

**“MIRROR, MIRROR ON THE WALL WHO’S THE BUFFEST OF THEM ALL”:**

**TRADITIONAL MASCULINE ROLE NORMS AND BODY IMAGE**

**DISCREPANCY IN INDIAN SCHOOL GOING BOYS**

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## DECLARATION

I, **Jarred Martin (206501662)**, am familiar with the School of Psychology's policy on and consequences of plagiarism. Thus, unless otherwise specifically designated, I hereby declare that this research project is the result of my own work and investigation. It is being submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Masters in Social Science (Clinical Psychology) at the University of KwaZulu-Natal. It has not been submitted for any other degree or examination at any other university.

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## **DISCLAIMER**

The Researcher(s) of this study specifically disclaims all responsibility for any liability, loss or risk, personal or otherwise, which is incurred as a consequence, directly or indirectly, of use of this report or any of the material in it.

## DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to:

Hugh Joseph Martin and Margaret Louise Martin.

“You don’t really understand human nature unless you know why a child on a merry-go-round will wave at his parents every time around – and why his parents will always wave back.”

- William D. Tammeus.

And:

Wesley, the one who has shown me my identity is constructed by the people that I love and by the people that surround me. Thank you for your love and support.

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- Thank you to the schools, teaching and administrative staff for accommodating this study, and sincere thanks to all the young men for their enthusiastic participation.
- To the National Research Foundation who continue to support my research and make it possible.
- My heartfelt thanks to my friends and classmates who affirmed my sanity and kept me in touch with reality.
- Last but not least I wish to thank the University of KwaZulu-Natal. Through the good and the bad I have always, and will always, proudly consider myself a student of Psychology from UKZN.

## PREFACE

“A weakling weighing ninety eight pounds,  
Will get sand in his face,  
When kicked to the ground.  
And soon in the gym,  
With a determined chin,  
The sweat from his pores,  
Makes him work for his cause.”

- Dr. Frank N’ Furter, *The Rocky Horror Show*.

## ABSTRACT

This study investigated the relationship between traditional masculine role norms, body image discrepancy, body appearance schemas, and sociocultural attitudes towards appearance in a sample of 495 Indian South African school going boys, between the ages of 13 and 18 years old. The main objective of this research study was to investigate the interrelationships between these variables in terms of how they relate to the experience of body image discrepancy for Indian males in the context of the regulatory norms and practices of traditional masculine ideology. Also examined were the traditional male role norms associated with the boys' cognitive body appearance schemata. In addition this study attempted to identify the role played by the portrayal of Indian male somatoforms in Indian cinema on the personal and collective evaluation of masculine appearance for a sample of Indian school boys. The variables of interest were measured using the Masculine Role Norms Inventory (MRNI; Levant & Fisher, 1998), Lynch and Zellner's Body Figure Drawings (1999), Appearance Schemas Inventory (ASI; Cash & Labarge, 1999), and the Sociocultural Attitudes Towards Appearance Scale-3 (SATAQ-3; Thompson, van den Berg, Roehrig, Guarda, & Heinberg, 2004). The above constructs were considered in light of biographical questions which pertained to self-worth, the psycho-behavioural implications of pursuing an enhanced appearance, and Indian cinema. The findings of this study showed how a sample of South African Indian boys are defining and refining a localized masculine sense of self within the broader interplays of South African gender relations and masculinities. Analysis revealed the traditional masculine role norms of status-seeking, heterosexism, anti-femininity, and emotional stoicism, shared positive and significant correlations with body image discrepancy. Nontraditional masculine attitudes were similarly associated with body image discrepancy. Moreover it was shown that the influences of sociocultural attitudes towards appearance, and a more substantial investment in body appearance, were key ingredients for participants positioning an athletically muscular and toned male body as their ethnomorphological and masculine ideal. Finally, concerning trends in steroid and supplement use were illustrated as foremost risk behaviours associated with support for a muscularised, traditionally masculine subjective and normative agenda.

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## CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

This study quantitatively investigated the relationship between traditional masculine role norms, body<sup>1</sup> image discrepancy, body appearance schemas, and sociocultural attitudes towards appearance, in a sample of South African Indian<sup>2</sup> school going boys, between the ages of 13 and 18 years old. The main objective of this research study was to investigate the inter-relationships between these variables with the aim of gaining insight into the occurrence of body image discrepancy for Indian males in the context of the regulatory norms and practices of traditional masculine ideology. Additionally this study examined the core beliefs and assumptions about masculine identity aligned to the importance, meaning, and effects of appearance in a boy's life. This study also attempted to identify the influence of sociocultural factors, specifically, the male mesomorphology in Indian cinema, on a localized subjective and normative masculine appearance for Indian adolescent males.

The central thesis of this study is to understand how a sample of Indian South African school going boys think about their body image as a central reference point for masculinity in the project of identity construction. George Herbert Mead's symbolic interactionist notions of the 'pragmatised self' (da Silva, 2007; Mead, 1967; Plummer, 1991) and Robert Connell's *hegemonic masculinity* (1987, 1994, 1995, 2000, 2001a, 2001b, 2002) provide the theoretical trajectory for this study. Together, Mead (1967) and Connell's (2000, 2001a, 2001b) ideas suggest that the becoming, and remaining of, a 'real man' is dependent on the contextualized, subjective and normative meaning of masculinity(ies); meanings which are cultivated within the intersecting perceptual and evaluatory judgments of diverse morphologies which make the pursuit of localized dominant masculinities desirable amongst men and boys in a particular milieu.

In this regard symbolic interactionism provides a theoretical scripting for how Indian South African boys' agentic encounters with the ethnomorphological social structures in Indian cinema unfold prioritized perceptions and actions of idolized

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<sup>1</sup> Read the terms body, soma, and somatoform interchangeably.

<sup>2</sup> This study uses the term 'Indian' to denote the current South African Department of Home Affairs categorization of such a 'race' group; and is seen in light of 'race' being a social construct. Indian South Africans in fact represent an ethnically and culturally diverse genealogy which can be historically traced to the North African, Middle Eastern, Asian and Indian subcontinents.

masculinity. Specifically Mead's writings on *pragmatism* and the *self as a reflection of society* show how peculiar microsociologies of 'the self', and specifically the body, are fashioned through a social molding of 'the self' and a simultaneous negotiation of individual meaning by 'the self' in society (da Silva, 2007; Mead, 1967; Plummer, 1991).

Connell's theory of hegemonic masculinities is also a key reference in this study, as it is for many scholars who research masculine identity from social constructionist perspectives (Beck, 2000; Cerulo, 1997; Courtenay, 2000; Govender, 2010; Shefer, Ratele, Strebel, Shabalala, & Buikemia, 2007; Wood, 2008). Connell's articulation of masculinities as imbued within actively constituted but questionable hierarchies intimately tied to contextualities has been referenced extensively in South African gender and masculinity research on HIV/AIDs (Mfecane, 2008), (hetero)sexuality (Govender, 2010; Mankayi, 2008), politics (Walker, 2005; Oxlund, 2008), disability (Joseph & Lindegger, 2007), violence (Messerschmidt, 2000; Morrell, 2001a, 2001b), parenting (Adams & Govender, 2008), and school boy masculinities (Govender, 2006; Lindegger & Maxwell, 2007). However, despite a range of studies and monographs in South Africa which have focused on masculinities in general (Morrell, 1998, 2001a, 2007), moreover 'Black' (Hemson, 2001; Xaba, 2001), 'White' (Chadwick & Foster, 2007; Meyer & Govender, 2009), and 'Coloured' (Cooper, 2009; Field, 2001) masculinities; this study attempts at addressing the paucity of research on South African Indian masculinities.

The links between Connell's theory of hegemonic masculinities, male body image, the sociocultural attitudes towards appearance, and risk behaviours have not been investigated within South Africa's community of Indians. This study sought out to examine the relationship between traditional masculinity, the self-reported subjective and normative evaluations of Indian boys' bodies, and appearance schemas in light of sociocultural attitudes towards appearance; with the aim of identifying body image discrepancy amongst Indian school going boys. Further this study investigated whether key facets of traditional male role norms are associated with certain deployments about bodily appearance in a boy's life. Hence this research study follows in the wake of critique by academics, such as, Vance (1989), Connell (1994), Dowsett (1996), and Crossley (2001) who identify masculine morphology as a means to shaping gendered social life.

This line of enquiry was maintained to the end that a broader picture of how a sample of Indian school boys' bodies are perceived and evaluated in the localized (re)production of hegemonic masculinities that kowtows to prescriptions of traditional masculine ideology. In this regard, Monaghan (1999), referencing Bryan Turner, posited that the male body occupies the role of "an objective signifier in the social world and a 'lived body' of action, intention and emergent disposition" (p.267). This echoes Connell's (1995) belief that the male body, through its appearance and performances, comes to act as a *symbolic tool* for traditional masculinity in social and personal psychologies; or to quote Mankayi, "Bodies in this view have moved beyond biology, and play a crucial role in how people construct their masculinity and how they behave/act in their social surroundings" (2008, p.26). Thus the present study considered the influence of sociocultural factors regarding appearance in an Indian community in the province of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa; to investigate the local evaluations and symbolic significance attached to the somas of Indian males.

Adams and Govender found that "the process of learning to obtain masculine self-fulfillment is characterized by a boy's recognition of his inadequacy" (2008, p.553). Meyer and Govender (2009) have demonstrated "a significant positive correlation ... between conformity to hegemonic norms and the desire to have a larger more muscular body shape" (p.31). Going further, the phenomenon that Martin and Govender (2010) describe as 'body image discrepancy' follows from Higgins's *self-discrepancy theory* (Higgins, 1987; Veale, Kinderman, Riley, & Lambrou, 2003); which has been used to explain cognitive-behavioural body image psychopathology that is the result of the disjunction between a perceived *body ideal* and an actual *body reality*. Subsequently two broad issues seek to be addressed by this research study: (1) how hegemonic masculinities graft to boys' appearance schemata that become archetypical for a muscular, daring, and tough hypermasculinity; and (2) what the psychoemotional and behavioural deployments are for Indian adolescent males in which body image discrepancy is the springboard for muscularity-defining body projects. It is hypothesised that boys who illustrate a stricter adherence to traditional masculinity will also show a more pronounced body image discrepancy as they simultaneously devalue their body reality and valorize a mesomorphic male body ideal. The male body ideal in this study, as

suggested in other studies (Klein, 1993; Lynch & Zellner, 1999; Robertson, 2003; Soulliere, 2006; Spector-Mersel, 2006), is epitomized by a lean, brutishly muscular somatoform which is by connotation physically strong, 'healthy', and dominant.

Cognizant of the aforesaid, this study attempted to unpack the extent to which global and local transitions in gender relations have influenced masculinities in a sample of Indian school boys; part of a 'race' group that roughly approximates 2% of the national South African population (STATSA, 2001). Indian South Africans are a highly heterogeneous group in terms of class, culture, religious denomination, and political affiliation. Of foremost consideration here is how male South Africans of Indian descent are negotiating traditional masculinity within the broader historical transitions from indentured migrant to victim and fighter of apartheid, to what is now perceived as a highly industrious and entrepreneurial community post-1994. Ergo this study attempts to offer further insight into a potential irony of Indian South African boys' traditional masculinity: although perceived as weaker and effeminate by boys from other South African race groups (Govender, 2006) they demonstrate higher levels of traditional masculine beliefs compared to their 'Black' and 'White' counterparts (Martin & Govender, 2010).

Of central importance to this study is to determine in what way Indian school going boys conform to traditional masculinity and how this relates to the experience of their and other Indian boys' bodies. There is a need to investigate how the male body, as an engendered and engendering tool, has been positioned in the context of multiple and often contradictory global and local messages concerning body appearance, (com)modification, the socioeconomic transformations in qualified gender parity, and late modernity's 'new man' discourse. This context, coupled with the venerated portrayal of leading men in Indian cinema complete with square jaw lines, chiseled bodies, and pronounced musculature is essential in gauging the influence of sociocultural attitudes towards appearance for Indian boys.

Male body image research has found a litany of psychoemotional anxieties as well as demanding and risky behavioural repertoires associated with boys having to pursue a socially condoned, culturally idolized, and muscularly perverse body image, including, low self-esteem (Bartsch, 2007; Bohne, Keuthen, Wilhelm, Deckersbach, & Jenicke,

2002; Cafri, van der Berg, & Thompson, 2006; Grieve, 2007), depression (Margolies, 1999; Oosthuizen, Lambert, & Castle, 1998; Sobanski & Schmidt, 2000), and the pursuit of muscularity (Cafri et al., 2006; McCreary & Sasse, 2000; Pope, Phillips, & Olivardia, 2000). With relevance to a study of hegemonic masculinities is to illustrate “the role of dominant masculinities in establishing ideologies that define the norms and ideals within society” (Meyer, 2009, p.11). Ergo it is hypothesised that boys who endorse a more traditional masculine ideology will present with a pronounced appearance investment and body image discrepancy which energizes their desire for a perceived body ideal that is increasingly muscular. In sum, such findings would hold significant implications for discussions on how the male body is portrayed as a masculine ideal, and the risk management and mental health of Indian boys concerning their bodies.



## CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

### 2.1. Hegemonic masculinity

The development of *sex role theory* in the 1950s represented a departure from the study of gendered social behaviours believed to emanate from innate biological differences between and within the sexes (Connell, 1995; Phillips, 2006). Sex role theory posited that gender binaries of masculinity and femininity were discrete standards of learned behaviour. In other words, as males and females developed they would internalise distinct styles of life relevant to their sex through processes akin to anthropological acculturation and socialization. Moreover sex role theory pandered to ideas of the ‘masculine’ and the ‘feminine’ as monolithic in their constitution and dichotomous in their relationship and reductionistically conflated analyses of gender identity, sexuality, and sexual orientation<sup>3</sup>. Although sex role theory invited psychological and sociological analysis to gender studies; it failed to offer a critical reading of *masculinity as power* (Morrell, 1998).

However Joseph Pleck’s writings on the *gender role strain paradigm* saw a new dawn for critical masculinity studies; at the heart of which was the assertion that gender is a social construction (Morrell, 1998; Phillips, 2006; Pleck, 1981, 1995). In this view, masculinity was reconceived as a broad based ideology of gender relations which were multidimensional and responsive to the chronological and societal dynamics of race, class, religion, sexual orientation, and age (Kimmel, 1987; Levant & Fischer, 1998). Consequently masculinity was critiqued as a set of malleable and contestable political relations which offered restraints and possibilities in social space (Connell, 1995; Morrell, 1998; Kimmel, 1987; Phillips, 2006; Pleck, 1981, 1995). Perhaps the most important insight from this new wave of masculinity scholarship was the active agency of males and females; who under the confines of sex role theory had become relegated to passive recipients of gender. Concordantly men’s values, bodies, behaviours, identities, and social spaces, in terms of their use and discursive structure were seen as potential

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<sup>3</sup> Queer theorists have suggested that the sex role pedagogy stoked the fires of heterosexism in the fields of psychology and psychiatry which began to pathologise gay and lesbian sexual orientations as a failure to undergo the ‘correct’ socialization (Abelove, Barale, & Halperin, 1993).

mechanisms for the establishment and perpetuation of social inequality between men and other men, as well as women (Connell, 1995, 2000a, 2000b, 2001a, 2002).

Morrell (1998) highlights that Connell, Carrigan and Lee, in their 1985 piece *Towards a New Sociology of Masculinity*, concretized the arrival of a 'new sociology of men'. Connell's theory of masculinities as the "patterns of practice and political relations in historical context" (2001a, p.8) provides the theoretical thrust for this research study which aims to grasp with the connections between masculinity, physicality, power, and Indian boys' material bodies.

### **2.1.1. Gender and masculinities: Robert Connell's view**

Connell (2002) purports that "being a man or a woman ... is a becoming, a condition actively under construction" (p.4). In this sense individuals through their values and behaviours within gender dynamics that are "fluid, complex and uncertain" (2002, p.4) construct themselves in degrees of masculinity or femininity proactively, or reactively operate in response to their positioning in gender regimes (1994). Connell refers to 'gender regimes' or 'gender orders' as denoting a "cluster of practices, ideological and material, which, in a given social context, acts to construct various images of masculinity and femininity and thereby to consolidate forms of gender inequality" (Connell, 1994).

Gender disparities have often been argued from varied perspectives, such as Henrietta Moore's (1994) argument on the inferior symbolic positioning of women, or Sylvia Walby's view on men's enhanced participation in the public sphere and market economy (1994). Connell however has written about four dimensions of gender, namely, power relations, production relations, emotional relations (or cathexis), and symbolic relations (1994, 1995, 2002). Connell therefore moves to integrate the cultural symbols of gender and the institutional arrangements which create organized and discursive power as part of particular masculinities. In so doing Connell (1995, 2002) offers this research study value by elucidating 'the very specific relationship that gender has with bodies'; in particular how bodies (re)frame economic production, sexuality, and the differential structuration of gendered values.

In moving towards a definition of masculinity that stresses its relational and processual interplay within and between gendered structures, institutions, groups, and

individuals, Connell states: “[masculinity] is simultaneously a place in gender relations, the practices through which men and women engage that place in gender, and the effects of these practices in bodily practices in bodily experience, personality and culture” (1995, p.71). However as masculinity intersects with the social configurations of class, race, culture, and sexuality, this inherently hybridizes a variety of contextually-dependent masculinities and identity positions. Masculinities therefore operate as parallel multiplicities to one another, as well as to femininity(ies), and accordingly gain favour or fall into disfavour through competition with one another (1995, 2001b).

Connell (1995) identifies four basic relations amongst masculinities: hegemony, subordination, complicity, and marginalization. Hegemonic masculinities are the accepted masculinities positioned as dominant in a particular pattern of gender relations (Connell, 1995; Donaldson, 1993; Morrell, 1998). ‘Hegemony’ in this instance is an idea revised from Italian neo-Marxist Antonio Gramsci who references hegemony as the ways and means through which certain sets of cultural values become central, prevailing, and overriding<sup>4</sup> (Gramsci, 1973). Where Gramsci locates hegemony in analyses of dominant class consciousnesses; Connell reformulates hegemonic masculinities as the prime movers in defense of patriarchal social organization (1995). Yet not selling Connell’s theory short; it is not a simple question of whether males exist in some hierarchy-typology of masculinities (Wetherell & Edley, 1999). Hegemonic masculinities, at least conceptually, provide researchers with the ability to understand that certain masculinities possess greater currency than others in certain times and places: most often through the popular acceptance of traditional masculine ideology. The social capital of hegemonic masculinities increases their prominence in social media and discourse apropos the ‘masculinity of choice’ for putative men; while simultaneously delegitimizing other masculinities as fringe, peripheral, or worthy of derision and suppression, for example, ‘gay masculinities’ or masculinities of the economically disadvantaged and racially oppressed (Connell, 1995).

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<sup>4</sup> Gramsci’s idea of hegemony centered on the ascendancy of a dominating ideology through consent and ‘cooperation’ on the part of those who were dominated. Gramsci believed that a politics of tacit compliance was characteristic of power relations in late modernity asserting that explicit, volatile dominion was a dying feature characteristic of early medieval industrialism.

Traditional masculine ideology has been identified as the bedrock of a hegemonically masculine collective gender identity for men who pursue an agenda of dominance (Donaldson, 1993; Pleck, 1981, 1995; Connell, 1995). Morrell states: “[hegemonic masculinity] is constantly responding to challenges, accommodating, or repelling rival representations of masculinity” (1998, p.608). Thus hegemonic masculinities are not entirely coercive but rather consensus-seeking and subject to change (Connell, 1995, 2002; Morrell, 1998). Key characteristics defining traditional masculine ideology have been identified as: (hetero)sexuality, anti-femininity, physical toughness, emotional stoicism, risk taking, and self-sufficiency (Nobis & Sanden, 2008; Wall and Kristjanson, 2004) – all of which are constructs measured in this research study. This study places itself optimally to research Connell’s assertions about traditional masculinity within the context of schools which have been identified by researchers as primary institutional sites through which boys are ‘acclimatized’ to gendered ways of life (Connell, 2000; Frosh, Phoenix, Pattman, 2002; Govender, 2006, 2010; Lindegger & Maxwell, 2007; Ratele et al., 2007).

### **2.1.2. ‘Crisis’ and consolidation: A comment on global, contemporary masculinities**

The seductive catch phrase of a ‘masculinity in crisis’ has percolated in the field of masculinity studies for some years now (Walker, 2005). The central tenet for ‘crisis’ theory is that modern men are unable to reconcile female empowerment, the ‘new man’ discourse, and a disconnection from their traditional power bases (Walker, 2005). In response to this proposition academic John MacInnes retorted that “masculinity has always been in one crisis or another” (1998, p.11). MacInnes’s observation reflects more pragmatic research invoking men’s narratives of their masculinity which continues to entrench dichotomous views of gender (Chadwick & Foster, 2007), compulsory heterosexism (Kehily, 2001), and continued male dominance (Schacht, 2001).

The notion of masculinity “in transition but never undone” (Chadwick & Foster, 2007, p.27) is reflected in the current state of global gender relations. Connell describes this state of affairs as the *patriarchal dividend* or “the advantages to men as a group from maintaining an unequal gender order” (2002, p.142). In Connell’s words, “inequalities define interests” (2002, p.142), meaning that as the patriarchal dividend (re)creates

gender disparity in the world of work, in national and transnational politics, and in symbolic cultural life, it enables men on the basis of their biology to retain power (2002). This explains why men continue to be paid higher wages than women for the same work (Sayer, 2005), how there are more men in charge of multinational corporations (Wirth, 2002), and how male leaders still dominate the global political agenda (Connell, 1995, 2001b). Morrell (2007) however argues that patriarchal social advantage is inherently a choice which men can deny. Morrell's (2007) assertion is critical in this study as it offers the possibility of mapping the prevalence of nontraditional male attitudes towards masculine ideology and the potential presence of genuinely progressive masculinities.

### **2.1.3. Dominance and diversity: A comment on South African masculinities**

The governing African National Congress (ANC) has recently set out to implement its '50/50' election pledge for gender equality in governance by establishing a new government department for women's issues and empowerment (Mayende-Sibiya, 2010). This move follows figures from the Southern African Development Community (SADC) that women's political decision making capacity has increased from 17-19.4% in the region (Gasa, 2004); and that the South African legislature is now comprised of 45% women – the third highest presence of women in a legislature internationally (Mayende-Sibiya, 2010). Walker (2005) proposes that South African masculinities are in a state of crisis because of the political and economic gains made by women in gender transformation, as well as the constitutional liberalism shown towards lesbian rights. Walker (2005) believes that it is the pervasive discourse of humanism that stems from South Africa's new constitution that has in part fuelled a crisis characterized by the raping of lesbians in township communities, rampant gender violence, and adolescent male risk behaviours. Walker however goes on to say that this crisis is also characterized by the emergence of progressive "men who are seeking to be part of a new social order" (1994, p.1).

Robert Morrell has gone some way in stressing that masculinity studies in contemporary Africa and South Africa should not "fix the continent with an 'other gaze'" (Ouzgane & Morrell, 2001, p.3); and paint Africa as a singular postcolonial masculinity. Morrell states:

The divided history of South Africa has left the region with a highly complex mix of gender regimes and identities. Race, class, geographical location and many other factors are constitutive of gender identities and affect the gender regimes which exist in the institutions and milieux of the country. (1998, p.630).

Morrell (2001a) reiterated that there are multiple and contradictory positions which exist in various South African masculinities post-1994, and offers a basic typology of contemporary South African masculinities as: *reactive and defensive* (which resist, often violently, any change in the patriarchal dividend, and align with an unyielding conservative traditional masculine ideology), *accommodating* (which are largely complicit with traditional values of heterosexism and misogyny but adopt a non-violent stance in order to assert these values), or *responsive and progressive* (which embraces values of gender equality, introspection, and rejects masculine ideological and material authoritarianism as well as homonegativity).

#### **2.1.4. Criticisms of Connell's work**

Critiques of Connell's articulation of hegemonic masculinities have asserted that "the social reductionism of Connell's theories neglected the subjective processes of identity and power" (Blackbeard & Lindegger, 2007, p.27). Most notably in the writings of Wetherell and Edley (1997, 1999), and Michael Moller (2007), these authors embrace the recent resurgence of discursive analysis in masculinity studies. The above authors propose that Connell's idea of hegemonic masculinity occurring within broader gender orders negates a detailed account of how 'slippery' or "plural and situated" (Blackbeard & Lindegger, 2007, p.27) masculine identities are. The core argument which underscores this critique is that Connell's theory is 'clunky' and homogenizing in its effect on the study of 'doing masculinities' and with greater possibilities than males simply occupying an opposing or affirming position in gender regimes. According to these criticisms males simultaneously negotiate a myriad of contextual and contradictory positions at a social and subjective level that is far more psychodiscursively nuanced than Connell gives credence (Wetherell & Edley, 1997, 1999; Frosh et al., 2002; Moller, 2007; Blackbeard & Lindegger, 2007). Connell (2001a) defends his theory by highlighting that scholars

who adopt a solely discursive perspective fail to see his formulation of hegemonic masculinity as a thesis which posits “gender relations are also constituted in, and shape, non-discursive practices such as labour, violence, sexuality, [and] child care ... ” (p.7).

## **2.2. Male body image**

Anthony Giddens (1991) has proposed that bodies have become increasingly transposed with an idea of ‘the self’ in the postmodern era. For Giddens a bewildering number of reflexive projects are embarked on by individuals in an attempt to ontologically understand and define their material self in reality (1991). Historian Lynne Luciano’s (2001) tracing of male body image in North American culture since the 1950s paints a picture which resembles Giddens’s thesis that the body is now the most accessible purview of self-definition. Luciano aptly quotes Warren Susman in the opening pages of her book: “One of the things that makes the modern world ‘modern’ is the development of consciousness of the self.” (2001, p.3). In this respect research in the arena of body image has historically fixated on the disturbances experienced by women. However, recent research has highlighted an increasing number of men who are dissatisfied with their appearance (Bottamini & Ste-Marie, 2006).

Davis (2003) however raises concerns regarding the findings of male body image studies. Davis (2003) is weary of studies that portray men as the new victims of a cosmetic or artificial ‘beauty burden’; arguing that such studies obfuscate not only the unique experiences of women but also negate a consideration of the distinct experiences that men may have with their bodies and how these relate to masculinities (Dewing & Foster, 2007). Therefore this research study identifies the importance, meanings and effects of appearance in a boy’s life, in the form of male body appearance schemata which are tied to traditional masculine values and behaviours.

### **2.2.1. The male body: An engendered and engendering tool of hegemonic masculinity**

Connell attributes the scant academic focus on the body in social science research as a hangover of intellectualized mind-body dualism (1995, 2002). Although Connell was not the first author to bring the body under academic focus; he has been only one of few.

Collette Guillaumin (1993) has written of the social processes through which male and female genitalia are ascribed distinct and unequal meanings which funnel boys and girls into preordained gendered ways of being. Michel Foucault (1978) and Bryan Turner (1996) echo Guillaumin's proposition that bodies are subject to a variety of gendered social and physical labour activities, which include dieting, exercising, fitness regimes, and playing sport, that regulate and organize gender into compulsory bodies. Foucault (1978) in particular reiterates the functions of various political technologies used to cultivate and deploy bodies in capitalist modes of production under the guise of *biopower*; in which even the reading of bodily differences is a product of power/knowledge hierarchies (Foucault, 1978; McNay, 1994). Connell attempts to capture these ideas in what he refers to as the 'strategic performances of male bodies' which cultivates hegemonic masculinities in personal, interpersonal, communal, and governmental domains (1995).

Connell's work on hegemonic masculinities has sustained a consistent refrain of recognizing bodies, and their agency, as fundamental to grasping how gendered intra-inter-personal relations are perpetuated in favour of patriarchy (1987, 1995, 2000a, 2001a, 2001b, 2002). Connell states clearly that, "Gender is a social structure ... [which] involves a specific relationship with bodies" (2002, p.9). Thus in his departure from sex role theory Connell emphasizes how bodies in their ideological, discursive, and material composition are both the exercised and exercisers of gendered social organization (1995).

For Connell *social embodiment* is central to how bodies bring into being a social reality demarcated by gendered hierarchies in which bodies jostle with gendered transformations. Social embodiment is the process through which male bodies in private and public spaces become objects and agents of masculine social conduct (Connell, 2002). According to Connell (2002), "Gender always involves social embodiment ... Gender relations form a particular social structure, refer to particular features of bodies, and form a circuit between them" (p.48). The 'circuit' Connell refers to is the interlinking between social structures and bodily processes.

The apparatus by which the male body is centralized in individual and collective gender identities of hegemonic masculinity are "body-reflexive practices" (1995, p.59). Connell coins this term to call attention to the performances of the male body and their



materiality (1995). Practices such as manual labour, sexual intercourse, and sport, through the body's participation in them, constitute social engagements in which particular types of male bodies are corralled as either hegemonically masculine or of a 'lesser' masculinity. In this regard displays of physical strength, potency, and vigor by the male body are key to generating social contexts and subjectivities that are traditionally masculine (Messerschmidt, 2000; Phillips, 2006).

Researchers have highlighted competitive sport as "a microcosm of the socialization of male values" (Thompson, 2001, p.634); or the battlefield on which masculinity is trialed. According to Morrell (2001) rugby "stresses physical confrontation, perseverance, and skill" (p.23), which as a body-reflexive practice is intimately linked to the performance of traditional masculinity for school boys. One such hegemonically masculine identity that establishes itself through participation in rugby is the 'jock' identity amongst school boys (Ratele et al., 2007). Ratele et al., (2007) underscored that the jock identity grants dominant status amongst fellow learners, has associations to a virile heterosexuality with women, demands respect from other boys, and the possibility of presiding over the student body in the form a school prefect. In South Africa rugby has a unique and troubled association with the apartheid era domination of the white middle-class male; and although it remains somewhat of a national pastime for South Africans it is not omnipresent in all schools as an extracurricular activity.

In many of the schools where Indian students are the majority of the student body, which is in the former, apartheid era Indian residential areas, soccer (or football) and cricket are the staple sporting activities amongst school boys<sup>5</sup>. Connell (1995) and Swain (2000, 2003) have hypothesized the close link between deployments of traditional masculinity in competitive sport, specifically soccer in working class British school boys. Furthermore Robertson (2003) has shown the links between corporeal sports and mesomorphic, hypermasculine somatoforms through the media.

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<sup>5</sup> Interestingly, even in considering the lack of financial resources such as equipment, fields, technical expertise, and coaching available to historically marginalized Indian schools; the non-participation of Indian school boys in rugby may be a factor into why Indian masculinities are collectively perceived as 'softer' by Black and White school boys.

### **2.2.2. Symbolic interactionism, body appearance schemas, and body image discrepancy**

Symbolic interactionism is the brand of sociological analysis which proposes that meaning is the glue which allows social structures and social agents to be mutually constitutive (da Silva, 2007; Plummer, 1991). Symbolic interactionism is itself a broad church of social critique which houses a number of key theoretical writings around emic-hermeneutics, phenomenology, and ethnomethodology. The common thread which ties together symbolic interactionist theories is the prioritizing of microsociological accounts of human life (Jenkins, 2005). Symbolic interactionism generically holds that in the face-to-face interactions of people unique systems of meaning are created and adopted by individuals. Individual systems of meaning in turn constitute a dynamic and fluidic structure of contextualized meaning which forms the basis for individual and collective social action (da Silva, 2007; Jenkins, 2005; Plummer, 1991). In this regard individual and social meanings are not dichotomous but rather are an amalgamation; and the human psyche is in fact an evolving process which bridges the individual-collective divide in social *inter*-action (Mead, 1967). Although George Herbert Mead had an expansive analytic portfolio, his ideas of pragmatism and ‘the self’ are used to theoretically anchor this study’s consideration of male body image.

Firstly, the philosophy of pragmatism presupposes that human activity or action is the point of departure for an analysis of human meaning (Mead, 1967). The activities and behaviours enacted by people in a relation to one another spin webs of social communicability from which emerges a social consciousness and individual psychology (Jenkins, 2005). Therefore the parameters of social structures as well as individual psychologies are dialectical as individuals adapt and interpret their actions in the social world. In this view, the project of one’s identity is embodied and enacted in a social space in which one participates in acts of identity with fellow performers (da Silva, 2007; Mead, 1967; Plummer, 1991).

Secondly, ‘the self’, according to Mead, is an interactive affair that extends beyond, but includes, the cage of human biology and the confines of the social environment. For Mead ‘the self’ emerges out of social action in which individuals interact with one another and their social world through symbols (1967). Thus ‘the self’

is an ongoing and ever-changing scheme which an individual only ever experiences indirectly. In the same vein as Charles Cooley's *looking-glass self* the individual comes to terms with their objectification by others: "self-hood is a process ... in which "I" adopt the role of other ... to reflect upon myself as "Me." I develop a concept of myself (Me) by acting (*qua* I) out the role of the generalized other" (Mead in Crossley, 2001, p.147). Hence Mead asserts that 'the self' is a dialogue of individual novelty and social assimilation on the parts of "I" and "Me", respectively. Mead's notions of pragmatism and 'the self' offer the author of this study a framework in which to couch the signification of somatic archetypes a sample of Indian school boys' invest with status in the shape of body appearance schemas; where boys are mirrors for one another.

Cafri et al., (2006) have argued that adolescent boys internalize, invest, and compare their bodies when confronted with the bodies of other males. These socio-cognitive processes allow boys to judge and police male bodies on the basis of their cognitive bodily schemata which are defined by social cues of male body image (Crossley, 2001; Grieve, 2007; McCreary & Sasse, 2000). Following a Meadian line of reasoning, Duncan (2007) has put this simply as males constructing, perceiving and evaluating their body image through the eyes of other males. Noteworthy is that boys' body images become intertwined with constructions of 'the self', in the form of *self-schemas* (Higgins, 1987; Myers & Biocca, 1992). Markus describes self-schemas as "cognitive generalizations about the self, derived from past experience, that organize and guide the processing of the self-related information contained in an individual's social experience" (Markus, 1977, p. 64). In light of the above, appearance internalization has received scant attention in males (Cash & Labarge, 1996).

Martin and Govender (2010) articulate body image discrepancy as "a distress about the physical incongruence between the real and ideal body, but also a discomfort with the personal and social connotations attached to that incongruence" (p.4). Symbolic interactionist thought continues to be of particular use here as it stresses the importance of exploring how individuals construct mental models of themselves (Plummer, 1991). Given the present study's emphasis on both masculine identity negotiation and the influence of media factors it is apt to address the constitutive deployments which lead to the formation of appearance schemas and body image discrepancy in males. This

perspective of body image could explain how Indian school boys attribute the symbolic significance of muscular somatoforms in Indian cinema and the implications for risk behaviours, for example, extreme dieting, over exercising, and steroid abuse, which become ways of constructing a tough and muscular identity.

### **2.2.3. Collective cultural ideals as subjective body ideals**

In one of the groundbreaking texts which moves towards an account of the emergence of *muscle dysmorphia* in men, *The Adonis Complex* by Pope et al., (2000), proposes that the starting point for male obsession with the picture perfect body can be tracked to the late 1950s and early 1960s. The authors propound that it was during this period that saw the creation of anabolic-androgenic steroids and the rise of the international feminist movement. The intersection of these two social trajectories produces what Pope et al., (2000) dub a ‘threatened masculinity’, that is, a state where men’s identities are destabilized because their invariable right to dominance in the socioeconomic and political food chain is no longer assured. Subsequently in a reactionary formation males turn to the site where they are able to consistently trump women, namely the body (Mishkind, Rodin, Silberstein, & Streigel-Moore, 1998), and by using commercialized pharmaceuticals and fitness regimes establish a body ideal for the ‘real man’.

For Pope et al., (2000) the conditions of late modernity, western globalization, and a growing capitalism of the body, acted as the essential trends to propel the mesomorphic somatoform as a masculine ideal into all facets of cultural life. Pope et al., (2000) offered as evidence:

- The increasing musculature, size, and apparent strength of boys’ action figurines and toys.
- The explosion in the popularity of the world wrestling entertainment industry, and the transformation of wrestlers’ bodies to resemble muscular marauders.
- The changes in the *Playgirl* male centerfold from a *Magnum PI* Tom Selleck type character to a young, tanned, lean and hairless male model.

- The growing market value of the muscular male body image in terms of advertising, cinematic portrayals of action heroes, celebrity culture, and growing sales revenue for men's magazines such as *Men's Health*.

This “mounting cultural evidence” (Pope et al., 2000, p.52) was then transposed with key gains made by the international female empowerment movement, and offered as an explanation for the convergence of muscularity and masculinity<sup>6</sup>. Using the argument of Pope et al., (2000), as well as the findings of other research studies which suggest traditional masculinity has been adopted as the guiding architecture for the male body in the media (such as Leit, 1997; Leit, Pope, & Gray, 2001; Pope, Olivardia, Borowieke, & Cohane, 2001; Wienke, 1998). Martin and Govender (2010) deliberately emphasized the *mass media*<sup>7</sup> as an “influential force, [which] informs males’ perceptions of beauty by creating an aura of anxiety and self-consciousness over appearance” (p.3).

Indian cinematic portrayals of broodingly handsome, assertive, and well-built men who seemingly can never find a shirt to wear could also be classified as elements of *mass media*. Gilman (1999) proposes a useful reading of how the socially constructed nature of bodies offers people the possibility for bodily change if it means accommodation amongst prevailing cultural body ideals; he cites, as an example, the use of elective cosmetic surgeries such as penile lengthening for men which appeals to phallogentric ideals of manhood and sensuality. In regard to the hypothesis that Indian boys’ would then define and refine their bodies in accordance with the culturally peculiar male bodies idolized in Indian cinema, Gilman’s text, *Making the Body Beautiful* (1999), bolsters this argument.

#### **2.2.4. Criticisms of symbolic interactionism**

On the issue of gender anti-foundationalist Judith Butler has been a prominent critic of symbolic interactionism. Butler takes umbrage with symbolic interactionism’s ‘sloppy’ understanding of ‘the self’ as pre-existing to acts of doing gender (Jagger, 2008). Butler states:

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<sup>6</sup> Note that the methodological rigor of the Pope et al., (2000) theory is questionable.

<sup>7</sup> *Mass media* refers to media which portray hypermasculine male figures; and whose effect is inciting males to pursue increased muscle mass.

In opposition to ... models which take the gendered self to be prior to its acts, I will understand constituting acts not only as constituting the identity of the actor but as constituting that identity as a compelling illusion, an object of *belief*. (Butler in Jagger, 1988, p.52).

Jagger refers to Butler's stance as "a radical use of the doctrine of constitution" (2008, p.22), in the study of gender as performative as opposed to a performance by a pre-existing self.

The author of the present study also acknowledges that some symbolic interactionists may take exception to the use of the theory in a quantitative study that also accounts for the structural functionalism of Connell's writings on the sociality of global and national gender systems. However the joint application of Mead and Connell's propositions represents the author's move to avoid an analysis of Indian boys as cultural automatons of body image prescriptions and traditional masculinity; and rather see the sampled boys' consciously constructed appearance schemata and behaviours as a management of their body image in the context of masculine intersubjectivity.

### **2.2.5. The value of using a symbolic interactionist argument of male body image**

The decision to employ symbolic interactionism in this research is motivated for three reasons. Firstly symbolic interactionism as a micro-theory contextualizes the findings of this study within a quantitative descriptive phenomenology. This valuably prioritises a reading of the data with an ethnomorphological appreciation of the cultural peculiarities that are unique to Indian South African boys and their attitudes towards appearance. Second, symbolic interactionism conceptualizes gender as a socially constructed phenomenon (da Silva, 2007; Jenkins, 2005; Plummer, 1991), which is conducive to this study's broader paradigmatic stance of social constructionism. Symbolic interactionism therefore acknowledges the importance of social processes, and particularly how the symbolic signification of bodies renders the pursuit of certain body shapes desirable. Both of the above reasons are similar to Monaghan's (1999) epistemological combination of social processes and subculture values to maximize an understanding of how muscular physiques become desired and pursued in the bodybuilding subculture. Thirdly, Mead's

philosophy of pragmatism coincides with Connell's belief that "gender is something actually done; and done in social life" (2002, p.55). Both of which therefore emphasize that analysis of social acts *qua* behaviours and risk behaviours that Indian school boys associate with their bodies are the point of departure – as these behaviours are in fact particular agendas of doing gender.

### **2.3. Indian South Africans**

The sample of Indian South African school boys for this study was drawn from the community of Phoenix, situated approximately 20kms north-west of central Durban from the Ethekeweni metro region in the province of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. The community of Phoenix is somewhat allegorical of the larger population of Indian South Africans as it represents a cultural and economic hodgepodge of different faiths, ethnicities, social castes, and varying degrees of social mobility. Its cultural diversity is evidenced most concretely by the presence of a variety of Christian churches, Hindu temples and Islamic mosques throughout Phoenix. It is the stark and contradictory presence of culturally conservative, traditional, and disciplined lifestyles that harkens back to a pre-1994 way of life that is contrasted with the younger generations' brand label clothing, *pimped-out* cars, and ever-present sounds of the latest Bollywood *tunes*, that has come to characterize and stereotype both Phoenix and often South African Indians.

Phoenix is probably most well known for being the site of a remodeled house<sup>8</sup> or *ashram* of Mahatma Gandhi's when he visited South Africa in the 1890s. It has been suggested that it was in Phoenix that Gandhi created his philosophy of *satyagraha*, or nonviolent resistance (Govender, 2010). Phoenix, much like its sister communities of Verulam (further north of Durban) and Chatsworth (south of Durban), are the suburban locales of working-class Indian families on the east coast of KwaZulu-Natal. Together these communities constitute one of the largest populations of Indian descent outside of the Indian and Asiatic subcontinents, but still only represent 2.4% of the national South African population (STATSA, 2001). The current population of Phoenix is primarily home to Indians but also a minority of 'Black' South Africans.

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<sup>8</sup> The original house was destroyed in protest violence during the 1980s.

Of recent concern to the Indian community is the rapid development of ‘lifestyle diseases’ such as *diabetes mellitus*, high blood pressure and childhood obesity; commonly associated with poor diets, lack of exercise, and stress. Professor of Anatomy Hoosen Vawda, of the Nelson Mandela School of Medicine in the University of KwaZulu-Natal, recently attributed the prevalence of these ills to a combination of deficient gene pools and the structural and economic changes afoot in Indian families and communities (*Tribune Herald*, 21 February, 2010). Vawda (*Tribune Herald*, 21 February, 2010) identifies as most salient the breakdown of the nuclear and extended families<sup>9</sup> and the upward social mobility of Indians: “while people of Indian origin have become wealthier, the social changes that have accompanied this process have presented these people with new challenges” (p.1).

### **2.3.1. Colonialism, the indentured Indian, and the legacy of apartheid**

South Africans of Indian descent first arrived in South Africa on the shores of the then British governed Colony of Natal on the 16<sup>th</sup> of November 1860 on board the *Truro* (Desai & Vahed, 2010). The first groups of Indians were part of the European, mainly British, sanctioned system of indenture<sup>10</sup> which emerged toward the end of slavery in the 1830s.

In what is surely the seminal text on the experience of Indian indenture in South Africa, namely *Inside Indian Indenture* (2010) by Ashwin Desai and Goolam Vahed, the authors account how the first batch of indentured Indians were perceived by their White colonial masters in Natal, by quoting the words of a local newspaper editor of the time:

The swathing hordes came pouring out ... Master Coolie<sup>11</sup> seemed to make himself quite at home, and was not in the least disconcerted by the novelty of his

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<sup>9</sup> It is important to note that Vawda’s commentary on the social conditions which exacerbate lifestyle diseases in the Indian community reflect a conservative narrative regarding the place of the mother as a homemaker and caretaker of a child’s health.

<sup>10</sup> The system of indenture was primarily a means of supplying large amounts of cheap labour from the colonized Indian and Asian states to other colonies in Indo-China and Africa, most commonly to farm sugar, tea and coffee plantations (Desai & Vahed, 2010). The indenture was itself a contractual labour agreement between an Indian labourer (the employee) and a private businessman or land owner (the employer). Ratified under British colonial law in India the labourer would voluntarily agree to work for the employer for a period of about five years for a wage, residence, and rations. At the end of the indenture bond the employee would be allowed to either renew their indenture or return back to their home countries.

<sup>11</sup> A racial appellation or epithet for Indian South Africans.



situation ... The boats seemed to disgorge an endless stream of living cargo – Pariahs, Christians, Malabars, and Mohommedans ... (p.62).

However the Indians who arrived in Natal were not only farm hands and menial labourers; there were various professionals, tradesmen, and spiritual guildsmen (Desai & Vahed, 2010). It is also of importance to note that men were not the only migrants; in actual fact many women and whole families were commonly transported across the Indian Ocean to South Africa<sup>12</sup>. On Natalian plantations indentured men would often farm and mill the vast tracts of sugar cane, while women would harvest and gather the crop (Desai & Vahed, 2010).

The life of the indentured Indian was a tough and arduous existence. Textual evidence recounts that many women, children and the elderly met their death either on the voyage to South Africa or while at work on the farms (Desai & Vahed, 2010). With scant regard for the indentures' human rights, and bolstered by racist colonial law, White farm owners would work their employees in slave-like conditions; which would often be accompanied by the beating of male labourers and the sexual assault of female workers (Desai & Vahed, 2010). In regards to the present study, research which prioritizes how traditional masculine ideology, particularly values and displays of aggressiveness, physicality, and toughness which is similar to the bodily fortitude of the male indentures is critical in extrapolating the current patterns of traditional masculinity in Indian South Africans. To go further, in his commentary on the lifestyle diseases which currently afflict Indian South Africans, Prof. Vawda stated: "it must be accepted that our ancestors worked very hard and burnt up calories, while the present generation is storing fat" (*Tribune Herald*, 21 February, 2010).

However, what makes the history of Indian diasporas in South Africa unique is that despite the progressive rescinding of British colonial rule in the 20<sup>th</sup> century the 'White' minority regimes of the then Union of South Africa, and later Republic, continued to establish the legalized degradation and oppression of African, Indian, 'Coloured' and other so-called non-White South African race groups. The ascendancy of

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<sup>12</sup> Employers, and companies which specialized in the trade of indentured human labour, would often encourage families to join their working men for two reasons: 1) it added to the supply of labour; and 2) it increased the likelihood of the indentured renewing their contracts.

the National Party to governance in the 1950s also heralded the establishment of apartheid, or separate development<sup>13</sup>. Apartheid was essentially a systemic, cogent, and coherent strategy by the ‘White’ minority government to consolidate ‘White’ domination in political, economic, and sociocultural spheres of life whilst simultaneously usurping the possibility for democratic governance and participation of other race groups in the political process. Identified by historians as the two foundational pillars of a *grand apartheid*<sup>14</sup> were the *Population Registration Act (PRA; 1950)* which created compulsory registration for all persons living in South Africa with the national register of races, and the *Group Areas Act (GAA; 1950)* which segregated the residential and trading areas of different race groups (Thompson, 2001).

Although the GAA further embedded Indian communities as separate from ‘White’, ‘Black’, and ‘Coloured’ communities; the PRA, and its many subsequent amendments and corollaries, set into motion a splintering of racial classifications for the Indian community. Indian South Africans would collectively come to be known under a variety of different colonial and apartheid era names, including Black, Coloured, Asiatic, and Asian (Desai & Vahed, 2010). More importantly, it was during this period that skin colour also provided the grounds for further stratification within the Indian community, for example, the emergence of a “Malay” racial category. Of anthropological significance is how many of these racialised divisions also intersected with economic divisions as well as the social caste system which had been imported through the collective cultural consciousness of Indian South Africans from their indigenous countries (Desai & Vahed, 2010). These internal divisions would be superimposed by the structural and ideological divisions sowed by apartheid social eugenics where lighter skin colours were given greater preference or status in the social order (Padayachee, 2003).

One of the agendas undertaken by the *Department of Indian Affairs*, established in 1961 under the National Party, was to encourage the repatriation of Indian South Africans back to their native countries. However as repatriation became increasingly unlikely to succeed towards 1980s the National Party reformed the constitution to allow both Indian, and Coloured, South Africans to participate in governance, albeit with a miniscule role in

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<sup>13</sup> See appendix K for a brief listing of key pre-apartheid and colonial-era legislation applying to South African Indians in colonial Natal.

<sup>14</sup> The creation of separate homelands or “Bantustans” for Black South Africans.

meaningful political involvement<sup>15</sup>. The move by the apartheid regime to grant Indians limited access to power is somewhat emblematic of the tenuous relationship that Indian and 'Black' South Africans have had throughout South African history.

Local Indian resistance to colonial and apartheid rule first came in the form of the Natal Indian Congress which Gandhi assisted to found in 1894 (Reddy, 1985). Reddy has suggested that as Indians transitioned from working immigrants to actually being born in South Africa the Indian struggle against oppression became more committed and concerted (1985). Gandhi himself said of the relationship between African and Indian South Africans: "... there is a real moral bond between Asiatics and Africans. It will grow as time passes" (Reddy, 1985). This was particularly true with the formation of the South African Indian Congress (SAIC) headed by Drs. Yusuf Dadoo and Monty Naicker which entered into joint resistance campaigns with the ANC from the 1940s<sup>16</sup>. Although many South Africans of Indian descent went on to participate within the resistance structures of the ANC, South African Communist Party (SACP), and Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), the new South Africa has seen many Indians feeling disenchanting with the gains of the "struggle" post-1994.

Indians, since the dawn of democracy in South Africa, are perceived to have been far more successful than the Black majority in regards to their material uplifting and upward social mobility. The defining stereotype of the contemporary Indian South African is of a merit-focused and enterprising individual who has a talent for business; which also has to be seen in light of Indians still being considered historically marginalized in terms of employment equity legislation, and therefore receiving the benefits of affirmative action. Hence this research study holds benefit to shed light on how broader stereotypes of Indian South Africans are negotiated by a sample of Indian boys, especially with reference to key masculine role norms such as achievement and status.

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<sup>15</sup> An Indian parliament, known as the House of Delegates, was created under a new tricameral parliament. Indian South Africans could be granted South African citizenship and political franchise, although this would remain subordinate to the authority of the White parliament. The tricameral system was a complete failure as it continued to deny political franchise to the Black majority.

<sup>16</sup> Notably in the early 1950s defiance campaigns conducted by the ANC in partnership with the SAIC and CPO (Coloured Peoples Organization).

In 2002 the precarious relationship that Indian and 'Black' South Africans have shared was brought to the fore when South African playwright and Verulam-born lyricist Mbongeni Ngema penned and recorded his song *AmaNdiya*. The song focused on what Ngema believed were the injustices and racism that 'Black' South Africans faced at the hands of Indian South Africans. The song became highly controversial and was deemed defamatory by many and banned soon thereafter. Moreover a shift in Indian South Africans political support away from the ANC towards opposition parties, for example the Democratic Alliance (DA), which is largely supported by 'Whites', has also seen many Indians align themselves as having more in common with fellow minorities, including their former 'White' oppressors, as opposed to 'Black' struggle movements. Consequently this research aims to understand how masculine values, such as dominance, manifest in a minority population group with the historical legacies of indenture, colonialism, and apartheid, as well as having an antagonistic relationship with both Black and White South Africans: the respective masters of the new and old South Africa.

### **2.3.2. The bustling business and bodies of Bollywood<sup>17</sup>**

The Indian community in South Africa has carved out a significant place for itself in the realm of social and entertainment media primarily catering to the Indian community. The Bollywood film industry is a bustling enterprise in KwaZulu-Natal, which forms an integral part of radio stations geared towards an Indian listenership, television stations and programming of various local and international Indian content, cinema houses devoted to screening Bollywood movies, stalls and markets which deal in legally procured and pirated Bollywood DVDs, and dedicated Indian newspaper sections which service the Indian community and cover Bollywood-related news, events, and gossip. The former slogan of the South African radio station *Lotus fm*<sup>18</sup> reads, "Not everything is black and white", and is symbolic of the efforts of the Indian community in South Africa to define and assert itself amongst other race groups which have largely dominated South African social life. With relevance to a study on Indian adolescent males, this study follows from

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<sup>17</sup> The term "Bollywood" more accurately refers to the Hindi-language film industry which is a component of the larger Indian cinema business; but the term has recently been appropriated as a collective term for Indian cinema.

<sup>18</sup> This radio station based in KwaZulu-Natal which caters exclusively to the South African Indian community.

previous research which investigates sociocultural factors which influence male body image with particular attention being paid to the portrayal of the male body in Indian cinema

According to Lorenzen (2009) Bollywood represents “the cluster of film and media companies in Mumbai, India” (p.3). Lorenzen reports that this industry churns out over 1100 films annually and sold 3.6 billion tickets globally in 2001, which has made it the world’s largest film producer above Hollywood. Lorenzen (2009) goes on to say that:

Bollywood is well suited for theory building because it is an extreme and prototypical case of a cultural cluster that grows under globalization. With its growing global impact upon films, music, dance, and other art forms, Bollywood is developing its own strong global brand and is also becoming big business, attracting massive investments.” (p.3).

One of the engines which drive the expansion of Bollywood to transnational frontiers is its explosion in popularity amongst the various Indian diasporas in the United States, Eurasia, and Africa. The Confederation of Indian Industry (CII) and KPMG have reported that export revenues have grown 30-50% annually during the last few years to amount to the current 16% of total revenues for the Bollywood industry (2005). It is also projected that Bollywood will collect more than 200 million US dollars abroad and achieve an export growth of over 20% in 2010 (CII & KPMG, 2005; FICCI & Ernst and Young, 2008).

Analysts have attributed part of Bollywood’s prolific success to its formulaic combination of (heterosexual) romance, action, comedy, and dance; all packaged within traditional, culturally conservative values (Lorenzen, 2009). A key ingredient in Bollywood’s continuing success amongst the younger generations of the Indian diasporas has been the industry’s fervent inculcation of young and beautiful actors, actresses and celebrities who achieve almost deity-like status amongst the Indian populace (Lorenzen, 2009). In this vein the present study builds on the work of Ciecko (2001) who questions the representational positions of Bollywood male stars in films. Specifically this study brings into focus the portrayal of the male somatoform as muscular, fit, and physically tough, as means of ingratiating an embodied gender politics in Indian sociocultural attitudes towards appearance.

For decades only minor variations in the storylines of Bollywood plots would have occurred, but since the new millennium a progressive diversification in the social themes that Bollywood films tackle has emerged. Sanjay Sharma's 2010 film, *Dunno Y ... Na Jaane Kyun*<sup>19</sup> is the first mainstream Bollywood film to use a gay romantic relationship as its core subject matter. It will be the first film of its kind to feature a gay male kiss and has been mockingly dubbed by the Bollywood popular press as the "*Brokeback Mountain* of Bollywood". It has been met with anger and protest by some quarters of Indian society where gay and lesbian sexual orientations are still regarded in India, and its diasporas, as a cultural taboo. It was only recently in India where colonial anti-sodomy era legislation criminalizing homosexuality was repealed in 2009 (Misra, 2009). Understanding heterosexism and heteronormativity, as fundamental tenets of traditional masculine ideology and sociocultural values in the Indian cultural milieu, is of pivotal concern in this investigation. In the spirit of Judith Butler's words: "bodies will be indissociable from the regulatory norms that govern their materialization and the signification of those material effects" (1993, p.2); this study aims to grasp how the intersection of sociocultural portrayals of male body image in Indian cinema and the values of traditional masculinity facilitate a morphogenesis of bodies that are gendered, sexed and find status *in-situ*.

This chapter has served to introduce the two theories which will provide the theoretical framework upon which this study is based. To the researcher's knowledge this is one of the first studies that has applied these two theories in conjunction with one another to the investigation of traditional masculinity and body image in Indian South African school going boys. The following chapter will provide a discussion of the empirical literature concerning these two theories.

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<sup>19</sup> Roughly meaning 'don't know why'.

## CHAPTER 3: EMPIRICAL LITERATURE REVIEW

### 3.1. Traditional masculinity and the male body

Rob Connell (1995) has highlighted that at the heart of the 'real man' ideology is the materiality of the male body. Connell posits that "true masculinity is almost always thought to proceed from men's bodies – to be inherent in a male body or to express something about a male body" (1995, p.44). For Connell "masculine gender is (among other things) a certain feel to the skin, certain muscular shapes and tensions, certain postures and ways of moving, certain possibilities in sex" (1995, pp.52-53).

Connell's notion of the male body as a symbolic tool for masculinity has been affirmed by Wienke's (1998) comments on how traditional masculinity conveys "formidable presence in the world" (p.226), and that this is most readily done so through the male body. Roberto Olivardia has also demonstrated the empirical support for this argument having shown that 154 college males who held more traditionally masculine views tended towards idealizing mesomorphology (2001). Olivardia's findings are of significance in assessing the role muscularity has come to play in defining masculinity. In the context of empirical studies which point toward the body becoming a site on which all manner of statuses can be negotiated, such as wealth, sexuality, religiosity, and counter-culture membership, masculinity joins these ranks. Olivardia has stated that:

achieving a body ideal that is well chiseled and very muscular can be a powerful symbolic expression of one's manhood ... For some men, the purpose of being very muscular is to convey strength and power, causing others to be fearful or to feel intimidated (2001, p.256).

Associations to aggression, toughness, and mastery are some of the primary universal characteristics of traditional masculinity identified by Connell (1987, 1994, 1995, 2000, 2001a, 2001b, 2002); however one such characteristic also identified has been 'avoidance of femininity'. If considering that a key tenet of modern femininity was concern with the body, or more specifically, aesthetic appearance, then males' concerns about their appearance stand in a sharp irony to traditional masculinity. Theorists have underscored that men's concern about appearance should be more accurately reflected as a

preoccupation with policing the male body to ensure it meets hegemonic standards, not necessarily associated with the connotations of beauty (Connell, 1995; Pleck, 1981, 1995).

Yet to simply embody hegemonic masculinity is not enough; it must also be enacted. With relevance to this research are studies conducted by Swain (2005) and Ratele et al., (2007) in schools. Swain found that body-reflexive practices pertaining to a physical masculinity could be exerted through dominance on the sports field as well as in intimidating and bullying-type behaviours in schools (2005). The photo-narrative research conducted with South African school boys by Blackbeard and Lindegger (2007) also supports the idea that sport is key in hegemonising or marginalizing school boy masculinities. In a study of 14-16 year old school boys and their talk around manhood Ratele et al., (2007) emphasized that the vocabulary of manhood elicits standards of hegemonic masculinity which can only be proven through boys' performances of traditional masculinity in their gestures, speech, and behaviour.

However research by Langa (2008) has shown that 'alternative young masculinities' amongst boys can also be constructed through pursuing academics and mastering school work. Unsurprisingly the forging of such an identity position is both difficult and subject to many obstacles such as goading from one's peers (Langa, 2008). The idea of intellectual achievements in school work as a means of developing an alternative nontraditional masculinity is of importance to this study given the South African stereotype that Indian school boys are merit-focused and academic achievers.

Of greatest significance to research on South African masculinities has been to extrapolate the more insidious elements of traditional masculinity viz. violence and aggressive hypersexuality. Shefer, Ratele, Shabalala and Buikema (2007) highlight that South Africa's police service documented 55 114<sup>20</sup> rapes from April to March of 2004/2005. Not only is this one of the highest rape rates in the world but it occurs in the midst of an HIV infection rate reported at 10.9% (SANS, 2008). Both Kehily (2001) and Govender's (2010) interview based research with school boys highlights the creation of

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<sup>20</sup> Activists have stated that it is likely rates of rape and gender-based violence are much higher than are officially documented by the South African Police Service. A culture of silence and taboo for the victims as well as structural inefficiency and maladministration within the social welfare and policing services are often highlighted as key factors in this respect.



an ‘active masculinity’ rhetoric in which boys go on to deploy their bodies in doing heterosexuality, aggressively if necessary. Underlying these findings is an increasing concern regarding the ‘weaponization’ of the body, or in other words, boys’ bodies being molded to brutally maintain the patriarchal dividend – an idea which has been proposed by radical feminist Andrea Dworkin for some years now (Dworkin, 1984).

### **3.2. Sociocultural trends in masculine appearance**

Bottamini and Ste-Marie (2006) found the ideal body physique was a tall, lean, and muscular figure for boys aged of 18 to 25 years of age. This outcome is echoed in similar studies (Klein, 1993; Lynch & Zellner, 1999; Robertson, 2003; Soulliere, 2006; Spector-Mersel, 2006). The increasing presence of the muscular mesomorph in western media at least, has been acutely felt in South Africa media and discourse of late. A recent newspaper article entitled *It's a man's world (Tonight, 21 January 2010)*, detailed how South African television audiences had been swept up by a flurry of programming geared predominately towards men, or as the reporter quipped ‘*Oke*<sup>21</sup>-TV’. The variety of this new programming is largely split across two lines: reality television shows, and lifestyle or ‘magazine’ shows. The former comprises of programmes such as *Bar-One Manhunt*, “a reality show with guys doing extreme stuff like jumping out of helicopters and calling their girlfriends fat” (*Tonight, 21 January 2010, p.4*); and *MAN* a reality show following four men around Cape Town as they negotiate the ‘trials and tribulations’ of dating and sexual relationships in South Africa. An exemplar of the latter brand of shows is *C.I.G.A.R.E.*, “a magazine programme where former Mr South Africa’s talk about, *laahk*<sup>22</sup>, chicks<sup>23</sup> and cars and stuff and also, *laahk*, serious stuff” (*Tonight, 21 January 2010, p.4*). In this vein the articles author states: “It’s a brave new world traditionally dominated by *Sex and the City*, *Oprah* and tampon ads. Execs are cottoning onto the notion that maybe TV isn’t only what women watch, while men go out and hunt” (*Tonight, 21 January 2010, p.4*). Besides the distinct absence of Indian males in all three programmes named here a central piece of the shows’ subject matter is masculine appearance. In fact where academic discussions around the ‘new man’ have spoken about

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<sup>21</sup> South African male slang phrase meaning ‘guy’.

<sup>22</sup> South African male slang phrase meaning ‘like’.

<sup>23</sup> South African male slang phrase meaning ‘attractive female’.

the metrosexual male, a muscular male who uses moisturizing creams and shaves his chest, arms, and legs; the *retrosexual* is the new masculine appearance touted in this variety of television programming. The retrosexual is epitomized by the man who, in keeping with his rugged masculinity, embraces and valorizes his conquering physique, body hair, and ‘rough edges’ of his masculinity. Cultural theorists have noted however that regardless of the nuanced superficial differences between the metrosexual and retrosexual, both figures cut a clear impression of the body taking centre stage in defining masculinity and identity (Luciano, 2001).

According to Giddens (1991) this trend in masculine appearance is part of larger societal transformations brought on by latter modernity. These transformations have pushed individuals to deliberately gaze reflexively upon the body in order to self-identify. Giddens asserts that this trend is accompanied with the rise of body image industries which have been able to carve bodies into discrete parts that can each be precisely chiseled, punished, and modified to perfection (1991). Empirically, the development of scales which contain sections dedicated to assessing satisfaction with distinct body parts is a reflection of this trend, for example, Agliata’s (2005) Appearance Inventory for Men (AIM) and Cash’s (2000) Multidimensional Body-Self Relations Questionnaire (MBSRQ). Therefore, for Giddens, the idea of alienation as a consequence of postmodernity not only plays out in the relationship between ‘the self’ and the body but also between parts of the body. Hence the body projects which mold and shape the materiality of body parts are an essential element of stitching together the male soma and anchoring it in some form of ontological stability (Giddens, 1991). Research by Meyer and Govender (2009) on South African school boys demonstrated that although boys were most dissatisfied with their overall weight (28.5% of boys), they were significantly dissatisfied with their mid torso (26%) and upper torso (19.5%). Martin and Govender (2010) identified school boys were most dissatisfied with their arms (64.6%), followed by the chest (61.3%), and then their legs (54.5%).

Values of masculinity are also tightly interwoven with the muscularity of specific body parts, most notably the chest and upper body (Pope et al., 2000). ‘Man-boobs’<sup>24</sup> or ‘moobs’ represents the latest phrase to enter the popular lexical morass around the male

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<sup>24</sup> Medically known as *gynaecomastia*.

body. The phrase refers to an accumulation of adipose tissue on a male's chest; and a jaundiced, masculinity-chastising reference to men possessing female breasts. It was reported that in 2006 four-thousand men had their 'man-boobs' removed in Britain alone; double the number in 2005 (Beale, 2007). Steve Beale remarked after having his 'moobies' surgically removed: "Not only do I no longer have the 'unattractive protuberances' themselves but the effect on my overall silhouette has been just as dramatic. I've a V-shaped torso rather than being noticeably top-heavy" (Beale, 2007, p.1). Beale's commentary also highlights that many men who work in so-called 'masculine professions', he cites firefighting as an example, have opted for cosmetic surgeries to remove their 'moobs' (Beale, 2007). Also identified as a motivator for men to remove their 'moobs' have been gibes from other men in 'locker-room' exchanges (Beale, 2007). The environment of 'locker-room' or 'change-room masculinity', where it is acceptable for men to gaze at other men's bodies in an evaluatory manner, follows from Connell's (1995, 2002) proposition that masculinity(ies) are policed as the male body is collectively regulated by other men in the move towards anti-femininity.

### **3.2.1. Sociocultural attitudes towards appearance, appearance schemas, and internalization**

During the course of development boys are bombarded with an innumerable quantity of messages about their appearance. The sources of these messages range from school peers, family members, health care professionals, and the popular print and electronic media (Grieve, 2007; Thompson et al., 2004). Altogether these sources constitute the pantheon of sociocultural attitudes towards appearance, in which the male body ideals associated with athleticism, exercise, fitness, and muscularity have become more prevalent (Grieve, 2007; Thompson et al., 2004). This body ideal carries particular connotations of a man who is ready for action, commanding, and powerful (Grieve, 2007; Thompson et al., 2004). Cultural commentators have testified that the popular culture media represents a key reference point for contemporary youths as it broadcasts the dominant and accepted 'truths' that children and adolescents use to satiate their desires for belonging and acceptance from others (Jenkins, 2005; Luciano, 2001; Pope et al., 2000). Anecdotally it has been hypothesized that female populations have shown a steady rise in the prevalence

of eating disorders and cosmetic surgery with changes in media portrayals of women in the form of the thin body ideal.

Empirical findings which indicate that older cohorts of males in their 60s and 70s do not experience body image distresses and anxieties as markedly as younger males do (Lynch & Zellner, 1999; Pope et al., 2000), serves as evidence that sociocultural values regarding male appearance have become more salient for men. Experimental research shows males who are exposed to photographs and advertisements of muscular men tend to display higher levels of body satisfaction post-exposure (Grieve, 2007; Pope et al., 2000); implicating the mesomorph as the sociocultural body ideal for men. In the world of advertising, where the boundaries between muscular male bodies, a successful heterosexuality, and consumer status, are often blurred with one another, there lies the implication that mesomorphic bodies are the body type most lustfully desired by women (Pope et al., 2000). The irony is that there is roughly a “15 to 20 pound difference in muscle between what men *thought* women want and what women *actually* want” (Pope et al., 2000, p.73).

Cash and Labarge (1996) suggest that not all individuals who are exposed to ‘beautiful bodies’ will experience negative affect reactions or engage in appearance regulating actions. They maintain that individuals who possess cognitive schemata which prioritise the processing of information about appearance, or ‘appearance-schematic individuals’, are the most likely to feel a defunct sense of self-worth if their appearance is incongruent with societal ideals (Cash & Labarge, 1996). However Cash and Labarge (1996) attest that appearance schemas are highly peculiar, and dependent on the contextual experiences of individuals relative to the sociocultural values about appearance they are exposed to during development. This would explain the results of male body image research that demonstrates the pursuit of differential versions of mesomorphology, that is, the athletic and leaner mesomorph, and the muscularly perverse hypermesomorph (Klein, 1993). In other words males schematic for a leaner but muscular body, characteristic of sportsmen, would process information, experience body dis/satisfaction, and behaviourally pursue body change strategies, that are conducive to conditioning a lean body ideal (Cash & Labarge, 1996; Grieve, 2007); compared to males for example in the bodybuilding industry who may be schematic for muscle bulk and

size. The common element here is that most desired physique amongst men is a muscular one – which is consequently portrayed by the media as the body that all men want and all women want to be with (Pope et al., 2000).

Bridging the gap between sociocultural attitudes towards appearance and appearance schematicity is the mechanism of internalization. Internalization, broadly speaking, is the “incorporation of specific values to the point that they become guiding principles” (Thompson et al., 2004, p.294). Internalization has received attention in research on male body image to the extent that it is the internalization of sociocultural attitudes towards muscularity and male mesomorphology that shapes boys’ cognitive body schemata (Thompson et al., 2004). Evidence has shown an association between ideal body internalization and the degree of body satisfaction (Agliatta & Tantleff-Dunn, 2004; Grieve, 2007; Higgins, 1987; Thompson et al., 2004). Researchers have also identified the popular media as problematic in this regard as media advertisements, billboards, and promotionals, all create the circumstances for social comparison (Grieve, 2007). Thus as the number of male bodies becomes increasingly omnipresent and their morphology more muscular, the opportunities for social comparison of the masculine body increases for young boys (Thompson et al., 2004).

### **3.2.2 Body image and risk**

A review of the empirical literature on male body image and associated risks can for the most part be split into two outcome categories: (1) psychoemotional anxieties and disturbances associated with negative perceptions or evaluations of body image; and (2) behavioural risks boys perform in order to attain a perceived body ideal. Firstly, a number of studies have found significant positive correlations between poorer evaluations of self-worth and negative attitudes towards appearance (Bartsch, 2007; Bohne, Keuthen, Wilhelm, Deckersbach, & Jenicke, 2002; Cafri et al., 2006; Grieve, 2007; Martin & Govender, 2010); and experiences of depression and critical body attitudes (Margolies, 1999; Oosthuizen, Lambert, & Castle, 1998; Sobanski & Schmidt, 2000). Grieve proposes, in a model of muscle dysmorphia for males, that self-esteem has a reciprocal relationship with ideal body internalization, body dissatisfaction, and negative affect (2007). For Grieve (2007) lower levels of self-esteem are associated with severer body

dissatisfaction and a poorer quality of mood, which tend to become most pronounced when males are exposed to mesomorphic somatoforms. Worth noting is that the experience of a lower self-esteem may not just be a symptom of a negative appearance evaluation, it may also be a catalyst for boys to embark on behavioral modifications of their body.

Secondly, boys' desires for an ideal body has been shown to be associated with harmful weightlifting and resistance training habits (McCreary & Sasse, 2000), excessive dieting (Grieve, 2007), perceptions of body size inadequacy (Grieve, 2007), dysmorphic distress (Jorgensen, Castle, Roberts, & Groth-Marnat, 2001), and the use of ergogenic substances (Cafri et al., 2006). The use of performance-enhancing or muscle-hulking anabolic steroids has also become more prolific of late, specifically by South African boys competing in school rugby (Martin & Govender, 2010; *Sunday Times: Review*, 24 January 2010).

The risks school boys are willing to subject their emotional and physical health to must be seen within the environment of schools facilitating the collective acceptability and regulation of masculine norms (Govender 2006, 2010). In an extensive study of school boys' societal risk perceptions and masculinities Meyer (2009) found that the risk ideologies adhered to by participants were used in defense of hegemonic masculinity and the patriarchal dividend. This finding is indicative of one of the core features of traditional masculinity, namely, risk-taking (Meyer, 2010). An analysis of the literature on the subject indicates that risk-taking strategies are indeed diverse and contextually embedded; often taking the form of near-fatal thrill seeking (Meyer, 2010), non-relational modes of sexuality (Govender, 2010), and violent or antisocial behaviour (Cooper, 2009). Thus the risk behaviours boys' subject their bodies to should be seen as extreme body-reflexive practices intimately tied to the doing of a traditional masculinity.

### **3.3. Racial differences in traditional masculine ideology**

A host of South African studies have outlined a definitive racialisation of South African masculinities (Morrell, 1998, 2001a, 2001b, 2007; Xaba, 2001); more so at the level of school boy masculinities (Blackbeard & Lindegger, 2007; Govender, 2006, 2010). The intersection of traditional masculinity ideology, culture, and its closely associated

corollaries of race and ethnicity is a complex and nebulous negotiation for young boys.

Govender (2006) states:

In contemporary society, the construction of gendered identities involves a narrowing of choices which takes place in the context of other, overlapping layers of identity construction, most notably and obviously those of class and especially race ... a process of 'racialisation' occurs whereby images and discourses of 'Indianness' and 'Blackness' become vitally embroiled and invested in the ways in which masculinities are experienced. That is, ethnicities and racialised differences are powerfully intertwined with emergent masculinities not because of pre-existing and immutable differences between cultures, but because constructions of cultural diversity are crucial elements in the social contexts out of which masculinities emerge. This makes readings of race and ethnicity central to the process of generating masculinities. Since cultural practices are racialised and gendered as well as classed, racialised masculinities are both culturally produced and productive of cultural practices. (p.2)

The picture that is elaborated by Morrell, the most prolific writer on South(ern) African masculinities, is that "masculinities that formerly were oppositional – urban Black and rural African masculinities – are now jostling for ascendancy" (2001a, p.25). This is echoed by Xaba's (2001) study findings on struggle and post-struggle African masculinities. Morrell (2001a) also proposes that with the ascendancy of formerly oppressed masculinities the historically dominant White, 'baas',<sup>25</sup> masculinity has lost political currency. Martin and Govender's (2010) findings suggest something similar wherein a significant effect for traditional masculine ideology by race was found ( $F(4, 503)=4.458; p<0.01$ ): Indian boys sampled scored the highest degree of conformity ( $M=2.8285$ ), followed by Black adolescents ( $M=2.7440$ ), Coloured ( $M=2.6429$ ), and White ( $M=2.6238$ ) participants. Indian males have been generally underrepresented in South African masculinities research. However research has suggested that Indian school boy masculinities are often 'othered' by boys from 'Black' and 'White' race groups as *masculinely inept* (Govender, 2006) or displaced from hegemonic masculinity (Blackbeard & Lindegger, 2007).

### **3.4. Traditional masculinity and male body image in Bollywood cinema**

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<sup>25</sup> Refers to the "White supremacy" zeitgeist or domination over so-called 'non-White' people in South Africa under the National Party until the advent of democracy.

It has been highlighted that changes in the bodies of Hollywood actors are an indication of the increasing capital the muscular mesomorph has gained in western culture and media (Pope et al., 2000). In a similar although more recent trend male leads in Bollywood films have also undergone substantial remodeling into handsome, clean-cut, and strapping heroic figures (Cieko, 2001; Kavi, 2000). Kavi (2000) posits that these transformations are indicative of an increasing homoeroticization of the scantily clad male physique in Bollywood films. Yet this is mitigated by a misogynistic portrait of female characters as passive (Kavi, 2000). Although there have been changes in the gender and representational politics of Bollywood film plots, attributed largely to the industry seeking to cater to the international Indian diasporas, analysis of Bollywood films have underscored an emerging prevalence of a re-domestication of women in Bollywood films (Dudrah, 2006). Shakuntala Banaji has stated that these themes are often veiled in plots of female characters sacrificing their desires and dreams for the needs of the husband and homestead (2006). Banji, however, is critical of analysis that constructs Indian audiences “in a manner which made them all appear to be obsessed with patriarchal tradition” (2006, p.21). Yet Banji also provides testimony from Indian audiences that attributes the success of some of the highest grossing Bollywood films to their use of traditional Indian values<sup>26</sup> (2006). This is accompanied by research that shows normative concepts of masculinity amongst young Indian men reflect ideals of sexual potency and virility, physical strength, and the absence of *baila* (Hindu for feminine mannerisms; Verma et al., 2006).

In the South African context Morrell (2001a) argues that ‘White masculinity’s’ emphasis on appearance has other South African masculinities following suite. However the author of this study is aware that in the context of racialised masculinities, and moreover South African Indian boys constituting a minority in these masculinities, Klesse’s (2000) concerns regarding race and body image modification are of importance. Klesse claims that for racial minorities “identity *has not* turned into a free option for all subjects in all situations and all contexts” (2000, p.20). Thus in referencing the changes in western media and the behaviours of western audiences in relation to that of Indian

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<sup>26</sup> One such film discussed is *Hum Apke Hain Koun...!* (*Who Am I To You?*, 1994, Directed by Sooraj Barjatya).



South African school boys, “the dimensions of choice and personal design appear to be overemphasized, or universalized. The dimension of choice is circumscribed by the complex articulations of gender, ethnicity, ability and class, not to forget location/space” (Klesse, 2000, p.20).

This research study will investigate the relationship between traditional masculine role norms, body image discrepancy, body appearance schemas, and sociocultural attitudes towards appearance, in a sample of Indian South African school going boys. Based on a review of both the theoretical and empirical literature above it is evidenced that the male body plays a pivotal role in symbolizing and doing traditional masculine ideology and role norms. The proposed relationship between masculinity and the male body is strengthened by research which highlights the extolling of a robust and conservative masculinity associated with the male body in resolute and corporeal performances. In this light the present research study hypothesizes that endorsement of traditional masculine role norms will accompany a perceptual-evaluatory bias for the muscular mesomorph as the body ideal for boys.

Connell’s theoretical and empirical contribution to this study reiterates that versions of masculinity are tied to different types of body appearances and performances; which is true for the portrayal of heroic men in the Bollywood film industry. This study hypothesizes that boys’ tendency towards deploying their bodies in behavioural risks, specifically in the pursuit of muscularity, will be strongly associated with body image discrepancy, significant appearance investment, and obedience to traditional male role norms

Drawing on the broad spectrum of studies that make up the sociocultural argument on male appearance it is important to emphasize the role the media plays as an underwriter of sociocultural attitudes towards appearance. Research within this paradigm points to an increasing incongruence between boys’ actual bodies and the bodies they are internalizing as ideal. Hence from the perspective of symbolic interactionist thought the formation of boys’ cognitive appearance schemas are being negotiated within the context of sociocultural pressures akin to what women have experienced for decades. Thus where concern about appearance is quite natural during the periods of adolescence, distress

about attaining or adhering to mesomorphic ideals can become problematic. This study hypothesizes that Indian boys responses to psychometric measures on appearance schemas and sociocultural attitudes towards appearance will reflect sociocultural trends towards idolizing the muscular mesomorph somatoform as well as displaying the experience of significant pressure from the media to satisfy male body ideals. Yet for most boys these body image ideals will remain largely unattainable.

The empirical literature related to traditional masculinity and male body image has been discussed in this chapter as well as the rationale guiding the research study. In the following chapter the broad research objectives and the specific aims of this study will be outlined and discussed in relation to the methodology employed.

## **CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY**

### **4.1. Broad objectives and research questions**

This study set out to investigate the relationship between traditional masculine role norms, body image discrepancy, body appearance schemas, and sociocultural attitudes towards appearance, in a sample of Indian South African school going boys, between the ages of 13 and 18 years old. The primary objective of this study was to examine how Indian boys' endorsements of traditional masculine ideology are associated to their subjective perceptions and normative expectations about male body image. In addition this study aimed to examine how the core beliefs and assumptions about masculine identity are aligned to the value, significance, and impressions of appearance in a boy's life. Lastly this study also attempted to determine the influence that sociocultural factors, specifically the pressures of media influence, the internalization of an athletic ideal, and the internalization of a male body ideal idolized by Bollywood, has on body image discrepancy. Specifically, the following research questions were formulated to guide this study:

- Does adherence to traditional masculine role norms significantly influence body image discrepancy experienced by Indian school going boys?
- Does adherence to traditional masculine role norms amongst Indian school going boys significantly correlate with body appearance schemas?
- Do sociocultural attitudes towards appearance significantly influence body image discrepancy?

### **4.2. Research design**

A quantitative cross-sectional design, using survey research methods, was used to investigate the relationship between traditional masculine role norms, body image discrepancy, body appearance schemas, and sociocultural attitudes towards appearance, in a sample of Indian South African school going boys. Cross-sectional designs are synonymous with maximizing the description of interrelationships between variables in quantitative research studies (Shaughnessy & Zechmeister, 1994). This study attempted to fashion a quantitatively descriptive phenomenology of Indian boys' perceptions,

evaluations, and behaviours regarding their bodies. This author follows a *pragmatic philosophical perspective* (Howe's 1988) in which quantitative methodology is employed to build qualitative inference.

### **4.3. Participants and sampling**

The research study was conducted at a co-gender, state funded secondary school in the Phoenix community 10 minutes north-west of Durban's metro region, in the province of KwaZulu-Natal. Phoenix is one of the historically marginalized Indian communities from South Africa's colonial and apartheid past. Most if not all the schools in Phoenix still bare the burden of the legacy of apartheid; as many of them have educational facilities and financial resource which are far below the norm for former 'model C' schools located in suburban (historically White) communities.

This study employed purposive sampling to access the prospective sample of Indian boys. Although purposive sampling, as a category of non-probability sampling, will decrease the generalisability of the findings (Hedges, 2004); it provides a greater degree of representivity in line with the study focus (Shaughnessy & Zechmeister, 1994). The selected school is centrally located in Phoenix and serves an economically and culturally diverse student body. Most learners come from the working class to lower middle class families characteristic of Phoenix. Importantly this environment serves as a prime site in which boys can compare their bodies as well as negotiate the more conservative elements of traditional male role norms which have been identified as prominent amongst boys in working class locales (Govender, 2006, 2010; Frosh et al., 2002).

The participants sampled were 495 Indian school boys<sup>27</sup>. The total sample was composed of an overriding presence of Indian school boys: an essential element to sampling the values, attitudes, and behaviours of Indian boys that are potentially normative in regards to their body image, masculinity values, and attitudes towards appearance. A cohort of 13 to 18 years of age was selected on the basis that these groups represent the transformational age bracket in which boys undergo a number of

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<sup>27</sup> The racial profile for the total of male learners at the school site includes 35 Black and 6 Coloured school boys. Although their data was collected, it was not processed in line with the study objectives.

developmental, morphological, and psychosocial transformations in which they are required to negotiate and reconcile the values and behaviors associated with traditional masculinity (Connell, 1995; Frosh et al., 2002). For this sample the age profile is as follows: 15 years or younger (43.3%); 16 years (24.4%); 17 years (20.5%); and 18 years or older (11.8%). Of significance is that this site offers the possibility for boys to stratify themselves on the basis of their grade and age, whereby seniority in grade and age typically grants more masculine status. The breakdown per grade: grade 8 (18.7%); grade 9 (27.1%); grade 10 (21.5%); grade 11 (16.2%); and grade 12 (16.6%).

#### **4.4. Data collection and procedure**

The boys from the sampled school, and their parent/guardian, were informed about the nature and purpose of the study through an information letter (see appendix C). The information letter emphasized the purpose and integrity of the research, the anonymity of participation, right to informed consent, and the right to withdraw at any time. Informed consent forms were given to the parent/guardian, as well as the participant, to provide permission for participation (see appendices D and E). The data was collected during the Life Orientation (LO) lesson for each particular class in their respective classrooms; during which the female learners were removed from the class. Prior to the lesson, the assisting teachers received standardized instructions on how to instruct, administer, and collect the survey data; as well as how to control for possible confounding variables such as noise, peer distraction, and peers looking at each other's responses. Participants also received standardized instructions regarding the completion of the survey. Participants were given the LO lesson (50 minutes) to complete the survey; after which the measuring instruments and biographical questionnaire were gathered, sealed in envelopes and collected by the researcher. Given the large sample, this data collection procedure was employed so as to maximize efficiency and minimize disruption to the learning schedule. Data was collected over a week so as to account for possible student absenteeism. The booklet did not require students' names to ensure response anonymity, and encouraged honest answers from participants.

#### **4.5. Measuring instruments**

Quantitative data was collected using four psychometric questionnaires designed to measure the constructs of traditional masculinity, body image discrepancy, appearance schemata, and sociocultural attitudes towards appearance. A biographical questionnaire was also used to profile participants.

#### **4.5.1. Traditional masculine role norms** (see appendix H)

To assess Indian school boys' endorsement of traditional masculine values and behaviours the Male Role Norms Inventory (MRNI; Levant & Fisher, 1998) was employed. The MRNI was designed by Levant et al., (1992) to assess the "beliefs about the importance of men adhering to culturally defined standards of male behaviour" (Pleck in Levant & Fisher, 1998, p.1), that is, traditional masculine ideology. Theoretically the MRNI adopts a social constructionist stance aligning with the gender role strain paradigm. The MRNI is a 57-item scale which is grouped into eight subscales. The first seven subscales: avoidance of femininity, rejection of homosexuality, self-reliance, aggression, achievement/status, attitudes towards sex, and restrictive emotionality; and are empirically derived to represent traditional masculinity. The seven traditional subscales can be collectively averaged into a single 'total traditional scale'. The eighth subscale assesses non-traditional attitudes towards masculinity. All items are presented in a random sequence and phrased as normative statements, for example, "Men should always be realistic"; an item of the self-reliance subscale. Participants rate their responses on a 7-point scale from *strongly disagree* (1) to *strongly agree* (7), with 4 being neutral (*neither agree nor disagree*). The MRNI, unlike shorter measures of masculinity, offers a truly multidimensional and comprehensive take on traditional masculinity and therefore has the potential to reflect differential compositions of traditional masculinity depending on the prevailing context.

Levant and Fischer (1998) have cited Cronbach alphas achieved in separate studies for the MRNI indicating a robust internal consistency: avoidance of femininity (0.77, 0.82), rejection of homosexuality (0.54, 0.58), self-reliance (0.54, 0.51), aggression (0.52, 0.65), achievement/status (0.67, 0.69), attitudes towards sex (0.69, 0.81), restrictive emotionality (0.75, 0.81), total traditional scale (0.84, 0.88), and non-traditional attitudes (0.57, 0.56). For the present study the following inter-item reliabilities were evidenced:

avoidance of femininity (.73), rejection of homosexuality (0.50), self-reliance (0.68), aggression (0.63), achievement/status (0.63), attitudes towards sex (0.79), restrictive emotionality (0.88), total traditional scale (0.93), and non-traditional attitudes (0.97).

On validity, Levant and Fischer (1998) indicated that MRNI showed acceptable convergent and discriminant validity with the Masculine Gender Role Stress Scale (MGRSS;  $r=.52, p<.001$ ) and the Gender Role Conflict Scale (GRCS-I;  $r=.52, p<.001$ ). The above measures indicate a highly probable consistency with gender role strain and operationalised traditional masculine ideology.

#### **4.5.2. Body image discrepancy** (see appendix G)

A measure for body image discrepancy in boys has been adapted for the purpose of this study. It is divided into three sections: 'A', 'B', and 'C'. For 'A' the male figure drawings have been borrowed from Lynch and Zellner (1999, in Bottamini & Ste-Marie, 2006), and some questions are adapted from Pope et al., (2000). This measure seeks to gauge the boys' subjective perceptions of their bodies (questions one and two); normative beliefs regarding body image (questions three and four); and perceptions of the most common male somatoform portrayed in Bollywood films (question five). Bartsch (2007) has proposed that should discrepancies emerge between perceptions of the actual self and ideal self it is likely to provoke anxiety about body image. There is no psychometric data on this measure, and for the exception of question five, it is the same measure used in Martin and Govender's (2010) study.

For section 'B' a number of different techniques and strategies that boys use to alter their muscular appearance were listed. The techniques, which include strategies such as dieting, use of skin creams, and the use of hair products, were for the most part adjusted from Claiborn and Pedrick (2002) and Agliata (2005). Participants were asked to rate their likelihood of engaging, or having engaged, in said strategies on a 5-point response scale from *not at all likely* (1) to *already did it/ doing it currently* (5). The reasoning behind section 'B' lies in Monaghan's assertion that "the body's being-in-the-world is mediated through perceptual meaning, and meanings are subject to re-definitions, re-locations and re-alignments, [hence] social theorists should concern themselves with the concrete practices through which real bodies are produced" (2000, p.

276). The author's theoretical allegiance to symbolic pragmatism also emphasizes that the doing of masculine appearance is critical in analyzing how Indian boys are embodying the project of a reflexive self.

For part 'C' three statements about the degree muscular satisfaction for three key body areas were posed, namely, the chest, arms, and legs. Participants were asked to rate their degree of satisfaction on a 5-point response scale from *never* (1) to *always* (5). The three questions were adapted from McCreary and Sasse's (2000) 15 item Drive for Muscularity Scale (DMS) which was developed in order to measure the attitudes and behaviours related to increasing muscularity. The specific use of these three questions is in line with from male body image measures which seek to determine the degree of satisfaction with discrete body parts (Agliata, 2005; McCreary & Sasse, 2000).

#### **4.5.3. Appearance schemas** (see appendix I)

The Appearance Schemas Inventory (ASI) was used to evaluate participants' "core beliefs or assumptions about the importance, meaning, and effects of appearance in one's life" (Cash & Labarge, 1996, p.37). The ASI is a 14-item scale which is grouped into three subscales: body image vulnerability (the tendency to evaluate one's appearance as socially unacceptable), self-investment (the tendency to think of physical appearance as central to one's self-concept), and appearance stereotyping (the tendency to activate social stereotypes about attractiveness and unattractiveness). Participants rate their responses to personal opinion statements, for example, "Aging will make me less attractive", on a 5-point scale from *strongly disagree* (1) to *strongly agree* (5).

The Cronbach alpha reliabilities for the present study were situated as follows: self-investment factor (0.75), body image vulnerability (0.91), appearance stereotyping (0.81), and a total scale of 0.89. This is similar to the 0.84 alpha obtained by Cash and Labarge (1996) for the full scale. On a point of validity Cash and Labarge (1996) indicated that the ASI presented a strong known-groups validity in the ASI's ability to differentiate nonclinical and clinical groups with body image disturbance ( $t(271) = 3.60$ ,  $p < .001$ ).

#### **4.5.4. Sociocultural attitudes towards appearance** (see appendix J)



The Sociocultural Attitudes Towards Appearance Scale-3 (SATAQ-3; Thompson et al., 2004) was used to measure aspects of societal influence on body image. The SATAQ-3 is a 30-item scale which is grouped into two factors regarding internalization and the function of the media. Appearance internalization subscales are the 'generic media influence', related to television, magazines, and movies, and 'internalization of athletic and sport figures'. These factors are complemented with another two subscales for media function, namely, media pressures, and the media as an informational source on appearance. Participants rate their responses on a 5-point scale from *definitely disagree* (1) to *definitely agree* (5). Research by Thompson et al., (2004) has demonstrated high Cronbach's alphas for the four subscales: information (0.96), pressures (0.92), internalization-athlete (0.95), and internalization-general (0.96), and total subscale (0.96). The present study found acceptable internal consistency Cronbach alphas: information (0.96), pressures (0.68), internalization-athlete (0.79), and internalization-general (0.67), and total subscale (0.82). Convergent validity has been demonstrated between the subscales of the SATAQ-3 and the Eating Disorder Inventory's body dissatisfaction and drive for thinness subscales (Thompson et al., 2004).

#### **4.5.5. Biographical questionnaire** (see appendix F)

To supplement the psychometric measures a 14-item biographical questionnaire was constructed. Three questions pertain to relevant biographical information about the participant, namely, the participant's age, race, and grade. One question inquired about competitive sport participation, as body-reflexive practices related to the performance of masculinity. One question asked about the role of muscularity in male self-worth. Three questions were oriented around subjective anxiety over body image appearance, to gauge potential feelings of shame and inadequacy over muscularity. Four questions requested information about altering muscularity as behavioural elements of conforming to masculine ideals and pursuing increased muscularity. The penultimate question inquired about the tendency towards disclosure to parents regarding steroid use. The final question gauged the subjective attitudes of whether or not the participant thought that Bollywood films put pressure on males to look muscular.

#### **4.6. Ethical considerations**

Ethical principals were considered during the formulation, conduct, and analysis of research data:

*Beneficence.* This research provides the opportunity to establish means to address negative psychological and behavioural consequences related to traditional masculinity and body image, for example, recommendations for counseling as well as the setting up of support groups and health promotion interventions.

*Participant autonomy.* An information letter was supplied to the participants and the parent/guardians to communicate the purpose of the research, the voluntary nature of it, and their right to withdraw at any time during the study.

*Participant anonymity and data confidentiality.* Response booklets did not require the names of participants, and numerical coding was used to manage the booklets. During the course of the study data was only available to the researcher and supervisor. On completion of the study electronic data was loaded on to a CD which has been stored, along with hard copies of data, in a secure location in the School of Psychology, Howard College Campus, UKZN. Any remaining data stored on computer has been destroyed.

*Informed consent.* Informed consent forms were supplied to participants and the parent/guardians. Only participants who had returned both sets of forms and replied in the affirmative participated in the study.

*Ethical clearance.* Prior to data collection the study was respectively vetted and approved by the UKZN School of Psychology and Faculty of Humanities Higher Degrees Committees, and ethical clearance obtained from the UKZN Ethics Committee.

*Research dissemination.* Findings have been made available to the sampled school. There is also the possibility for the results to be published in press, and to be used to design support groups or health promotion interventions, with the financial assistance of the NRF.

#### **4.7. Data analysis**

The data collected by the four psychometric measures was analyzed in conjunction with the responses to the biographical questionnaire to enhance the results of the data analysis. The statistical programme SPSS (version 15 for Windows) was used to analyze the data.

Descriptive statistics (frequencies, percentages, means, and standard deviations) were used to analyze biographical data and some data from the psychometric measures. Descriptive statistics facilitate the laconic presentation of biographical data, as well as easy comparison between the biographical items with the body image discrepancy measure (sections A, B and C), and the other psychometric measures, in comparison with findings from other studies (Shaughnessy & Zechmeister, 1994). Hence mean values were calculated for the total scales of the MRNI, ASI, and SATAQ-3, as well as all the applicable subscales.

Pearson's correlation coefficient ( $r$ ) was run to test the linear association between traditional male role norms, body image discrepancy, appearance schemas, and sociocultural attitudes towards appearance. Correlation statistics yield important data regarding the magnitude and the direction of the relationships between constructs (Lachenicht, 2002a). Correlations were also employed between biographical items and the psychometric measures; as well as selected subscales on the psychometric measures.

Multiple regression analyses were also used as a technique to "model multivariate relationships" (Tredoux, 2002, p.339) in order to establish which of the biographical items and psychometric measures/subscales acted as the best predictors for body image discrepancy, body appearance schemas, and sociocultural attitudes towards appearance, for a sample of Indian school boys.

One-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) procedures were run using grade as an independent variable, and body image discrepancy and traditional masculinity (the MRNI total traditional scale and subscales, and the non-traditional attitudes subscale). Analysis of variance is a procedure used for comparing sample means to see if there is sufficient evidence to infer that the means of the corresponding population distributions also differ, in an effort to ascertain significant differences within the comparisons being made (George & Mallery, 2008). Scheffé's test was subsequently used as a relatively conservative multiple comparison procedure to locate the differences between the means of significant ANOVAs.

A paired sample  $t$ -test was conducted between the nontraditional masculine role norms scale and the traditional masculine beliefs scale to establish the presence of a significant difference in adherence to these respective ideologies.  $T$ -tests assess compared

sample means to see if there is sufficient data to infer that differences amongst population means of the applicable samples also differ significantly (George & Mallery, 2008). The paired sample *t*-test however is a type of *t*-test that deals best with samples of individuals who experience both conditions of the variables of interest to identify differences between the conditions.

Chi-square tests of independence were used to test the association between selected nominal variables (Lachenicht, 2002b). The categorical variable of steroid or supplement usage was separately tested with: disclosure to parents, participation in sport, perceived pressure from Bollywood films, muscularity as equivalent to self-worth, and grade. Although chi-square tests of independence offer the opportunity to assess actual observed frequencies and the frequencies expected to occur in a sample, they fall short of any correlative function between categories (Lachenicht, 2002b).

## CHAPTER 5: RESULTS

Descriptive and inferential statistics were carried out to analyze the data and are presented hereunder.

### 5.1. Sample profile on biographical items

Descriptive statistics in the form of frequencies, percentages, means, and standard deviations were computed to determine the demographic characteristics of the sample of Indian South African school going boys, and were reported in chapter 4. In addition to this, the biographical questionnaire contained questions pertaining to: muscularity and self-worth; anxiety over physical appearance; the behavioural strategies performed in pursuit of a more muscular physique; disclosure to parents regarding steroid use; the degree to which Bollywood films were believed by the participants to pressurize males to look more muscular; and sport participation.

Interestingly, 79.3% of boys in the sample believe that having a larger musculature was tied to enhanced feelings of self-worth. Related to this were 64.2% of responses indicating the boys were sometimes distressed and anxious about their concerns over their muscle appearance, and 61.2% indicated they sometimes avoided having all or part of their body seen by others. In terms of the amount of time spent worrying about muscle tone and appearance 60.8% of boys spent 30-60 minutes worrying, and this was followed by 32.1% and 7.1% who spent less than 30 minutes and more than 60 minutes worrying, respectively. A substantial portion of the sample indicated that they take care of their physical appearance (95%), yet only 42% of the participants currently hold a gym membership. In relation to the amount of time spent each day on physical activities solely geared towards improving bodily appearance, 59.7% of boys expended 1-2 hours and 32.5% of boys spent less than an hour on such activities. With respect to the use of drugs and supplements taken to gain muscle mass, lose weight, or improve appearance, the boys' responses showed that 25% (121 boys of the 495 large sample) had only used legal supplements or drugs, 69.6% (340 boys) never used steroids or supplements, 2.1% (11 boys) had used a combination of legal and illegal supplements, and 3.4% (15 boys) used only illegal steroids and pills. Comparatively, the boys sampled for this study appear to have a lower incidence of anabolic-androgenic

steroid use than the adolescent males sampled by Cafri et al., (2006), who found that a total of 9.8% (26 of 269 adolescent males, with a mean age of 14.64) of their participants had used steroids, ephedrine, prohormones, or a combination. In regard to those participants who use steroids and supplements 18.7% indicated their parents did not know whereas 11.6% of boys had disclosed their supplement and steroid use to their parents. Lastly, when the sampled boys were asked about whether they believed that Bollywood films put pressure on males to look more muscular, the far majority (82.7%) responded in the affirmative.

Schools environments also offer boys the prospect to group and align themselves into masculine hierarchies by virtue of their participation in competitive sport. The two major sports offered by the sampled school are soccer (football) and cricket. From this, 80% (408 boys) indicated they engaged in competitive sport while 20% (87 boys) did not pursue competitive sport. Of those boys that competed, two-thirds played soccer (66%) while the remainders were a combination of soccer, cricket, and athletics (34%).

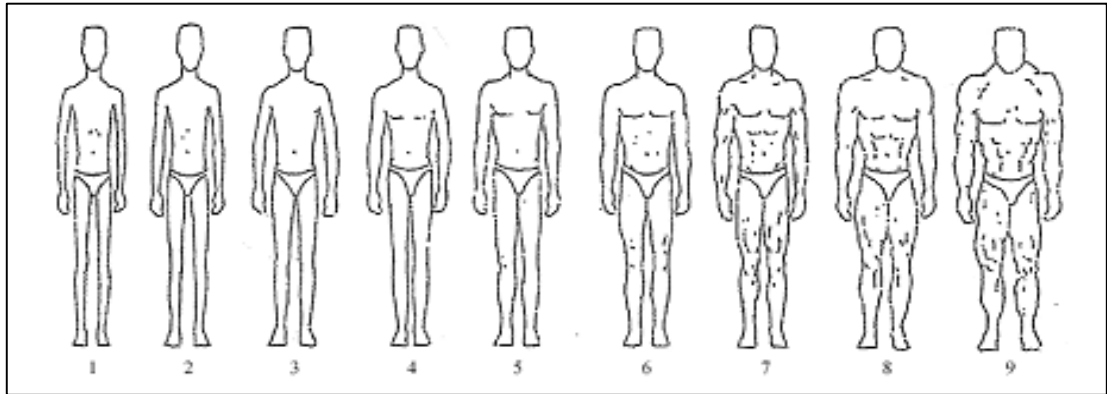
### **5.1.1. Body image discrepancy, muscularity, and body area dissatisfaction**

The results in Table 1 indicate the majority of the sample selected a healthy, muscularly toned and fit physique with medium musculature (Fig.6=57.5%) to represent their body reality (M=6.041). A significant proportion of the sample indicated that their desired body would likely be the somatoform represented by Figures 7 (29.5%), 8 (31.5%) and 9 (29.7%). The mean value for the desired body ideal is 7.729. The experience of body image discrepancy can be obtained from calculating the average difference in choice between body ideal and body reality, for which the mean difference is 1.688. Therefore the average boy desires a body image that is roughly one and half body figures larger than his current body type. Noteworthy is that some boys desire a body one (29.1%), two (34.5%), and even three (16.6%) times larger than their own. In total, 86.6% of the boys desire a somatoform that is larger from their current body. Furthermore the sample identified the average boy's body as represented by Figures 5 (44.6%) and 6 (21.3%), with a normative body mean situated at 5.037. Table 1 also identifies Figures 7 (26.9%), 8 (28.0%), and 9 (29.3%) as the bodies perceived by the sample of boys to be most desired by the opposite sex. Figures 8 and 9 are notably more muscular in appearance

than the body reality, the mean for which is situated at 7.457, which resembles the mean for the body ideal. A significant proportion of the sample indicated that the male body most commonly portrayed in Bollywood films were similar to those illustrated in Figures 7 (23.1%), 8 (47.0%) and 9 (15.7%). The mean value for this 'Bollywood body' is 7.477. A measure of Bollywood body image discrepancy was computed from calculating the average difference in choice between Bollywood body and body reality, for which the mean difference is 1.436. Therefore the average Indian school boy perceives the male bodies portrayed in Bollywood films to be roughly one and half body figures larger than his actual body. Some boys perceive a difference of one (20.1%), two (33.2%), and even three (15.1%) body figures larger than their own. In total, 86.4% of the boys perceive male bodies in Bollywood films as larger from their current body. The selection of the male body figures by participants appears to demonstrate a trend for Indian boys evaluating their body reality higher than the normative body, selecting a body ideal higher than their body reality, and the body perceived to be most desired by the opposite sex on the same level as that of the 'Bollywood body' and the body ideal. Furthermore it appears that the discrepancy pattern between body reality, and the body ideal and 'Bollywood body' are respectively similar.

Meyer and Govender (2009) as well as Martin and Govender (2010) conducted research using the same set of male figure drawings amongst male adolescents of the same age and grade bracket, at high schools, to compare the differences in the evaluation of personal body shape and desired body shape. Respectively the results of their studies indicated a body reality mean value (5.602; 5.931) and body ideal mean value (7.138; 7.427) which were lower than the results obtained in this study. Mean values for the difference between personal and desired body shape in their research were respectively situated at 1.585 and 1.496; both figures are lower than the values obtained in this study. A total of 92.7% and 87.3% of boys in their studies desired a body shape different from their own body shape; both figures are higher than the values obtained in this study. Nonetheless caution should be exercised in comparing the two studies given the difference in the sample sizes, sample composition, and school environments.

Figure 1: *Male body image drawings.*



Male Figure Drawings developed by Lynch and Zellner (1999, in Bottamini & Ste-marie, 2006)

Table 1: *Descriptive statistics for body image discrepancy. (N=495).*

	Fig.1	Fig.2	Fig.3	Fig.4	Fig.5	Fig.6	Fig.7	Fig.8	Fig.9	
<b>BODY REALITY:</b>										
Percent	0.9	0.6	2.6	3.7	9.5	57.5	17.9	3.9	3.4	
Mean	6.041									
S.D.	1.200									
<b>BODY IDEAL:</b>										
Percent	0.4	0.4	0.2	1.5	1.7	5.2	29.5	31.5	29.7	
Mean	7.729									
S.D.	1.218									
<b>BODY IMAGE DISCREPANCY:</b>										
Percent	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
Percent	7.5	29.1	34.5	16.6	3.7	1.1	0.6	0.4	0.6	
Mean	1.688									
S.D.	1.475									
<b>NORMATIVE BODY:</b>										
Percent	2.1	1.5	4.9	17.0	44.6	21.3	5.2	2.8	0.7	
Mean	5.037									
S.D.	1.273									
<b>BODY DESIRED BY OPPOSITE SEX:</b>										
Percent	2.1	1.1	0.9	1.5	4.5	5.8	26.9	28.0	29.3	
Mean	7.457									
S.D.	1.669									
<b>BOLLYWOOD BODY:</b>										
Percent	0.7	0.7	0.7	1.5	4.5	6.0	23.1	47.0	15.7	
Mean	7.477									
S.D.	1.349									



BOLLYWOOD BODY IMAGE DISCREPANCY:	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Percent	9.7	20.1	33.2	15.1	4.9	2.2	0.6	0.6	0.0
Mean	1.436								
S.D.	1.839								

A one way ANOVA<sup>28</sup> was also conducted to determine the variability in body image discrepancy across grade. Results revealed a significant F value ( $F(4, 491)=4.092$ ;  $p<0.05$ ). Post-hoc analysis identified differences lying between all grades in their subjective experience of body image discrepancy; which is most prevalent in the grade 8 ( $M=2.120$ ) males of the sample, proceeded by grade 9 ( $M=1.689$ ) respondents, grade 11 ( $M=1.781$ ), grade 12 ( $M=1.561$ ), and then grade 10 ( $M=1.339$ ) participants.

Some of the noteworthy responses to the muscle enhancing strategies questionnaire included a high number of boys who had been or were on some form of diet (82.6%) yet the significantly small number of boys who indicated eating healthy well-balanced meals to enhance muscular appearance (21%). Boys had also opted to use nutritional supplements to either gain muscle mass (25%) or lose fat (43%). The most popular means of enhancing musculature appeared to be playing sport (82.3%) or cardiovascular training (52%); compared to the 40% of boys who did resistance training. Interestingly 42% of the boys' sampled identified shaving parts of the body to enhance muscular appearance. Moreover the Indian school boys who participated indicated that they had also used herbal remedies (26%), consulting a traditional healer (5.7%), and prayer (93%) as a technique to alter their muscularity.

The use of steroids and supplements and the association to other categorical variables was tested through chi-square tests of independence. In all sets of analyses expected frequencies were greater than 5 in 80% of the cells in the crosstabulations; the results of which are summarised in Table 3. According to the pattern of parental disclosure it was found that 100% of boys who had used steroids did not disclose this to their parents and that out of the boys who had used legal supplements 53% of them did not disclose and 46.3% did disclose this to their parents. Those boys who participated in

<sup>28</sup> For all ANOVAs conducted for the present study, homogeneity of variance was confirmed by assessing Levene's statistics, and through analysis of the corresponding box plots; it was established that all distributions satisfied the conditions for normality.

competitive sport also registered higher incidence of steroid and supplement use (19%) compared to those boys who did not compete in sport (2%). For the participants who endorsed the attitude that Bollywood films put pressure on males to pursue muscularity the use of supplements (21.1%) was higher than that of steroids (3.9%). Similarly for the boys in the sample who endorsed the belief that an enhanced musculature connoted a better sense of self-worth the use of supplements (26.4%) was higher than the use of steroids (4.9%). In terms of the breakdown for steroid and supplement use by grade it was evidenced that the highest occurrence of supplement and steroid use was in grade 12 (31.6% and 5.5%, respectively). Corresponding crosstabulations indicated lower rates of steroid use in Grades 11 (3.2%), 10 (0.3%), 9 (0%), and 8 (0%); while supplements use was on average higher than steroid abuse: 11 (28.7%), 10 (19.4%), 9 (2%), and 8 (0%). The above trends indicate that both steroid and supplement use for the Indian school boys sampled peaks significantly in grade 12.

The chest, arms, and legs are three key areas which have come under the spotlight when assessing males' evaluations of appearance<sup>29</sup> (Agliata, 2005; Cash, 2000; Claiborn & Pedrick 2002). These areas are associated with greater appearance dysphoria in cases of muscle dysmorphia (Pope et al., 2000). Overall the sampled boys were most dissatisfied with their chest or pectorals ( $M=4.198$ ;  $S.D=0.921$ ), followed by the arms or the biceps and triceps ( $M=3.343$ ;  $S.D=1.654$ ), and then the least amount of dissatisfaction with the legs ( $M=1.232$ ;  $S.D=1.323$ ). Comparatively the boys who participated in this study indicated a degree of dissatisfaction with their chest region that was twice as high in Martin and Govender's (2010;  $M=2.131$ ) study and three times higher than the dissatisfaction in McCreary and Sasse's (2000;  $M=1.84$ ) research sample. Dissatisfaction with arm musculature was similar to that expressed in the above mentioned study; while dissatisfaction with leg muscularity in this sample was significantly less than in the other study.

### **5.1.2. Masculine role norms, appearance schematicity, and sociocultural attitudes towards appearance**

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<sup>29</sup> See the Multidimensional Body-Self Relations Questionnaire (Cash, 2000), Muscle Appearance Satisfaction Scale (Mayville, Williamson, White, Netemeyer, & Drab, 2002), and Body Dysmorphic Disorder Examination – Self Report (Claiborn & Pedrick, 2002).

The results for participants' responses to the MRNI showed a total traditional masculine attitudes mean score of 4.263 (S.D=0.642). This can be juxtaposed with the nontraditional masculine attitude subscale mean score of 3.878 (S.D=2.188); which indicates a greater propensity for traditional masculine ideology than nontraditional beliefs in this sample of Indian South African school boys. The mean and standard deviation scores for each of the subscales are presented in Table 5. The results of a paired sample *t*-test between nontraditional and traditional masculine values indicates that for the 495 Indian boys sampled, the mean score on the traditional male beliefs scale was significantly greater at the  $p < 0.01$  level (note  $p = 0.005$ ) than the mean score on the nontraditional attitudes scale ( $t(495) = 6.434$ ).

The majority of the traditional male role norm subscales were above the norm for this sample. Of note is the elevated response patterns on the rejection of homosexuality subscale ( $M = 5.905$ ) and the achievement or status subscale ( $M = 6.080$ ). Comparing this to Schoeman's (2009) research study of 148 high school boys in the Ethekweni metro region, the boys sampled in this study demonstrate significantly higher traditional masculinity in the total subscale as well as in all the individual traditional masculinity subscales. The present sample of boys also demonstrated a comparatively lower incidence of nontraditional masculine role norms.

One way ANOVAS were run between grade as an independent variable and traditional male attitudes and nontraditional attitudes as dependent variables, respectively. The ANOVA for traditional masculine attitudes by grade highlighted a highly significant effect ( $F(4, 491) = 7.709$ ;  $p < 0.001$ ). Similarly the ANOVA for nontraditional masculine attitudes by grade also highlighted a highly significant effect ( $F(4, 491) = 142.357$ ;  $p < 0.001$ ). Post-hoc analyses, in the form of Scheffé's test, identified differences lying between all grades in both traditional and nontraditional masculine beliefs. In terms of conformity to traditional male role norms, it appears that grade 12 boys sampled scored the highest degree of conformity ( $M = 4.455$ ), followed by grade 11 boys ( $M = 4.409$ ), grade 9 ( $M = 4.290$ ), grade 10 ( $M = 4.184$ ), and grade 8 ( $M = 4.015$ ) participants. Endorsement of nontraditional male role norms appeared to occur more readily amongst the junior grades compared to their senior counterparts: grade 8 ( $M = 6.990$ ), 9 ( $M = 6.150$ ), 10 ( $M = 4.271$ ), 12 ( $M = 3.068$ ), and 11 ( $M = 2.986$ ).

Table 2: *Descriptive statistics for masculine role norms.* (N=495).

	Current research study (N=495)		Schoeman (2009) (N=148)	
	Mean <sup>30</sup>	S.D.	Mean	S.D.
Total traditional attitudes scale	4.263	0.642	3.53	0.56
Avoidance of femininity subscale	5.176	1.182	4.46	1.15
Rejection of homosexuality subscale	5.905	0.988	4.48	1.15
Self-reliance subscale	5.622	0.857	5.13	0.71
Aggression subscale	4.229	0.999	5.34	0.83
Achievement/Status subscale	6.080	0.764	4.16	0.91
Attitudes towards sex subscale	5.216	1.092	3.87	0.91
Restrictive emotionality subscale	4.619	1.394	3.78	0.89
Nontraditional attitudes subscale	3.878	2.188	3.89	0.67

In regards to cognitive appearance schemas for the Indian school boys who participated in this study an overall mean value for the ASI was situated at 3.738 (S.D=0.839) which suggests this sample of boys is moderately cognitively schematic for appearance (Cash & Labarge, 1996). In terms of the ASI subscales (as seen in Table 6) it appears that the boys' sampled present with higher tendencies towards self-investment (M=4.355; S.D=0.939) and appearance stereotyping (M=4.216; S.D=1.249). This implies that the participants are more disposed to think of their outward physical appearance as defining element of their self-concept, and that they are most likely to rely frequently on the use of social stereotypes of attractiveness to assess appearance. That said, this sample presented with a moderate body image vulnerability subscale (M=3.759; S.D=1.116) which suggests their tendency to evaluate their appearance as socially unacceptable or deficient is normative.

The SATAQ-3 was used to measure participants' sociocultural attitudes towards appearance. This psychometric measure identified that the sample with a total SATAQ-3 mean value of 3.261 (S.D=0.533). This mean value suggests that participants in general display a moderate degree of investment to sociocultural attitudes towards appearance. Within this it was demonstrated that the media as a source of pressure regarding appearance was identified for the Indian school going boys sampled here (M=4.206; S.D=0.811). This was followed by more moderate mean scores for internalization of the

<sup>30</sup> Maximum value = 7; minimum value = 1.

athletic ideal (3.316; S.D=0.944), the media identified as an informational source (3.217; S.D=0.489), and internalization of a generic body ideal (3.082; S.D=0.698).

## **5.2. Correlations between select biographical items, body image discrepancy, masculine role norms, appearance schematicity, and sociocultural attitudes towards appearance**

In regard to traditional masculine role norms and body image discrepancy, it was found that the total traditional masculine attitudes ( $r=0.425, p<0.01$ ), avoidance of femininity subscale ( $r=0.392, p<0.001$ ), the rejection of homosexuality ( $r=0.339, p<0.001$ ), and the desire for achievement subscale ( $r=0.288, p<0.01$ ), all appeared to have the strongest relationships with body image discrepancy. Highly significant, moderate correlations were found between total traditional attitudes and body ideal ( $r=0.235, p<0.001$ ) as well as restrictive emotionality and body image discrepancy ( $r=0.205, p<0.001$ ). Moderate positive relationships were found between the total adherence to traditional masculine role norms and the body perceived by boys to be most desired by the opposite sex ( $r=0.287, p<0.05$ ) and the body most commonly portrayed in Bollywood films ( $r=0.210, p<0.05$ ).

According to Table 3, at probability level  $p<0.001$ , the belief that Bollywood films put pressure on males to pursue muscularity is positively correlated with body image discrepancy ( $r=0.328$ ) and the body perceived by boys to be most desired by the opposite sex ( $r=0.222$ ). ‘Bollywood pressure’ was also positively correlated to a moderate Pearson’s  $r$  with the body most commonly portrayed in Bollywood films selected by Indian boys in this sample ( $0.261, p<0.01$ ). The belief in more a well-built soma which improved self-esteem was also moderately associated with body image discrepancy ( $r=0.323, p<0.01$ ).

Table 3: Correlations between select biographical items, body image discrepancy, and masculine role norms. (N=495).

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	
1	-																					
2	0.32	-																				
3	0.00	0.32	-																			
4	0.00	0.18	0.22	-																		
5	0.13	0.22	0.24	0.31	-																	
6	0.23	0.06	0.22	0.29	0.39	-																
7	0.00	0.00	-	-	-	0.04	-															
8	0.12	0.28	0.20	0.21	0.24	0.19	-	-														
9	0.24	0.27	0.22	0.19	0.22	0.10	-	0.32	-													
10	0.14	0.11	0.27	0.25	0.09	0.11	-	0.13	0.13	-												
11	0.02	0.18	0.19	0.28	0.10	0.06	-	0.22	0.25	0.19	-											
12	0.00	0.29	0.24	0.12	0.29	0.09	-	0.26	0.10	0.09	0.15	-										
13	0.13	0.27	0.25	0.18	0.22	0.20	-	0.31	0.42	0.23	0.28	0.21	-									
14	0.24	0.22	-	0.22	0.28	0.21	-	0.20	0.39	0.17	0.26	0.21	0.82	-								

			9				8**														
15	0.42 5**	0.17 3*	- 0.11 1	- 0.04 1	- 0.03 1	0.05 7	- 0.22 0**	0.11 1**	0.33 9***	0.19 1*	0.03 9	.095 *	0.46 2**	0.77 7**	-						
16	0.09 7	0.16 7	- 0.11 2	- 0.12 1**	- 0.08 4	0.10 7*	- 0.01 0	0.25 9**	0.08 9*	0.10 5	0.08 8	0.03 9	0.52 3**	0.42 1**	0.53 4**	-					
17	0.12 5**	0.26 6**	0.00 0	- 0.15 9**	- 0.03 4	0.19 1**	- 0.04 7	0.29 8**	0.13 1*	0.14 1*	0.07 5	0.03 8	0.86 5**	0.48 9**	0.54 3**	0.82 1**	-				
18	0.18 9*	0.17 2**	- 0.00 4	- 0.11 3**	- 0.12 4**	0.07 3	0.17 1	0.03 7	0.28 8**	0.11 6*	0.08 9	0.02 5	0.74 3**	0.63 7**	0.46 4**	0.57 2**	0.41 0**	-			
19	0.02 32**	0.19 8*	- 0.07 8	- 0.17 4**	- 0.03 4	0.21 1**	- 0.03 7	0.19 2*	0.21 7**	0.01 7	0.01 7	0.05 2	0.61 0**	0.57 6**	0.46 5**	0.38 2**	0.57 7**	0.52 8**	-		
20	0.09 8	0.23 5	0.24 7*	- 0.11 9**	- 0.08 2	0.18 8**	- 0.28 6**	0.44 3**	0.20 5***	0.10 5*	0.03 1	0.04 6	0.42 8**	0.81 6**	0.46 6**	0.50 9**	0.71 5**	0.68 1**	0.55 1**	-	
21	- 0.25 8	0.34 3***	0.06 7	0.04 9	0.03 6	- 0.02 7	0.25 6**	0.37 6**	0.21 1*	0.01 1	0.01 1	0.05 3	0.10 5*	0.06 4	- 0.26 4**	0.01 4	0.12 4**	- 0.26 4**	0.09 5*	0.39 2**	-

NOTE: 1= participation in competitive sport; 2= having big muscles makes guys feel good about themselves; 3= time spent each day worrying about your muscle tone and appearance; 4= takes care of physical appearance; 5= gym membership; 6= time spent each day on physical activities to improve body appearance; 7= disclosure of steroid and supplement use to parents; 8= Bollywood films put pressure on males pursue muscularity; 9= body image discrepancy; 10= body ideal; 11= body perceived to be most desired by the opposite sex; 12= body most commonly portrayed in Bollywood films; 13= total traditional masculinity; 14= avoidance of femininity; 15= rejection of homosexuality; 16= self-reliance; 17= aggression; 18= achievement/status; 19= attitudes towards sex; 20= restrictive emotionality; 21= nontraditional masculine attitudes.

\* $p < .05$  (two-tailed). \*\* $p < .01$  (two-tailed). \*\*\* $p < .001$  (two-tailed).

There were a number of significantly strong, positive correlations between total traditional masculine attitudes and the appearance schemas inventory, including, self-investment ( $r=0.449$ ), appearance stereotyping ( $r=0.444$ ), the appearance schemas total scale ( $r=0.433$ ), and body image vulnerability ( $r=0.319$ ); all at the  $p<0.01$  level.

The correlations run between body image discrepancy and the sociocultural attitudes towards appearance for the present sample of Indian South African school going boys revealed significant positive correlations between body image discrepancy ratings and the internalization of an athletic body ideal ( $r=0.370$ ), the SATAQ-3 total scale score ( $r=0.365$ ), and the identification of the media as a source of appearance pressure ( $r=0.325$ ); all the  $p<0.05$  level. Correlations were also run between the SATAQ-3 subscales and the “Bollywood pressure” item from the biographical questionnaire to test for the relationship between sociocultural attitudes towards appearance and the perception of appearance-related pressure from Bollywood films in this sample of Indian school boys. Out of the four SATAQ-3 subscales media as a source of pressure ( $r=0.328$ ) and internalization of the athletic ideal ( $r=0.322$ ) were found to be highly significant at the level  $p<0.001$ .

### 5.3. A multiple regression model for body image discrepancy

A standard multiple regression analysis (using the ‘enter’ method) was employed to identify the variables that most significantly predict body image discrepancy (the criterion variable) in this sample of Indian South African school going boys. The predictor variables included in the multiple regression analysis are listed in Table 12. The part and partial correlations between the variables and their tolerance levels were examined for the multicollinearity, and it was found that the diagnostics were reasonable. The regression model was significant ( $F(17, 495)=16.281; p<0.01$ ), and accounted for 54% of the variability in the pursuit of increased musculature ( $R^2=0.543$ ). Therefore this regression model has a moderate predictive capability in accounting for the total variance in the body image discrepancy experienced by this sample of school going boys. The adjusted  $R^2$  value of 0.525 has taken into account the sample size of the study and adjusted the model accordingly.

Table 4: *Multiple regression analysis with body image discrepancy as the criterion variable.* (N=495).

Model	Standardized Beta Coefficients	t
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<b>MASCULINE ROLE NORMS:</b>		
Traditional role norms:	-	-
Avoidance of femininity	0.240	1.696**
Rejection of homosexuality	0.240	0.729*
Aggression	0.056	0.821*
Achievement/Status	0.480	1.637**
Attitudes towards sex	0.134	1.784**
Restrictive emotionality	0.242	3.174***
Nontraditional attitudes	0.092	1.112**
<b>APPEARANCE SCHEMAS:</b>		
Self-investment	0.097	1.684*
Appearance stereotyping	0.115	1.283*
<b>SOCIOCULTURAL ATTITUDES TOWARDS APPEARANCE:</b>		
Media as a source of pressure	0.087	1.611*
Internalization-athlete	0.108	1.851*
<b>SELECTIVE ITEMS FROM BIOGRAPHICAL QUESTIONNAIRE:</b>		
“Sport”	0.115	1.284*
“Muscles”	0.055	1.195*
“Time worrying”	0.093	1.870*
“Distressed”	0.008	0.170*
“Avoidance”	0.107	2.398***
“Time physical”	0.373	2.587***
“Bollywood pressure”	0.097	1.947*

\* $p < .05$  (two-tailed). \*\* $p < .01$  (two-tailed). \*\*\* $p < .001$  (two-tailed).

Table 4 identifies that all 18 variables chosen to constitute the regression model for body image discrepancy were found to be significant predictors. Restrictive emotionality was found to be a highly significant predictor of body image discrepancy at the level  $p < 0.01$  (Beta = 3.174); while a highly significant predictor for body image discrepancy was also the amount of time spent on physical activities to increase musculature at the level  $p < 0.001$  (Beta = 0.373). However the most robust predictor for body image discrepancy in this sample of Indian school boys was the traditional masculine role norm of achievement and status at the level  $p < 0.01$  (Beta = 0.480). Both the avoidance of femininity and the rejection of homosexuality were similarly significant predictors for body image discrepancy with a Beta coefficients of 0.240 at  $p < 0.01$  and  $p < 0.05$ , respectively. Unsurprisingly avoiding having parts of the body exposed for others to see was also a significant predictor of body image discrepancy (Beta = 0.107,  $p < 0.001$ ). Less robust predictors for body image discrepancy for this sample of participants were traditionally masculine attitudes towards sex

(Beta = 0.134,  $p < 0.01$ ), appearance stereotyping (Beta = 0.115,  $p < 0.05$ ), competitive sport participation (Beta = 0.115,  $p < 0.05$ ) and internalization of the athletic appearance ideal (Beta = 0.108,  $p < 0.05$ ).

The analysis of the data for this study has revealed numerous significant relationships between traditional and nontraditional masculinities, body image discrepancy dimensions, appearance schemas, and sociocultural attitudes towards appearance. These results will be discussed in light of relevant theory and empirical evidence in the following chapter.

## CHAPTER 6: DISCUSSION

The findings of this study will be discussed in relation to the relevant literature and structured according to the three research questions which were presented in Chapter 4.

### **6.1. “Indenturing the body”: Traditional masculinity and its relationship with body image discrepancy**

The primary aim of this study was to investigate whether adherence to traditional masculine role norms influenced Indian South African school boys’ experiences of body image discrepancy. The findings of a correlational analysis between body image discrepancy and traditional masculine role norms highlighted that males who adhere to traditionally masculine values are more likely to experience body image discrepancy (See Table 3). In this respect, Govender (2006) asserts that “central to the construction of gendered and racialised subjectivities is the body, as vehicle for the inscription of masculinity and femininity” (p.55).

With relevance to this investigation Connell (2002) posits that “cultural systems bear particular social interests, and grow out of historically specific ways of life” (p.65). This seemingly applies to Vahed’s (2005) contention that Indian South Africans’ “‘inbetweenness’ as “not white” and “not black” and their strong connections with the cultures of the Indian subcontinent” (p.239) fostered a peculiar traditional masculine ideology coined by Vahed as ‘indentured masculinity’. Vahed reports that white colonial supremacy stereotypically cast Indian men as suffering from a masculine ineptitude (2005). Moreover Govender (2006) has shown that black school boys in contemporary South Africa perceive their Indian counterparts as “inadequately heterosexual, with childlike and effeminate qualities” (p.39).

Despite the abovementioned evidence, this research study found significantly elevated mean values for the rejection of homosexuality (5.905), avoidance of femininity (5.176), and nonrelational attitudes towards sex (5.216), amongst this sample of Indian school boys. These findings are most appropriately understood within the ambit of Connell’s emotional relations, or cathexis, structure which maintains the patriarchal dividend. Connell (2000) states that hegemonic masculinity is “emphatically heterosexual” (p.102) and therefore permits explicit and implicit homophobia; but also the “informal policing of heterosexual boys and men” (Connell, 2000, p.102). This offers insight into the significant

positive correlations found between body image discrepancy and values of heterosexism ( $r=0.339, p<0.001$ ), anti-femininity ( $r=0.392, p<0.001$ ), and traditional sex roles ( $r=0.217, p<0.01$ ). Similarly the avoidance of femininity and rejection of homosexuality were significant predictors of body image discrepancy in regression analysis (See Table 4).

The traditional masculine role norm of homonegativity was also found to have a significant positive correlation with the endorsement that muscularity constitutes masculine self-worth ( $r=0.173, p<0.05$ ). Connell (2000) suggests that one of the ultimate contradictions of traditional masculinity, as hegemonic masculinity, is that boys must recognise the inadequacy of their actual bodies to aspire to an ideally masculine (meso)morphology. The mesomorphic somatoform is intimately bound to boys' perceptions of doing a successful heterosexuality (Connell, 1995); as shown here with the significant positive correlations between the body perceived by boys to be most desired by the opposite sex and the endorsement of traditional masculinity ( $r=0.287, p<0.05$ ). Interestingly a one way ANOVA run to determine the variability in body image discrepancy across academic grade revealed a significant peaking of body image discrepancy amongst grade 8 and 9 participants proceeded by the more senior grades ( $F(4, 491)=4.092; p<0.05$ ). This is not unexpected considering that young boys regularly employ comparative evaluations with bodies which belong to older boys particularly as they deal with the transition into pubescence (Connell, 2000).

In this context Govender (2006) refers to scholastic environments as 'masculinity making devices'. The present study found in a one-way ANOVA of traditional masculinity by scholastic grade that endorsement of traditional masculine ideology increases significantly as grade seniority progresses ( $F(4, 491)=7.709; p<0.001$ ). More specifically Haywood and Mac an Ghail (2003) finger schools as sites for entrenching hierarchical forms of hegemonic masculinity which 'teaches' boys how to be men. In this regard Meyer (2009) stated "social structures and forms of social organization in which hegemonic masculinity and hierarchical worldviews are situated share fundamentally similar aspects ... clearly defined hierarchical structure, power relations, relations of control and dominance, and inherent social and material inequalities" (Meyer, 2009, p.72).

### **6.1.1. Aggression and hollow muscularity**

An inspection of Table 3 mean values reveals that of all the traditional masculine role norms aggression appears to have the least degree of endorsement amongst this sample of Indian

school boys. Considering that 79.3% of the sampled boys indicated that they believed possessing a muscled physique connotes a higher level of self-esteem, and muscle is most commonly associated to physical toughness and dominance (Pope et al., 2000); these results could imply that such muscle is merely symbolic or hollow. 'Hollow muscle' is a colloquial phrase often used by power lifters to characterize the muscular strength of male bodybuilders: whose muscularity is more aesthetic than it is utilitarian and strength-based.

The less significant endorsement of aggression by Indian school boys may also be indicative of Morrell's (1998) suggestion that South African race groups have undergone distinctly unique patterns of gendering. Morrell adds "the symbolic importance of Gandhi as political pacifist requires consideration" (1998, p.626) when reading South African Indian masculinity. Morrell's assertion is not without merit as Connell (2000) argues "that a particular form of masculinity is hegemonic means that it is culturally exalted ... to be culturally exalted, the pattern of masculinity must have exemplars who are celebrated as heroes" (p.84). The lack of support for the value of explicit aggressivity in the Indian community also found support in an extensive study of corporal punishment amongst KwaZulu-Natal school learners by Morrell (2001b) where he found that Indian school boys and girls reported significantly lower rates of physical punishment in their domestic life compared to their white and black counterparts. This empirical evidence bolsters this study's findings that masculine aggressivity is the least robust predictor of body image discrepancy (Beta=0.056,  $p < 0.05$ ) in this sample of Indian school boys compared to other values of traditional masculinity and nontraditional masculine attitudes.

The above findings appear to illustrate that aggression, particularly in the form of masculine dominance-oriented violence, is not a defining feature of Indian school boys' endorsement of traditional masculinity. This however is not unique to South Africa, as findings from discursive research conducted with an Indian working class community in Mumbai, India concluded that 'honourable masculinity' was fundamentally created through the absence of aggression (George, 2006).

### **6.1.2. Achievement, status, and dissatisfaction with body areas**

In the broader context of global, capitalist consumer culture Klesse (2000) argues that a preoccupation with bodily appearance is engendered within contemporary society's increasing consumption of images, commodities, and services, related to appearance

aesthetics. These findings fall within what Connell (1987, 1995, 2002) articulates as the production relations structure of gender. Research demonstrates that the current buying power of men far exceeds that of women (Connell, 1995). Walby attributes this to men's access to higher paid work: "paid work is a crucial site in capitalist relations and this is transmitted to the relations between patriarchal structures when the system of patriarchy is in articulation with capitalism" (1994, p.24). This is true of South African working class Indian communities where patriarchal family structures grant men greater access to the formal economy and a higher wage.

Within the context of these findings it is relevant to consider that about one million South African Indians comprise Bollywood's core following of the global audience of three billion viewers (Reuters, 2007). Lorenzen (2009) reports that the revenues of the Indian film Industry have grown 360% from 1998 to 2005. Bollywood largely champions this growth as it was evidenced in 2004 that it single-handedly accounted for 40% of the Indian film industry's revenues (Lorenzen, 2009). Klesse (2000) states that "in consumer culture the 'display' and the 'performance' of bodily properties and styles has not only become an option, it is *increasingly expected*" (original emphasis; p.21). This is exacerbated in Bollywood cinema where dance, movement, and theatricality concoct the body as "a vehicle of pleasure and self-expression" (Featherstone in Klesse, 2000, p.21).

In this sense consumerist trends illustrate a hallmark exclusionary practice of patriarchy. Connell (1995) implies that in capitalist political economies, especially where class divisions are pronounced, such as in South Africa, the drive for status is synonymous with marginalized, working class masculinities. An inspection of Table 2 mean values reveals that the traditional masculine role norm of achievement and status has the highest elevation (6.080) of all the traditional role norms. In contrast, Schoeman's (2009) study of the MRNI in a suburban middle-class school generated an achievement subscale with only a slightly elevated mean (4.16). Hence, this research suggests the South African community of Indians possibly experiences aggravated tensions of class division given the community's historical marginalization and contemporary emphasis on educational merit, entrepreneurship, and upward social mobility; mirroring Indian diasporas residing in the United States and United Kingdom (Khadria, 2007).

Confirming that the male body is a site through which social processes of traditional masculinity are contested, it was found that the traditional masculine role norm of

achievement and status was the most potent predictor of body image discrepancy in Indian school boys (Beta = 0.480,  $p < 0.01$ ). This is not unexpected in the context of a globalizing and body-fragmenting, corporeal capitalism about which Holloway, Byrne, and Titlestad (2001) have remarked:

There is an increasing number of areas ‘requiring attention’ [that] is directly linked to the creation of new markets. In order to cause consumers to feel the ‘need’ for a given product, and anxiety needs to be created or exploited and directed towards the product that is marketed as a solution ... there is no holistic approach to the body.” (p.134).

For the most part, enhancing the muscular appearance of the chest or upper body has been highlighted as the greatest concern of males (Franzoi & Shields, 1984; Pope et al., 2000). This research sample of Indian boys identified their chest as the part of their body that they believed was not muscular enough; this was then followed by the arms and then the legs. This was expected considering the attention the broad and muscularly defined chest receives in media portrayals of men (Pope et al., 2000). This also suggests that boys experience body image discrepancies when comparing their muscularity to masculine ideals which leaves them susceptible to body image dissatisfaction.

### **6.1.3. Nontraditional masculinity and body image discrepancy**

The ‘new man’ discourse has been pointed to as the reason the contemporary male may exhibit concern over aesthetic appearance (Adams & Govender, 2008; Toerien & Durrheim, 2001). Adams and Govender (2008) state that “evidence of the *New Man* discourse is located in the importance assigned to caring for physical appearance, as hygiene and self-maintenance have traditionally been located within the feminine realm” (original emphasis; 2008, p.557). The hairless and lean figure of the metrosexual male, seen to embody the ‘new man’ discourse, could possibly be considered an embodied ideal in this sample of boys since shaving the body was one of the most popular methods for enhancing muscular appearance (42%). Yet although this study found that 95% of the sampled boys were conscientious about caring for their physical appearance, this item also shared a significant positive correlation with the traditional male role norm for the avoidance of femininity ( $r = 0.222$ ,  $p < 0.01$ ). This echoes Davis’s (2003) argument that common grooming activities employed by men and women remain highly gendered processes.

Similarly the amount of time spent on activities to enhance physical appearance was also found to be a robust predictor of body image discrepancy (Beta=2.587,  $p<0.001$ ), as well as share a positive correlation with the traditional masculine attitude of anti-femininity ( $r=0.211$ ,  $p<0.05$ ). These findings lend credence to the contention that men opting to use appearance augmenting strategies that women have been using for generations are not necessarily the sign of metrosexual masculinity (Chadwick & Forster, 2007). But are in fact re-articulations of a traditional masculine ideology which rely on an essentialist assertion of the male body, as seen in the significant positive correlation between nontraditional masculinity and the belief that enhanced muscularity implies robust self-worth ( $r=0.343$ ,  $p<0.001$ ).

The present research study found that boys' nontraditional attitudes of masculinity were a significant predictor of body image discrepancy (Beta = 0.092,  $p<0.01$ ). This highlights that both nontraditional masculinity and traditional masculinity influence the development of body image discrepancy in boys. This finding is significant in terms of identifying what aspects of a nontraditional or 'new man' masculinity is potentially problematic. The emphasis that contemporary metrosexual and retrosexual masculine identities place on physical appearance appear more closely aligned to traditional masculine ideology's exalting of the muscular body as *the* masculine body.

In this vein the 'new man' discourse not only sets appearance parameters for male appearance but also implies guidelines for a progressive masculine identity politics (Toerien & Durrheim, 2001). One of the core tenets of the nontraditional and progressive masculine identity is of a man who is 'in touch with his feminine side'; which is paired with connotations that he is emotionally available in relationships, communicative, gentle, and distances himself from misogyny and homophobia (Thompson,2001). However, in contrast to the endorsement of traditional masculine role norms this research found only normative approval for nontraditional attitudes of masculinity (M=3.878).

An ANOVA for nontraditional attitudes by grade also found that nontraditional attitudes of masculinity tapered off significantly as boys progressed in grade. This finding offers insight into Connell's proposition that masculinities, in their relational configuration, are continuously competing with one another for hegemonic dominance (1995). Traditional masculine ideology achieves hegemonic status as its composite masculine role norms "embodies a currently accepted strategy" (Connell, 1995, p.77). This holds that scholastic



environments concurrently foster traditional masculinity, which is complicit with cultural and institutional ideals (Connell, 1995), as well as delegitimize nontraditional masculine attitudes which are either subordinated or marginalized (Connell, 1987).

## **6.2. “Secrecy and silence”: Body image discrepancy, restrictive emotionality, and psychoemotional distress**

A particularly interesting finding of this study pertained to evidence for a culture of secrecy and silence that pervades Indian boys’ concerns about their bodies. This study found that the traditional masculine role norm of restrictive emotionality was the second strongest predictor for body image discrepancy in this sample of school boys (See Table 4). Pope et al., (2000) identifies the masculine fables of invincibility and invulnerability as perpetuating factors in male body image anxiety. Pope et al., (2000) refers to this psychosocial dynamic as the ‘double bind’ in male body image psychopathology. The double bind is characterized by unrealistic body ideals on one side and the masculine taboo of feeling and talking about body image insecurities on the other side (Pope et al., 2000).

Pope et al., (2000) reasons that masculine culture is ensconced with the belief that talking about body image angst is perceived as an admission of masculine failure because disclosure and discussion of one’s feeling states is perceived as a feminine attribute. Hence it is unsurprising that the present study found a significant negative correlation between steroid use disclosure to parents and the value of anti-femininity ( $r=-0.168, p<0.01$ ). Similarly a chi-square analysis illustrated 100% of sampled boys who had used steroids, and 53% who had used muscle supplements, had not disclosed these habits to their parents. The traditional masculine ideology of emotional stoicism has been postulated by Haviland and Malatesta (1981) as a key factor in the “crossover in emotional expression” (p.16) that males exhibit in transition from emotionally expressive young boys to emotionally disciplined men.

Connell (1987) has echoed that psychoemotional anxieties over masculine worth are most prominent for boys when entering puberty as the sexual dimorphism between boys and girls at this time often propels boys to rebel against any association with femininity. In this regard a significant predictor of body image discrepancy for boys was the belief that a more muscular physique was associated with a more confident sense of self-worth. This study found that 60.8% of participants spent 30-60 minutes worrying about their muscular appearance; 64.2% of sampled boys were sometimes distressed about the appearance of their

muscle tone; and 61.2% of school boys sampled avoided having parts of their body seen by others. Table 4 points out that unhealthy psychoemotional states such as emotional distress, the amount of time preoccupied with worry about body muscularity, and avoidance behaviours, are all significant predictors of body image discrepancy.

### **6.3. “Pumping irony”: Traditional masculinity and its relationship with male appearance schemas**

In response to the second research question this study set out to investigate if endorsements of traditional masculinity amongst Indian South African school boys influenced their appearance schematicity. Thompson, Heinberg, Altabe, and Tantleff-Dunn (1999) describe body image as “our own internal view of how we look, how we think we appear to others, and how we feel about our looks” (p.3). In this study body image is considered to be derived through the cognitive-perceptual appearance schemas which process and evaluate schema related stimuli. The degree to which appearance schematicity is important in a boy’s life is dependent on their living contexts’ conditioning and emphasis on differential aspects of appearance (Grieve, 2007). Of greatest significance to the study findings on male appearance schemas is a consideration of Connell’s symbolic relations of gender, which Meyer and Govender (2009) define as “the arena of communication, imagery, and the symbolic interpretation of gender through dress, body culture, gesture, tone of voice and so on” (p.31).

According to Connell (1987, 1995, 2002), and Meadian sociology (1967), the symbolism of hegemonic masculinities impresses constraining meanings on objects and events. This subordinates and marginalizes other potentialities of meaning and *doing* masculinity. This study found that Indian adolescent males’ body image is primed by traditional masculine ideology, as demonstrated by the significantly strong positive correlations between traditional masculinity and the appearance schema dimensions of body-image vulnerability ( $r=0.319, p<0.01$ ), self-investment ( $r=0.449, p<0.01$ ), and appearance stereotyping ( $r=0.444, p<0.01$ ).

Möschk (2008) theorizes that a “chronic or dispositional activation of the body schema heightens awareness and salience of schema relevant information” (p.10). For Indian boys the omnipresent and scopophilic Bollywood film industry is pervasively positioned as a key referent for body image (Ebrahim, 2008). The school going boys in this study were collectively found to have displayed an appearance schematicity towards self-investment

( $M=4.355$ ) and appearance stereotyping ( $M=4.216$ ). Both self-investment and appearance stereotyping were found to be significant predictors of body image discrepancy (See Table 4); suggesting that boys internalize the corporeal ideologies most acceptable by other boys and men, and “evaluate themselves against this perceived ideal” (Agliatta & Tantleff-Dunn, 2004, p.9).

### **6.3.1. The strategies used to modify muscular appearance**

This research study found that 59.7% of Indian boys who were sampled spent 1-2 hours a day on physical activities geared towards improving muscular appearance. Mead’s positions on the ‘pragmatic self’, as a reflexive project, suggest that individuals sustain a body-image by acting towards and in relation to themselves (Jenkins, 2005). The proposal that acts of reflexivity about the body anchor identity has been conceptually articulated in Giddens’s (1991) ‘body projects’, Crossley’s (2001) ‘reflective embodiment’, and Connell’s ‘body-reflexive practices’ (1995). All of these contemporary writings suggest what Susan Bordo states as getting “down and dirty with the body on the level of its practices” (1999, p.91). In other words the strategies through which boys’ deploy their bodies in interaction with other bodies and the social world ultimately mutates a boy’s body image but also his body’s behavioural trajectories.

Within this study Indian school going boys’ strategies for altering muscular appearance intersected with the peculiar class and cultural environment from which the sample was drawn. It was noted that only 42% of the participants currently held a gym membership; substantially less than 56.5% of boys from a middle-class suburban high school study conducted by Martin and Govender (2010). However gym membership from this sample displayed a positive correlation to the achievement and status traditional masculine role norm ( $r=0.124$ ,  $p<0.01$ ). These results possibly suggest that traditional values of hegemonic masculinity for male appearance are negotiated differentially by Phoenix’s Indian school boys in light of the financial limitations inherent in this historically marginalized community. Furthermore, the participants also indicated their use of prayer (93%), herbal remedies (26%), and consulting with a traditional healer (5.7%), as strategies for altering muscular appearance. This set of findings points to Connell’s (1995, 2001a) contestation that practices of hegemonic masculinity are referents in the cultural environment for the contextual adaptation of the male body. Hence the body-reflexive

practices which “forms and reforms individual lives and the social world” (Robertson, 2003, p.714) represent accepted cultural definitions for the deployments of the male body.

Yet the muscle altering strategies employed by this sample of Indian adolescent boys indicates the potential for health risk similar to that highlighted by Vawda (2010). Participants readily indicated that dieting was a common measure for altering muscularity (82.6%); however this must be reconciled with the meager 21% who had endorsed healthy eating habits or well-balanced diets. This should be considered with the findings of Puoane et al., (2002) who illustrated that Indian South Africans suffer from the highest obesity rates compared to other race groups. Therefore deficits in adequate nutritional information as to what foodstuffs constitute a healthy diet appear to be an urgent need for this population group.

Similarly on the nutritional front, steroid and supplement use patterns amongst this sample of Indian school boys also provides an illustration of economic possibilities constraining the deployment of the body. The trend of steroid use becoming more prevalent amongst senior high school grades is representative of studies on the degree of steroid abuse amongst adolescents in the USA (Johnson, 1989; Terney & McLain, 1990). Martin and Govender’s (2010) study found that 15% of their total sample of South African boys had used illegal supplement and steroids; which is more substantial than the total 9% of boys found in this study to have indicated illegal steroid and supplement use. Informal discussion and correspondence with participants who were steroid users and dealers revealed that amongst the most popular steroids were, for ‘cutting’, *winstrol* and *equipoise*, and for ‘bulking’ *deca durabolin* and *dianabol*. *Clenbuterol* and *anapolon* were also named as common steroids for fat-burning and muscle building. All of which the price-ranges identified by participants were roughly R250 to R1000 and above<sup>31</sup>. Analysis by chi-square reveals riskier muscle altering strategies were pursued as boys became more senior in grade; indicated in the peaking of supplement and steroid use by this sample of boys in grade 12 (31.6% and 5.5%, respectively).

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<sup>31</sup> The street price of steroids are extremely wide ranging and depend on a variety of factors such as whether they are in oral capsule form or injectable ampoules, the type of steroid, whether they are being ‘stacked’, and the quantity. The source for acquiring the steroids also appears to be a determinant in the price. Participants cited that dealers at their local gyms and connections in the animal husbandry business were the cheapest; but often presented with the most risk as the products were not always reliable. Internet sites and physicians were identified as more expensive sources.

#### **6.4. “Bodywood”: Sociocultural attitudes towards male appearance and their relationship with body image discrepancy**

One of the aims of this study was to ascertain the degree to which the sociocultural attitudes towards appearance held by Indian school boys influenced their experience of body image discrepancy. In this regard it was necessary to consider the role of the Bollywood film culture in a study of Indian South African school boys. The central hypothesis here was that the sociocultural attitudes towards appearance of Indian boys would reflect a pressure from the media for boys to accept the cultural body ideal of the muscular mesomorph as their subjective body ideal. Partly confirming this hypothesis was an elevated mean value of 4.206 for the media pressure subscale of the SATAQ-3.

Interestingly Mead argues that a consciousness of the self emerges out of an individual’s ability to engage in role-taking, that is, in taking on the role of the ‘generalized other’ “a person is constantly asking what will people think and expect when he reflects upon himself” (Haralambos & Heald, 1980, p.546). In this way self-regulatory action is conducted in terms of the expectations and attitudes of others. Ergo, although individual initiative and behaviour about the body are not socially determined; they certainly are influenced and constrained within a realm of social possibilities. Hence this research study’s findings which reflect both pressure from the print and electronic media, and the internalization of an athletic body ideal, as predictors of body image discrepancy in Indian school boys demonstrates how Mead’s ‘generalized other’ is increasingly defined by the media. Harrison and Cantor (1997) confirm that media influences not only transmit increasingly unrealistic body ideals, but also have an association to the appearance and body image anxieties that men and women experience

Pierre Bourdieu’s idea of *embodied cultural capital*, or the embodiment of prized cultural resources “bearing in one’s ‘bodily hexis’ or body techniques” (Crossley, 2005, p.29), is similarly useful in explaining why Indian South African boys are influenced by sociocultural appearance ideals. Athletic bodies imply that athletic muscularity possesses a symbolic capital, in other words are “valued or highly regarded by others in such a way that one can procure advantages for oneself on this basis” (Crossley, 2005, p.30). In this way Indian boys “learn to define different types of muscular body ... as more or less aesthetically pleasing ... [whereby] types of muscular body *may* then be consciously set as projects for the self” (original emphasis; Monaghan, 2000, pp.274-275). Parks and Read (1997) have

suggested that boys are most likely to respond with body image anxieties to muscularly athletic physiques given that this type of morphology for boys has become hegemonic in westernized society. Hence the advantages for adolescent boys tie directly into their needs to be desired by the opposite sex and envied by their fellow boy: therefore building social capital and masculine status in the gender order (Connell, 2000; Govender 2010).

#### **6.4.1. The influence of Bollywood on body image discrepancy**

One of the key implications from the present study is an indication that the Bollywood film industry, and the embodiment of masculine heroes in Indian cinema, has an affect on Indian boys' body image. With respect to the aforesaid roughly 83% of participants indicated the belief that male somatoforms cast in Bollywood films pressurized them to enhance their own muscularity. This 'Bollywood pressure' was also highlighted as a predictor of participants' body image discrepancy (See Table 4). Interestingly both the media as a source of pressure and the internalization of the athletic appearance ideal were found to be significantly positively correlated to Bollywood pressure suggesting (See Table 3), as Kavi (2003) argues, that lean and athletically muscular bodies are the idolized somatoform in Bollywood films.

Internalization of the mesomorph as a subjective ideal for males occurs when boys accept cultural ideals of masculine body image (Grieve, 2007). It has been shown that boys as young as six years of age accept the muscular mesomorph as the preferred masculine somatoform (Staffieri in Grieve, 2007). The body image patterns which have emerged in this study illustrate that the muscular physique of the male Bollywood hero coalesces with participants' body ideal and the body perceived by boys to be most desired by the opposite sex (See Table 1). Higgins's (1987) self-discrepancy theory, the theoretical forefather to body image discrepancy, argues that an integrated idea of self is a triadic composition of three types of self: the *actual self*, which are the attributes a person has appraised as belonging to them at any point in time; the *ideal self*, the attributes a person has appraised as desirable to possess; and the *ought self*, the attributes a person appraises as being compelled to have. For the most part the ideal and ought selves are significantly moderated by sociocultural attitudes towards appearance and socially represented body ideals. Grieve (2007) explains, "the ideal and ought selves are self-guides ... When there are discrepancies between the actual self and self-guides, negative emotional-motivational states result, which, in turn, lead to emotional distress and self-defeating behaviours" (p.72). Corroborating this

is Martin and Govender's (2010) study on masculine body image and the pursuit of muscularity which found body image discrepancy was a highly significant predictor for the pursuit of muscularity at the level  $p < 0.001$  (Beta = 0.170). The present study similarly highlights that the use of supplements and steroids was significantly higher in participants who endorsed the belief that Bollywood films were a source of pressure to pursue muscularity.

In addition to the above, two findings also seem to suggest that the representational politics of male bodies in Bollywood cinema engender a definitive traditional gender ideology. Firstly, a positive and highly significant correlation between Bollywood pressure and the body believed by participants to be most desired by the opposite sex ( $r = 0.222$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ) was found. Secondly, this bares resemblance to the significant positive correlation of the male body chosen by participants to be most commonly portrayed in Bollywood films and traditional masculinity ( $r = 0.210$ ,  $p < 0.05$ ). Jyotika Virdi's *The Cinematic ImagiNation: Indian Popular Films as Social History*, a critical anthology of Indian cinema, has highlighted that Bollywood films commonly employ narrative devices that reinforce the "body as a site of [heterosexual] intimacy, pleasure, and desire" (2003, p.174). Unsurprisingly an inspection of Table 3 correlations reveals that Bollywood pressure was significantly positively correlated with nonrelational attitudes towards sexuality. Nonrelational attitudes towards sex were also significantly positively correlated with the belief that muscularity was tied to a male's self-esteem ( $r = 0.198$ ,  $p < 0.05$ ). Virdi's (2003) analysis interestingly highlights that films which have utilized themes that challenge hegemonic masculinity and draw attention to the conflictual struggle of women's personal desires with patriarchal norms have often had their lead actresses personally criticized by Bollywood entertainment columnists.

#### **6.4.2. The athletically muscular and toned body as a masculine body ideal for Indian boys**

Monaghan (2000) argues against the reading of the male body as a single 'muscular body', and instead outlines a pluralization of male body muscularity which can be typified into three forms: 1) *sizably muscular and exceptionally lean* (the typical in-competition body-building physique); 2) *sizably muscular but lacking definition* (powerful-looking bodies which are characteristic of weight-lifters or power-lifters); and 3) *moderately muscular and*

*typically fairy lean* (athletically muscular and toned bodies characteristic of fitness-oriented weight-trainers and competitive athletes, for example, swimmers). The two features which broadly distinguish these varying mesomorphologies are: muscular performance (strength versus athletic performance), and muscular appearance (size, shape, and definition). Interestingly this study found the mean value for the sampled boys' body ideal positioned at 7.729. Aesthetically speaking this places boys' body ideal preference as lean and athletically muscular; while falling short of the 'muscular density' of body figures 8 and 9.

Complicit with these results was a significant positive correlation found between traditional masculinity and competitive sport participation ( $r=0.139$ ,  $p<0.05$ ). Connell believes "sport has come to be the leading definer of masculinity in mass culture" (1995, p.54) as a means of doing masculinity. Harris (1995) alludes that messages of domination and winning-at-all-costs are implicit in activities of masculine competition. However both Robertson (2003) and Frosh et al., (2002) suggest that athletic and fitness-dependent sports, those sports which require an agile muscularity as opposed to a bulky musculature, such as soccer, have been shown to be intimately tied to boys' valorizing discourses around health, attractiveness, and desirability. These explanations are significant in the context of this study finding the far majority of participants involved in competitive sports: 66% play soccer while 34% a combination of soccer, cricket, and athletics. Lindegger and Maxwell (2007) have raised the concern that sport as a site of gender construction "legitimizes especially abusive aspects of the performance of masculinity at the expense of women" (p.105). Worryingly this study suggests that competitive sport participation shares a relationship with masculine aggression (See Table 3).

Messner (1992, in Robertson, 2003) propounds that the exclusionary practices of sport perpetuates the power dynamics on which traditional masculine ideology is based by marginalizing nonhegemonic identities. Often those excluded are boys perceived to contradict traditional masculine values (such as 'effeminate' boys) and girls. Robertson reiterates that sport often acts as a way of fostering a culture of machismo amongst boys which is characterized by homonegativity and misogyny (2003). For the Indian school boys participating in the present study their choice of sport needs to be seen in light of South Africa's apartheid past and the lack of resources, geographical space, and infrastructural development apportioned to schools in racially marginalized communities. Sport in the historical and contemporary environments of South African schooling has maintained



hegemonic discourses of masculinity; of which research has shown that Indian school boys often have their masculinity derided because of their perceived nonparticipation in contact sports (Blackbeard & Lindegger, 2007).

This study suggests more specifically that the athletic or sporting body has become the hegemonic male body ideal for this sample of Indian school boys. At an archetypal level this would explain the favourable internalization of the athletic ideal ( $M=3.316$ ). At a behavioural level the preferred use of supplements to loose fat (43%) over gaining muscle mass (25%), playing sports (82.3%) to alter muscular appearance, and the tendency towards cardiovascular or aerobics training (52%) compared to resistance or weights training (40%), suggests the favourability of a body ideal that is athletically toned and fit.

The present study also found that participation in competitive sport is more likely to be associated with risk in the form of steroid abuse. Participants in competitive sport registered a higher incidence of steroid and supplement use (19%) compared to those boys who did not compete in sport (2%). This finding is not unusual and mimics the results obtained by Cafri et al., (2006), Martin and Govender (2010), and Grieve (2007), which also highlight the close association between sports participation and steroid use. Boys participation in sport directly harnesses the traditional masculine values of risk-taking, mastery and control, through what Harris calls the socialized value of “be the best you can be” (1995, p.12). Grieve (2007) suggests that boys participation in sport exploits perfectionist tendencies and may also contribute to the development of body image disorders; which is also supported by this study’s finding that participation in sport was a significant predictor of body image discrepancy (Beta = 0.115,  $p<0.05$ ).

## CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION, LIMITATIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

### 7.1. Conclusion

This study has examined the relationship between traditional masculine role norms, body image discrepancy, body appearance schemas, and sociocultural attitudes towards appearance, in a sample of Indian South African school going boys, between the ages of 13 and 18 years old. A review of the literature suggests that this study may be one of the first studies to investigate the relationship between masculine role norms, male body image, the sociocultural attitudes towards appearance, and risk behaviours within South Africa's community of Indians. In this respect, research which further extrapolates the complex articulations of South African male ethnomorphology as a central reference point for masculinities in gendered and racialised identity construction would be of greatest value moving forward.

The present study findings suggest that Vahed's (2005) comment regarding Indian masculinity in colonial Natal is still applicable today: "its content [is] fluid, partial, fragmented, and contested" (p.254). The findings of this study illustrate that Indian school boys' experience of body image discrepancy is influenced by both traditional masculinity and nontraditional masculine attitudes. Within the ambit of traditional masculinity participants' responses indicated that contemporary versions of localized hegemonic masculinities are characterized by masculine role norms associated with achievement and status, successful (hetero)sexuality, and anti-femininity. Accordingly the male body was perceived, evaluated, and deployed into muscularity-defining fragmented body projects which occupy a negotiated state with dominant cultural values and material limitations in the historically marginalized, working class community of Phoenix.

The psychological profile of participants' alluded to by the study findings also suggest that traditional masculinity's prescriptions of emotional stoicism heighten body image discrepancy, engender a schemanticity for investment in bodily appearance and consciousness, and cultivate riskier deployments of the body in pursuit of muscularity, associated with steroid and supplement use, and a tendency towards decreased disclosure about such habits. Hence it is apparent that traditional masculinity can be constricting and damaging as it enforces and perpetuates a culture of secrecy and silence over talking about one's vulnerabilities and anxieties as a male.

Despite the mental and physical health risks that Indian boys appear to subject themselves to in kowtowing to traditional masculinity, physical aggression and dominance does not feature in Indian boys' conception of a valorized masculine identity; possibly owing to the historically and politically constituted communal narratives paying tribute to the legacies of pacifism and nonviolence; and contemporary cultural ideals of academic, financial, and professional skills and status. This dominant type of masculinity amongst Indian boys closely resembles Morrell's (2001a) accommodating masculinity, which is complicit with traditional masculine values that preserve patriarchy but adopt a nonviolent stance in this regard. Yet interestingly nontraditional masculine attitudes converged with traditional masculinity in its support of a muscularly male physique as ideal and enhancing masculine self-worth. This finding raises important questions in the South African context over the corporeal ideologies attached to the 'new man' discourse and accompanying 'metrosexual man', as well as the legitimacy of these movements' 'progressive' identity politics.

Indian school boys endorsed an athletically muscular and toned body as their morphological ideal. Indian boys' envisioned mesomorphic ideal was injected with fit vigor; whose prowess in the arena of sport is unquestionable. The participants' exercise regimes, dietary regiments, and (non-contact) sporting repertoires conducive conformed to the pursuit of this somatoform. The influence of hegemonic masculinity in this regard is worrying given that it provides "both cultural façade and false consciousness" (Wall & Kristjanson, 2005, p.95) for Indian boys' unhealthy norms and practices employed to define the materiality of their bodies.

In addition to the above this study revealed that Bollywood films, or specifically the veneration of particular soma types in Indian cinema, have been positioned as a source of pressure for Indian boys in negotiating subjective and normative meanings around male body image. Importantly the male bodies perceived by participants to be most common in Bollywood cinema were similar to the body ideal for participants, and the body believed by participants to be most desired by the opposite sex. This study's findings that Bollywood films are seemingly primed by a traditional masculine ideology regarding nonrelational attitudes towards sex, heteronormativity, and misogynistic undertones, suggests Bollywood's cultural hegemony within South Africa's Indian community is potentially problematic. Concerns here not only apply to the influence this mode of print and electronic

media has on boys body image but also the values espoused which support a conservative gender ideology which legitimizes the patriarchal dividend, and poses challenges for women, gays, and lesbians.

## **7.2. Limitations**

Important limitations to this investigation should be noted. Firstly, this study employed a cross-sectional design, which is non-experimental, thus problematising the establishment of cause-effect relationships between the constructs under investigation. A further sampling limitation is that this sample was drawn from a predominantly working class setting and therefore may present with inconsistencies in the reliable generalisability to Indian males who have relocated into middle class or affluent suburbs, and attend more economically advantaged schools.

Additionally, the sampled school was co-educational, and although female students were not present in class when data collection occurred, the presence of female students at the school may have exerted an unknown influence on the variables of traditional masculinity and body image appearance.

Thirdly, the measure for perceived body image discrepancy has been adapted from two separate tests and has yet to be piloted as a single psychometric test, which may affect the validity and reliability of the results. The body figures depicted in this measure only vary according to level of muscularity and not other significant dimensions of body image such as adiposity; and do not account for other body features which may influence boys' perceptions of body image, for example, a small penis or receding hairline.

Fourthly, Cash and Labarge's (1996) ASI and the SATAQ-3 from Thompson et al., (2004), are measures standardized on samples of females and has yet to be established as reliable and predictive of scale for appearance information processing and situation-specific body image experiences in men.

Lastly, the validity of findings could be affected through the sole use of self-report measures in the study (Shaughnessy & Zechmeister, 1994).

## **7.3. Recommendations**

Recommendations herein discussed are three-fold in regards to research, risk management, and policy. Firstly, on the research front, concerted efforts to pursue qualitative studies with

the participation of South Africa's Indian community are essential. In the spirit of South African researchers moving towards a holistic account of masculinities post-1994, research with South African Indians should be thought of as an imperative. Especially in the arena of masculinity studies has the work of ethnographic (Govender, 2010) and discursive (Blackbeard & Lindegger, 2007) researchers been shown to be fruitful in drawing attention to the simultaneously held multiple, and often contradictory, identity positions that boys find themselves in when negotiating masculinities. Morrell's (Ouzgane & Morrell, 2005) historiographic reading of masculinities on the African continent would also be of great benefit in fleshing out the historical trajectories of Indian masculinities from indenture to apartheid through to democracy. This would be of use in contextualizing the transitions of contemporary Indian masculinities and gender relations. In the field of male body image research, greater efforts should also be directed towards enhancing the psychometric quality of scales such as the ASI and SATAQ-3 with diverse, non-clinical male populations.

Probably the most important recommendation here bridges the gap between research and risk management. Research which specifically draws attention to the ways in which masculinities and sociocultural or media influence towards appearance is expressed in boys' narratives holds the most promise to identifying the dilemmas, 'silences', and potentially destructive psycho-discursive potentialities that boys communicate about their body image. Identifying the cognitive and behavioural elements within such narratives is the first step in risk management of boys with body image disturbance. In addition to the aforementioned a psycho-educative reconceptualization of masculine body image as highly subjective and peculiar, as opposed to objective, would benefit (mental) health professionals and other interventionists working with Indian male's who present with body image disturbances.

Lastly, on a point of promoting of social equality, it appears that there exist broad-based homophobic and socially conservative views towards lesbian and gay sexual orientations amongst Indian boys. This needs to be addressed through a nondiscriminative social education about matters of sexuality and sexual orientation. Thus, policy research and development that tackles how such an education could be delicately negotiated, monitored and evaluated within the context of complex religio-cultural discourses and deeply rooted homonegativity would be of future benefit.

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**APPENDIX A: Letter requesting access to ..... Secondary School**

Telephone: 082 410 0016

21 Bruce Road  
Flamboyant Park 4093

2 February 2009

Mr. ....  
..... School  
..... Road  
Phoenix  
KwaZulu-Natal

Dear Sir.

I am kindly requesting if it would be possible to conduct my Masters research study at your school.

The particulars of my research pertain to an investigation into the area of masculinity and body image. A focus of this research is directed at examining the influence of the subjective evaluations of body image, and how these correlate with the appearance investment and sociocultural attitudes towards appearance of Indian adolescent boys and the drive for increased muscularity. Such research can yield valuable information that will help broaden our understanding of how males conceptualize their body image in the identity construction process; and assist us in designing programmes which seek to address adolescent depression, low self-esteem, steroid abuse, extreme dieting, and other bodily-related risk behaviours that males have to deal with.

To effectively employ my research strategy I will require the participation of your Grade 8, 9, 10, 11, and 12 boys to complete a set of questionnaires designed to mention the above variables. To complete all questionnaires will require less than 50 minutes.

Participation in the project is voluntary and students have the right to withdraw at any time. Students' responses are anonymous, and do not require the disclosure of any highly sensitive information. I would also be happy to present you with my final report and study findings should you wish to have a copy.

Finally, I would greatly appreciate your assistance in my research efforts and would welcome a meeting with you. In this regard, I kindly request that you respond to me by 15 February 2010 to indicate your school's willingness to assist me.

Yours sincerely

Mr. Jarred Martin (Researcher): email – [jmukzn@gmail.com](mailto:jmukzn@gmail.com) ; cell – 082 410 0016.  
Dr. Kay Govender (Academic Supervisor): office – 031 260 7423; [govenderk2@ukzn.ac.za](mailto:govenderk2@ukzn.ac.za).  
Ms. Pume Ximba (University Research Office): 031 260 3587.



APPENDIX B: Letter from DOE confirming access to ..... Secondary School



**kzn education**

Department:  
Education  
KWAZULU-NATAL

**J MARTIN  
UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU NATAL  
SCHOOL OF APPLIED PSYCHOLOGY**

Enquiries: Sibusiso Alwar

Date: 05/03/2010

Reference: 0024/2010

**RESEARCH PROPOSAL: 'MIRROR, MIRROR ON THE WALL WHO'S THE BUFFEST OF THEM ALL': MASCULINITY, BODY IMAGE DISCREPANCY, AND INDIAN ADOLESCENT MALES.**

Your application to conduct the above-mentioned research in schools in the attached list has been approved subject to the following conditions:

1. Principals, educators and learners are under no obligation to assist you in your investigation.
2. Principals, educators, learners and schools should not be identifiable in any way from the results of the investigation.
3. You make all the arrangements concerning your investigation.
4. Educator programmes are not to be interrupted.
5. The investigation is to be conducted from 05 March 2010 to 05 March 2011.
6. Should you wish to extend the period of your survey at the school(s) please contact Mr Sibusiso Alwar at the contact numbers above.
7. A photocopy of this letter is submitted to the principal of the school where the intended research is to be conducted.
8. Your research will be limited to the schools submitted.
9. A brief summary of the content, findings and recommendations is provided to the Director: Resource Planning.
10. The Department receives a copy of the completed report/dissertation/thesis addressed to:

The Director: Resource Planning  
Private Bag X9137  
Pietermaritzburg  
3200

We wish you success in your research.

Kind regards

  
**R. Cassius Lubisi (PhD)  
Superintendent-General**

## APPENDIX C: Information letter to parent/guardian and participant

### 11.3. Information letter to Parent/Guardian and Participant.

Dear Parent/Guardian

**Re: Psychology Masters Research Study.**

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I am a Psychology Masters student at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Howard College Campus. I am conducting a research study into the area of masculinity and body image. A focus of this research is directed at examining the influence of the subjective evaluations of body image, and how these correlate with the appearance investment and sociocultural attitudes towards appearance of Indian adolescent boys and the drive for increased muscularity. Such research can yield valuable information that will help broaden our understanding of how males conceptualize their body image in the identity construction process. Furthermore, this data becomes extremely useful when designing programmes which seek to address adolescent depression, low self-esteem, steroid abuse, extreme dieting, and other bodily-related risk behaviours that males have to deal with.

The research will be conducted on school premises during the Life Orientation lesson for each particular grade. An exact time and date is still to be set, and the participants will be notified through the school about such information. Participation in this research will involve the completion of questionnaires that will take approximately 50 minutes. These measurement instruments are widely used, reliable and valid measures that do not require the disclosure of any highly personal information. Participation is voluntary and students are free to withdraw at any time should they desire to. Student participation is in an anonymous capacity and all student information will be kept confidential and used only for purposes of the above study. Information will not be accessible to teachers or the Principal.

The research findings will take the form of quantitative, numerical data and will reveal group results. Students will have the opportunity to access a copy of my research findings that will be made available to the school on completion of my research. Please do not hesitate to contact me if you have any queries regarding this study.

Thank you for your kind consideration.

Yours sincerely

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Mr. Jarred Martin (Researcher): email – [jmukzn@gmail.com](mailto:jmukzn@gmail.com) ; cell – 082 410 0016.  
Dr. Kay Govender (Academic Supervisor): office – 031 260 7423.  
Ms. Phume Ximba (University Research Office): 031 260 3587.

APPENDIX D: Informed consent form: Parent/guardian

**Title of the proposed study:**

**“Pumping Irony”: Investigating traditional masculine role norms and body image discrepancy in Indian school going boys.**

---

**Consent form: Parent/Guardian:**

*(Must be brought back to school).*

I..... (Parent/Guardian) of..... (full names of participant) hereby give permission for my child/ward to take part in the above mentioned study being conducted at..... (name of school). I confirm that I have read the attached letter and understand the nature of the research project.

Signature (Parent/Guardian):.....

Date signed:.....

---

APPENDIX E: Informed consent form: Participant

**Title of the proposed study:**

**“Pumping Irony”: Investigating traditional masculine role norms and body image discrepancy in Indian school going boys.**

---

**Consent form: Participant.**

*(Must be brought back to school).*

I..... (full name) hereby volunteer to take part in the above mentioned study being conducted at..... (name of school).

I confirm that I have read the attached letter and understand the nature of the research project.

Signature (Participant):.....

Date signed:.....

---

**APPENDIX F: Biographical questionnaire**

**Please answer the questions below by circling your response in the relevant block. Provide only one answer for each question.**

1. How old are you?

15yrs or younger	16yrs	17yrs	18yrs or older
------------------	-------	-------	----------------

2. What race group do you belong to?

White	Black	Indian	Coloured	Other
-------	-------	--------	----------	-------

3. What Grade are you in?

8	9	10	11	12
---	---	----	----	----

4. Do you participate in any other competitive sports?

Yes	No
-----	----

- If yes, please name what sport(s)? \_\_\_\_\_

5. Do you believe that having big muscles makes guys feel good about themselves?

Yes	No
-----	----

6. How much time do you spend each day worrying about your muscle tone or appearance (not just thinking about it, but actually worrying about it)?

Less than 30 minutes	30-60 minutes	More than 60 minutes
----------------------	---------------	----------------------

7. How often are you distressed by your concerns about your muscle appearance (that is, feeling upset, anxious, or depressed)?

Rarely or not at all	Sometimes	Frequently
----------------------	-----------	------------

8. How often do you avoid having all or part of your body seen by others? For example, in change rooms, swimming pools, or situations where you have to take your clothes off.

Rarely or not at all	Sometimes	Frequently
----------------------	-----------	------------

9. Do you look after your physical appearance?

Yes	No
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10. Are you currently a member of a gym?

Yes	No
-----	----

11. How much time do you spend each day on physical activities to improve your body appearance, such as lifting weights, doing sit-ups, or running? (Include only the activities in which one of your major goals is to improve your appearance.)

Less than an hour	1-2 hours	More than 2 hours
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12. Have you ever taken any type of drug or supplement - legal or illegal - to gain muscle, lose weight, or otherwise improve your appearance?

Never	Only legal supplements or drugs	Illegal steroids, diet pill, or other substances	Both legal and illegal supplements
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13. If you currently use any type of muscle drug or supplement –legal or illegal- do your parents know about it?

Not applicable	Yes	No
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14. Do you think Bollywood films put pressure on males to look muscular?

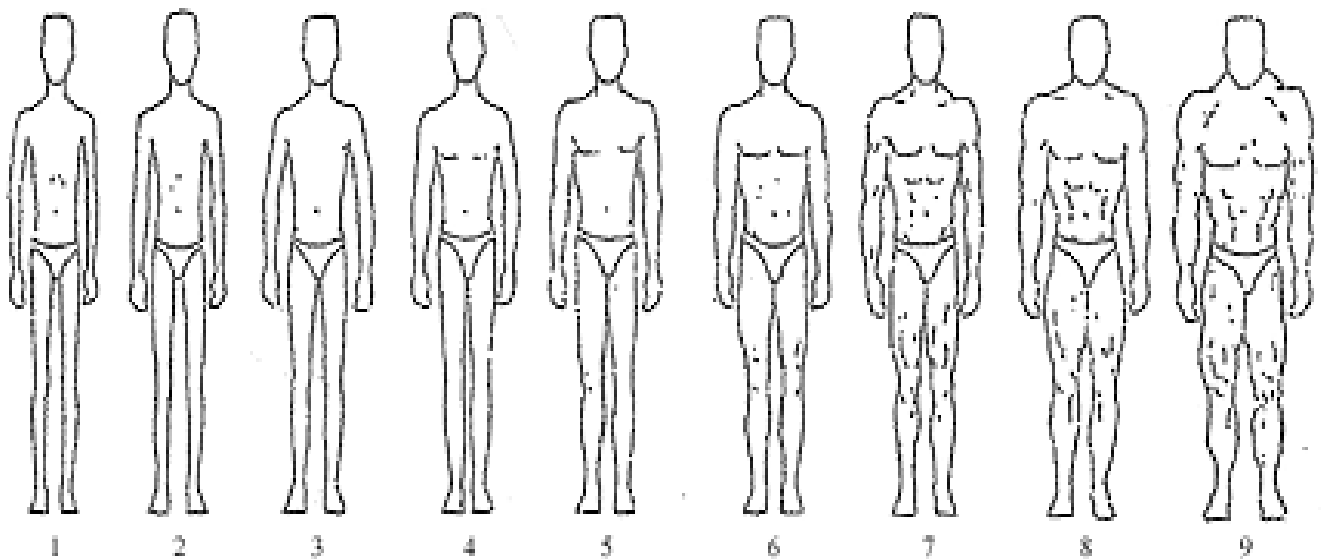
Yes	No
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**APPENDIX G: Measuring instrument: Body image discrepancy**

**PART A**

(Partially adapted from Lynch & Zellner, 1999, in Bottamini & Ste-Marie, 2006; Pope, Phillips, & Olivardia, 2000)

**Please complete the following questions by indicating the number (1-9) of the applicable male body drawing in the block corresponding to the question. Give only one answer for each question.**



1. Choose the image that best represents your body.	
2. Choose the image that best represents the body you ideally would like to have.	
3. Choose the image that represents the body of an average person of your age.	
4. Choose the image that represents the body most desired by the opposite sex.	
5. Choose the image that best represents the male body most portrayed in Bollywood movies.	

## PART B

(Partially adapted from Agliatta, 2005)

Please complete the questionnaire by circling the number which indicates how likely you are to employ techniques to alter your degree of muscularity. Give only one answer for each statement.

Not at all likely	Somewhat likely	Fairly likely	Very likely	Already did it/ doing it currently
1	2	3	4	5
1. Dieting				
1	2	3	4	5
2. Supplements to gain muscle mass				
1	2	3	4	5
3. Supplements to loose fat				
1	2	3	4	5
4. Appetite suppressants				
1	2	3	4	5
5. Meal replacement products				
1	2	3	4	5
6. Legal steroids				
1	2	3	4	5
7. Illegal steroids				
1	2	3	4	5
8. Restriction of food intake				
1	2	3	4	5
9. Avoidance of certain foods				
1	2	3	4	5
10. Eating more food				
1	2	3	4	5
11. Eat healthy, well-balanced meals				
1	2	3	4	5
12. Binge eating				
1	2	3	4	5
13. Purging (vomiting)				
1	2	3	4	5
14. Using laxatives				
1	2	3	4	5
15. Playing sports				
1	2	3	4	5
16. Lifting weights/ resistance training				
1	2	3	4	5
17. Aerobic and cardio training				
1	2	3	4	5
18. Over exercise				
1	2	3	4	5



	<b>Not at all likely</b>	<b>Somewhat likely</b>	<b>Fairly likely</b>	<b>Very likely</b>	<b>Already did it/ doing it currently</b>
	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>
19. Cosmetic surgery	1	2	3	4	5
20. Muscle implants	1	2	3	4	5
21. Shaving the body	1	2	3	4	5
22. Waxing the body	1	2	3	4	5
23. Electrolysis	1	2	3	4	5
24. Tanning techniques (by tanning beds or other tanning/bronzing agents)	1	2	3	4	5
25. Herbal remedies or ointments	1	2	3	4	5
26. Consulting a traditional healer or sangoma	1	2	3	4	5
27. Prayer	1	2	3	4	5

### PART C

(Partially adapted from McCreary & Sasse, 2000)

**Please complete the questionnaire by circling the number which best represents your attitude to each statement. Give only one answer for each statement.**

<b>Never</b>	<b>Rarely</b>	<b>Sometimes</b>	<b>Frequently</b>	<b>Always</b>	
<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	
1. I think my arms are not muscular enough.	1	2	3	4	5
2. I think my chest is not muscular enough.	1	2	3	4	5
3. I think my legs are not muscular enough.	1	2	3	4	5

**APPENDIX H: Measuring instrument: Male role norms inventory**

(Levant & Fisher, 1998)

**Please complete the questionnaire by circling the number which best represents your attitudes, feelings, and behaviours. Give only one answer for each statement.**

<b>Strongly Disagree</b>	<b>Disagree</b>	<b>Slightly Disagree</b>	<b>No Opinion</b>	<b>Slightly Agree</b>	<b>Agree</b>	<b>Strongly Agree</b>	
<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>7</b>	
1.	It is disappointing to learn that a famous athlete is gay						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
2.	If necessary a man should sacrifice personal relationships for career advancement.						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
3.	A man should do whatever it takes to be admired and respected.						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
4.	A boy should be allowed to quit a game if he is losing.						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
5.	A man should prefer football to needle craft.						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
6.	A man should never count on someone else to get the job done.						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
7.	Men should be allowed to kiss their fathers.						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
8.	A man should not continue a friendship with another man if he finds out that the man is gay.						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
9.	Hugging and kissing should always lead to intercourse.						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
10.	A man must be able to make his own way in the world.						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
	Nobody likes a man who cries in public.						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
12.	It is important for a man to take risks, even if he might get hurt.						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
13.	Men should make the final decision involving money.						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
14.	It is important for a man to be good in bed.						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
15.	It is OK for a man to ask for help changing a tyre.						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
16.	A man should never reveal worries to others.						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

<b>Strongly Disagree</b>	<b>Disagree</b>	<b>Slightly Disagree</b>	<b>No Opinion</b>	<b>Slightly Agree</b>	<b>Agree</b>	<b>Strongly Agree</b>	
<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>7</b>	
17. Boys should be encouraged to find a means of demonstrating physical prowess.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
18. A man should try to win at any sport he participates in.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
19. Men should always be realistic.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
20. One should not be able to tell how a man is feeling by looking at his face.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
21. A man who takes a long time and has difficulty making decisions will usually not be respected.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
22. Men should be allowed to wear bracelets.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
23. A man should not force the issue if another man takes his parking space.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
24. In a group, it is up to the man to get things organized and moving ahead.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
25. A man should love his sex partner.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
26. It is too feminine for a man to use clear nail polish on his finger nails.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
27. Being called "faggot" is one of the worst insults to a man or boy.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
28. Jobs like firefighter and electrician should be reserved for men.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
29. When physically provoked, men should not resort to violence.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
30. A man should be able to openly show affection to another man.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
31. A man doesn't need to have an erection in order to enjoy sex.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
32. When the going gets tough, men should get tough.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
33. Housework is woman's work.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
34. It is not particularly important for a man to control his emotions.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
35. Men should not be too quick to tell others that they care about them.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
36. Boys should prefer to play with trucks rather than dolls.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
37. It's OK for a man to buy a fast, shiny sports car if he wants, even if he may have to stretch beyond his budget.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

<b>Strongly Disagree</b>	<b>Disagree</b>	<b>Slightly Disagree</b>	<b>No Opinion</b>	<b>Slightly Agree</b>	<b>Agree</b>	<b>Strongly Agree</b>	
<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>7</b>	
38. A man should never doubt his own judgment.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
39. A man shouldn't have to worry about birth control.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
40. A man shouldn't bother with sex unless he can achieve orgasm.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
41. A man should avoid holding his wife's purse at all times.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
42. There are some subjects that men should not talk about with other men.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
43. Men should always take the initiative when it comes to sex.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
44. Fathers should teach their sons to mask fear.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
45. Being a little down in the dumps is not a good reason for a man to act depressed.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
46. A man should always be ready for sex.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
47. Boys should not throw baseballs like girls.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
48. If a man is in pain, it is better for him to let people know than to keep it to himself.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
49. Men should get up to investigate if there is a strange noise in the house.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
50. A man should think things out logically and have good reasons for what he does.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
51. For a man, sex should always be spontaneous, rather than a pre-planned activity.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
52. A man who has no taste for adventure is not very appealing.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
53. It is not important for men to strive to reach the top.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
54. For men, touching is simply the first step toward sex.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
55. A man should always be the major provider for his family.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
56. A man should be level headed.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
57. Men should be detached in emotionally charged situations.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

**APPENDIX I: Measuring instrument: Appearance schemas inventory**

(Cash & Labarge, 1999)

**Please complete the questionnaire by circling the number which indicates your level of agreement or disagreement with each statement. Give only one answer for each statement.**

<b>Strongly Disagree</b>	<b>Mostly Disagree</b>	<b>Neither Agree Nor Disagree</b>	<b>Mostly Agree</b>	<b>Strongly Agree</b>	
<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	
1. What I look like is an important part of who I am.	1	2	3	4	5
2. What's wrong with my appearance is one of the first things that people will notice about me.	1	2	3	4	5
3. One's outward physical appearance is a sign of the character of the inner person.	1	2	3	4	5
4. If I could look just as I wish, my life would be much happier.	1	2	3	4	5
5. If people knew how I <i>really</i> look, they would like me less.	1	2	3	4	5
6. By controlling my appearance, I can control many of the social and emotional events in my life.	1	2	3	4	5
7. My body shape is responsible for much of what has happened to me in my life.	1	2	3	4	5
8. I should do whatever I can to always look my best.	1	2	3	4	5
9. Getting older will make me less attractive.	1	2	3	4	5
10. To be masculine, a man must be as handsome as possible.	1	2	3	4	5
11. The media's messages in our society make it impossible for me to be satisfied with my appearance.	1	2	3	4	5
12. The only way I could ever like my looks would be to change what I look like.	1	2	3	4	5
13. Attractive people have it all.	1	2	3	4	5
14. Unattractive people have a hard time finding happiness.	1	2	3	4	5



<b>Definitely Disagree</b>	<b>Mostly Disagree</b>	<b>Neither Disagree Nor Agree</b>	<b>Mostly Agree</b>	<b>Definitely Agree</b>	
<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	
18. I've felt pressure from TV or magazines to diet.	1	2	3	4	5
19. I <u>do not</u> wish to look as athletic as the people in magazines.	1	2	3	4	5
20. I compare my body to that of people in "good shape."	1	2	3	4	5
21. Pictures in magazines are an important source of information about fashion and "being attractive."	1	2	3	4	5
22. I've felt pressure from TV or magazines to exercise.	1	2	3	4	5
23. I wish I looked as athletic as sports stars.	1	2	3	4	5
24. I compare my body to that of people who are athletic.	1	2	3	4	5
25. Movies are an important source of information about fashion and "being attractive."	1	2	3	4	5
26. I've felt pressure from TV or magazines to change my appearance.	1	2	3	4	5
27. I <u>do not</u> try to look like the people on TV.	1	2	3	4	5
28. Movie stars are <u>not</u> an important source of information about fashion and "being attractive."	1	2	3	4	5
29. Famous people are an important source of information about fashion and "being attractive."	1	2	3	4	5
30. I try to look like sports athletes.	1	2	3	4	5



## APPENDIX K: Brief listing of key pre-apartheid legislation governing South African Indians

Within the history of the Natal colony and province, a legislative agenda<sup>32</sup> was pursued that would systematically reduce the standing of Indian South Africans to the status of foreign worker:

- *Law no. 14 (1859)* – Provided for the introduction, regulation, and governance, of “coolies” into the Colony of Natal.
- *Law no. 17 (1895)* – Instituted a 3 pound tax on Indian Natalians at the end of their indenture contracts. This law facilitated the re-indenturing of Indians to White farm owners in order to prevent themselves from being imprisoned or deported because they were unable to pay the tax.
- *The South Africa Act (1909)* – Indian South Africans were not regarded as South African citizens and therefore were not afforded any rights or protection under the law.
- *The Pegging Act (1943)* – Indian Natalians were prohibited from buying property or land in the City of Durban. Although the community of Phoenix had loosely been a residential and business area for Indian South Africans alone, this particular piece of legislation set in motion the historical marginalization of Indians in Natal to specific geographical locales along the east coast: Phoenix (Durban central), Verulam (north of Durban), and Chatsworth (south of Durban).
- *The Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act (or Ghetto Act; 1946)* – Restrictions placed on the acquisition and occupation of land by Asiatics. Although Indians had been removed from the national, provincial, and municipal voters roll, this act offered Indians a communal franchise – which they refused.

These laws in part created a pre-apartheid South Africa in which Indians were non-citizens.

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<sup>32</sup> Adopted from [www.scnc.ukzn.ac.za/doc/HIST/LAWS.htm](http://www.scnc.ukzn.ac.za/doc/HIST/LAWS.htm)