheka kobudoda babo. Ukwenza uphando ngalesi sihloko, sithemba ukuthola ulwazi olungcono ngokuthi iziphi izingqinamba ekwakhekeni kobudoda kubantu abakhuluma IsiZulu.

Ukwenziwa kwengxoxo

ingxoxo izothatha ihora libe linye. Kule ngxoxo umphandi uzobuza imibuzo mayelana nobudoda, okulindeleke ebulilini ngabunye kanye nomthelela yaloku nokuzibeka ebungozini yocansi olungavikelekile. Lolu phando lufuna ukubona izingqinamba abahlangabezana nazo ekukhuleni nalapho sebeba amadoda ngokuphelele. Uyagqugquzelwa ukuveza imibono yakho ngokukhululeka futhi uyaziswa ukuthi aikho impendulo elungile kanye nengalungile. Awuphoqelekile ukuphendula imibuzo ongafuni ukuyiphendula.

Ukuba yingxenye yale ngxoxo akuphoqelekile futhi ngeke uze uphoqwe ukuba uzibandakanye. Unelungelo lokuthi ushiye lolu phando noma ngabe yinini ngaphandle kokunika isizathu.

Umshini wokuqopha uzosetshenziswa kwimbizo ukuqopha ingxoxo, lokhu kwenzelwa khona sizobheka ukuthi ingxoxo njengoba injalo, igama ngegama.

Imfihlo

Ubuwena buzogcinwa buyimfihlo kuloluphando ngokusebenza igama okungelona elakho. Igama okungelona elakho lizosetshenziswa kwingxoxo yale mbizo, kanye nakuma *transcripts* engxoxo, liyophindwa lisetshenziswe nakuphando lokugcina kulesi sihloko.

Ukugcinwa kwemininingwane

Yonke imininingwane ezobe ibhalwe phansi ngengxoxo izogcinelwa ingomuso ngenhloso yophando olungase lufane nalesi sihloko. Izogcinwa iminyaka emihlanu kwi khabethe elikhiywayo ehhovisi laloyo okunguyena oholo lolu phando, loku kufaka nayo yonke imininingwane efaka lolu phando. Ukugcina imininingwane yakho ivikelekile, yonke imininingwane angeke ize ibekwe ndawonye kanye nemininingwane enegama lakho.

Okunye

Uma unemibuzo ongathanda ukuthi uyibuze, uvumelekile ukwenza njalo kulemininingwane engezansi. Uma uneminye imibuzo ungathintana nalowo oholo lolu phando, Professor Lance Lachenicht 033 260 5588 noma nge *email* Lachenicht@ukzn.ac.za.

Siyabonga siyanconcoza ngesikhathi sakho. Siyathemba ukuthi kuba nobumnandi nokulangazelela ukuba lapho kuwen

SenzoNtuli

0792172975

senzojj@gmail.com

Discipline of Psychology,

UKZN,

Pietermaritzburg.

Appendix 7: Informed consent

I hereby agree to participate in this study on the study of construction of masculinity. I have had an opportunity to read and understand the information sheet given to me.

The purpose of the study has been explained to me. I understand what is expected of me in terms of my participation in this study and the time commitment I am making to participate in this study.

I understand that my participation is voluntary and I know that I may withdraw from the study at any point, without negative consequences.

I understand that there is a limit to confidentiality in a focus group setting as the researcher cannot guarantee that the other participants will adhere to the conditions of the confidentiality pledge.

I understand that my data will be stored securely for five years and used for future research. I understand that measures will be taken to ensure that my identity is protected and my participation in this research will be completely confidential in this regard. I understand that no identifying information about myself will be published.

I have the contact details of the researcher should I have any more questions about the research. In the unlikely event that any personal issues should arise during the research arrangements can be made for me to receive counselling from the Child and Family Centre.

Signature of Participant

Date

Appendix 8: Ifomu lesivumelwano

Lapha, ngiyavuma ukuba yingxenye yophando lokwakhiwa kobudoda. Nginikiwe ithuba lokuba ngifunde futhi ngiqonde ngolwazi ngalolu phando. Nginikiwe incwadi equkethe lonke ulwazi lwalolu phando.

Inhloso yokwenza lolu phando luchaziwe kumina. Nginyaqonda okuyikona okulindelekile kimina mayelana nokuba yingxenye yalolu phando kanye nesikhathi engisifakayo ukuba ngibe yingxenye yalolu phando

Nginyaqonda ukuthi ukuba yingxenye yalolu phando akuyona impoqo futhi ngiyazi ukuthi ngingayeka noma ngabe inini, ngaphandle kokungena enkingeni.

Nginyaqonda ukuthi kunobungozi benfihlo embizweni, ngoba umphandi angeke aba nesiqiniseko ukuthi wonke oyingxenye uzohambisane nemibandela yesifungo sembizo

Nginyaqonda ukuthi konke okuzotholakala kuphando kuzogcinwa iminyaka eyisihlanu ukwenzela olunye uphando oluhlobene nalesi sihloko. Nginyaqonda ukuthi kunemogomo ezothathwa ukugcina ubumina ophandweni buvikelekile futhi nokuba yingxenye kulolu phando buvikeleke kakhulu. Nginyaqonda ukuthi ayikho imininingwane ngami ezovezwa.

Nginemininingwane yokuxhumana nomphandi uma kwenzeka ngingaba neminuzo ngalolu phando. Uma kwenzeka ukuthi uma kungakhona isimo esenzekayo ngesikhathi sophando, nginyaqonda ukuthi kukhona amalungiselelo angenziwa ukuze ngithole usizo lwe- counseling e Child and Family Centre.

Sayina

Usuku

Appendix 9: Audio consent

I hereby give permission for audio recordings of this discussion to be used as data in this research project. I understand that measures will be taken to ensure that my identity is protected and my participation in this research will be completely confidential in this regard.

Signature of Participant

Date

Appendix 10: Isivumelwano sokuqopha

Lapha nginika imvumo ukuthi kuqoshwe ingxoxo ukuze isetshenziswe kulolu phando. Ngiyaqonda ukuthi kunemigomo ezothathwa ukuqinisekisa ukuthi umumina buyavikeleka futhi nokuba yingxenye kulolu phando kuzovikelela.

Sayina

Usuku

APPENDIX 11: TRANSCRIPTION MEANINGS

TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTION	MEANING
(...)	Pauses made by participants between sentences.
###	When participants mentioned people's names or their real identities.
Underlined words	Emphasis made by participants when they were refereeing on something
(<>)	This refers to text deleted
=	Continuation of a sentence after being interrupted
[]	Point where interruption happened

APPENDIX 12: EMAIL TO COGTA

Senzo Ntuli <senzojj@gmail.com>

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to paul.buthelezi

Dear baba Buthelezi.

As per our telephone conversation.

My name is Senzo Ntuli, ngenza iMasters yaka Psychology at UKZN (PMB). I am conducting a research project on manhood in the community and I am interviewing Izinduna.

Can you please send me a list and contact details of Izinduna around Mgungundlovu.

ngiyabonga kakhulu



PAUL BUTHELEZI <PAUL.BUTHELEZI@kzncogta.gov.za>

to ZANELE, Lindelani, ZIMBILI.MAPHAN., me

Hi Mphemba

Attached hereto is a database of Izinduna as per your request hoping everything will be of great help to your research

Thanks

Paul B Buthelezi

Paul B. Buthelezi

District Development Facilitator Local House Traditional Affairs uMgungundlovu

Tel No: [033 8975712](tel:0338975712)

Fax No: [033 8975714](tel:0338975714)

Cell No: [0848608100](tel:0848608100)

[mail:paul.buthelezi@kzncogta.gov.za](mailto:paul.buthelezi@kzncogta.gov.za)