

Constructions and representations of masculinity as illustrated by males using photographic
research

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Abstract

Young masculinity has become a research priority in South Africa and internationally. Several studies have focused on how masculinity is constructed, the subjective positions young males occupy and the masculine identities young males adopt. There is a dearth of literature that focuses on how masculinity is represented in South Africa. This study was a secondary analysis of data collected in a previous study. This study aimed to understand how young males visually represent their masculinity. Use was made of photographic data and interviews collected in a previous study. Auto-photography was a useful methodology as it provided insights into how masculinity is visually represented. Mixed method in the form of content analysis and thematic analysis was used to analyse photographic data and interviews. The results indicate that masculinity is visually represented in relation to material commodities, social memberships, and 'doing' activities and other. The implications of masculinity represented and constructed in terms of commodities, social membership, doing and other is discussed.

Declaration

I hereby declare that this is my own work unless specified; this dissertation is the original work of the undersigned

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Chapter One:

Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Research on masculinity is receiving an increasing amount of interest, with a large amount of research has centred on both younger and older males in an effort to examine lifestyle issues, health and disease, employment and business, violence, substance abuse, race relations, risk taking, and marital relationships (Courtenay, 2000; Riccardelli, Clow & White, 2010; Blackbeard, 2005; Swart, 2006). These are but a few topics that have received increased attention in the recent past.

A particular focus of masculinity research has been on adolescence highlighting this developmental phase as the transition into manhood. Adolescence is a critical period in human development that begins at puberty and lasts until the age of twenty-one (Marcia, 1980). It is a time when individuals learn gender role expectations and establish a sense of gender identity (Condry, 1984; Erikson, 1963; Harrison & Pennel, 1989; Marcia, 1980; Sroufe, Cooper & DeHart, 1992 & Wateman, 1982 cited in Newman & Muzzinigro, 1993). It is a period characterised by experimentation, discovery and the consolidation of masculine identity. Adolescents might encounter challenges and tensions during this journey of self-discovery, with the emergence of conflicting and contradictory roles and positions for young men. During adolescence young men are socialised into the norms and practices of masculinity, inclusive of heterosexual relationships and sexuality.

Previous literature and research has developed the notion of alternative versions of masculinity, and several versions of masculinity have been identified (Langa, 2008). The term hegemony was coined by Gramsci but used by Robert Connell in his theory of hegemonic masculinity. He argued that hegemonic masculinity is the gold standard, or the most ideal or desirable version of masculinity that a man can adopt or adhere to (Connell, 2005). Ever since the development of this concept, the field of masculinity has been inundated with attempts to understand and decode hegemonic masculinity and how it is performed and portrayed in real life. Hegemonic masculinity received increased attention when researchers realised what the impact of hegemonic masculinity was on the lives of both men and women. Research suggested that hegemonic ideals/versions of masculinity might be

perpetuating risky and dangerous behaviours in the form of violence, unsafe health practices and substance abuse (Messner, 1990; Baker, 2009; Courtenay, 2000; Shefer, Ratele & Bowman, 2008). An example of the influence of such hegemonic ideas is evident in mortality statistics in South Africa which indicate that the mortality rate of males is higher than females. This high level of mortality was identified as the 'missing male' phenomenon which is attributed to violence, poor health-seeking behaviours, alcoholism and substance abuse (Shefer et al., 2008). Another example of the implication of adherence to masculine norms is evident in the HIV/AIDS pandemic. In accordance with these hegemonic standards of masculinity, males continue to engage in unsafe sexual practices despite the threat of HIV/AIDS. Silberschmidt (2001) argues that in some cultures or social contexts men equate their personal masculine success with the number of sexual partners they have (cited in Coleman, 2008). In some cultures the practice of one man having many wives is considered acceptable and perhaps this reinforces the engagement with multiple partners in young adolescents. In addition men have been found to enjoy a 'variety' of sexual partners (Lindegger & Maxwell, 2003; Coleman, 2008), which in practice is problematic especially since HIV is rampant in South Africa. This suggests that adolescent boys are not taking preventative action to protect themselves against contracting HIV (Bhana, Zimmerman & Cupp, 2008).

Literature identifies the emergence of alternative versions of masculinity (Connell, 1995; Kimmel, Brod & Kauffman, 1980). Several versions of masculinity exist and are differentiated from the hegemonic ideal. Some boys/men do not aspire to the definition and norms of hegemonic masculinity (Wetherell & Edley, 1999). These alternative versions are based on a different set of norms and are less harmful and/or non-harmful versions of masculinity. They are not hegemonic in terms of ideals and performance. These promising versions of masculinity imply that men are becoming increasingly flexible and capable of adjusting to their environments in a unique way as opposed to simply fulfilling gender role expectations. Wetherell & Edley (1999) argued that men are able to employ competing identities or positions in a variety of situations, and some might even argue that the best way to be a man is to "demonstrate one's distance from hegemonic masculinity" (Wetherell & Edley, 1999, p. 30). Seidler (2006) has problematised hegemonic ideals arguing that these ideals might be dangerous when men feel that they have failed or cannot adhere to hegemonic norms. This forces them to compensate for their failure in a variety of other ways. Other authors have highlighted the various problems attached to numerous hegemonic versions of

masculinity such as unsafe behaviours, delay in help-seeking behaviours, violence and risk-taking (Lindegger & Quayle; Courtenay, 2000; Baker, 2009). In contrast there has been an emergence of new or alternative versions of masculinity built on ideals of equality of conjugal roles, involvement in child care and household responsibilities and prioritising education (Langa, 2008). Langa (2008) has implied that alternative versions of masculinity are volatile and often met with difficulty, emotional distress and confusion.

1.2. Study Aim

In light of the fluid nature of masculinity and the emergence of diverse ways in which masculinity is understood and performed, the aim of this study was to explore different versions of masculinity aspired to by young men. Two main research questions were formulated in an endeavour to answer this aim. The first question focused on how masculinity is visually represented by young men. The objective was to see how young men visually represent masculinity in photographs taken of aspects of their everyday life. The second question focused on how young men construct masculinity in their discussions of these visual photographic representations.

1.3. Outline of Dissertation

This thesis consists of seven chapters. This chapter provides an overview of this study and introduces various issues that arise in masculinity research. The next chapter reviews previous literature as a background to this study. Chapter three explains the methodology used, and describes the methods, data collection, study design and analysis. A description of the reliability and validity is also provided in this chapter. In chapter four the results are reported, including the quantitative content analysis and the qualitative thematic analysis. Chapter five discusses the findings of the study in the light of the literature reviewed, and explores the possible implications of the findings. Chapter seven is the conclusion reached and a discussion of the limitations and recommendations for future research.

Chapter 2

Review of Literature

1. Introducing Masculinity

“To be a man is to carry a tape measure by which you measure yourself in relation to the world” (Kriegel, 1979 cited in Adams & Govender, 2008). In general terms masculinity refers to man, the role he occupies in society, how he should behave and what he should or should not do. Recent academic literature has noted that there multiple masculinities as opposed to a specific masculinity (Connell, 1995; Frosh, Phoenix & Pattman, 2002). Connell (2005) defines masculinity as “the practices through which men and women engage in gender and the effects of these practices in bodily experiences, personality and culture (p. 71). Previously, Connell (1995) noted that masculinity can only be understood in relation to femininity. The difference between these two definitions consists in the shift from conceptualising masculinity in terms of physical attributes and behaviour based on biology to a system organised around complex gender relations. Although some theorists have managed to succinctly define what is meant by the term masculinity, others have not been able to agree what is meant by the term. Masculinity is a difficult term to define because it has different connotations to different people across different ages, races, ethnicities and contexts. There have been several attempts to define what is meant by masculinity but some authors, such as Clatterbough (2004), argue that there is no real definition and defining masculinity requires more attention.

Recent work in the field of masculinity has focused on understanding men, who they are and what they do. Literature in the field of masculinity has shifted from understanding the symptoms/problems of versions and stages of masculinity and the way in which masculinity is constructed. The manner in which masculinity is constructed by young men may be problematic. Factors affecting how young males construct their masculinity include biology, culture, religion, the media, history and politics, which factors have been implicated as contributors to how young males construct and represent their masculinity. This implies that what it means to be a man differs across time, geographical location, culture, religion, race, socio-economic statuses and political systems.

2. The Study of Masculinity: Gender Theories

Several theoretical frameworks have formulated specific arguments for the manner in which masculinity should be conceptualised. Theoretical approaches vary from understanding masculinity in terms of essentialism, evolutionary biology to post-modern arguments and social constructionism. Each theoretical framework proposes a different way of understanding how masculinity is constructed and represented. Each framework implicates factors that contribute to how and why masculinity is constructed and represented in a particular group of men.

2.1. Theoretical Approaches to the Study of Masculinity

Various approaches to understanding gender will be discussed, including the sex-gender dichotomy, and some of the theoretical frameworks underpinning masculinity will be explored such as sex role theory and essentialism. The terms 'sex' and 'gender' are often used interchangeably. However, many people fail to understand the difference between these terms (Stoller, n.d. cited in Tripp, 2000). Despite general consensus regarding the interchangeable use of these terms, the late 1960s and 1970s ushered in an era where a clear distinction between the two terms was developed. Stoller (n.d.) contended that "sex and gender are not at all inevitably bound in anything like a one-to-one relationship and each may go its own independent way"(cited in Tripp, 2000, p. 4). The difference between sex and gender will be discussed in the next subsection.

Theories of gender can be divided into two broad paradigms, social constructionism and essentialism, also known as the nature-nurture debate. This divide is the major force driving the sex and gender debate. Essentialism emphasises and prioritises the role of biology. Furthermore, this paradigm posits that biology influences what it means to be masculine or feminine and characteristics of either sex are seen as largely innate, whereas social constructionism posits an opposing argument that language, culture, society and history impact upon the behaviour of males and females.

2.1.1. Sex-gender dichotomy

During the 1970s many theorists like Stoller (n.d) actively campaigned for a distinction between sex and gender (Connell, 2002). Ann Oakley (1970), Kate Millett and Germaine Greer discussed gender at great length, and Oakley (1970) became an instrumental theorist in the analytical categorisation of gender (cited in Tripp, 2000; Dunphy, 2000). Oakley (n.d.) contested the biological sex/gender argument and argued that the difference between men and women could be attributed to both human biology and culture (cited in Dunphy, 2000). Consequently, the term sex was utilised to connote biological differences between men and women, i.e. clear indication of genitalia and procreative or reproductive capacity was specified, whereas gender was associated with the influence of culture relating to types of behaviour for males and females. Furthermore, this gave rise to terms such as 'masculine' and 'feminine' (Tripp, 2000; Dunphy, 2000). On the other hand, feminists dispute this simple definition by arguing that gender refers to the "social organization of the relationship between sexes" (Scott, 1986 cited in Rotman, 2009, p. 12).

Theoretically this distinction gained support, but the observable enactment of gendered roles occurred long before theorists discussed the distinction and the biological influence on male and female roles. Historical trends depicted men as the provider and confined women to the roles of mothering and housekeeping. Gender roles, marriage and family were organised around male domination and patriarchy (Boonzaier & de la Rey, 2004). Gender relations exist within a broader system with external factors such as patriarchy and political systems governing the gender relations between men and women. Men and women conformed to the roles and expectations sanctioned by societal structures, such as patriarchy, which governed how men and women should behave. Nayak and Kehily (2008) reiterate that "sex continues to remain the ultimate arbiter of gender relations, that irrevocable grain of truth" (p. 4). Gender roles emerged from biological sex expectations and this was the underlying justification for the role enactment that consequently emerged.

2.1.2. Definitions of sex-gender dichotomy

The sex-gender dichotomy was argued to be a conceptual breakthrough by many theorists (Connell, 2002; Dunphy, 2000). It was believed that this distinction cut the knot of natural differences and paved the way towards illustrating that biological explanations could no longer be used to justify the subjugation of women (Connell, 2002). This distinction reduced the reign and effect of utilising biological explanations as a way of constructing gender.

Understanding and incorporating culture and other social factors paved the way for liberal mindedness in addressing gender, as theorists began to differentiate sex and the conjugal roles that each sex could possibly adopt. This change in perspective resulted in beliefs that gender might not be as fixed as previously noted. As a result, it became possible that females could be 'masculine' and males could behave in ways that were considered 'feminine' (Connell, 2002).

2.1.3. Arguments against the sex-gender classification

The sex/gender debate has encountered several criticisms because binary and/or duality refers to an 'either-or' and is considered to be reductive and restrictive. It attempts to polarize plurality, complexity and nuances into simple questions of either/or collapsing a multiplicity of variation into a single opposition. Men and women are described as 'opposites' or binary logic but are only opposite because we fulfil the prescribed gender roles. Elam (1995) highlighted that fulfilment of these roles occurs because of the knowledge we have, rather than what we are (cited in Tripp, 2000). Role enactment occurs through a process of learning in which shared knowledge is imparted by family, significant others and peers to younger individuals. It is enacted repeatedly because it is seen to be the 'norm' or expected, and not necessarily because of beliefs that we are men or women.

Dunphy (2000) has cautioned that it is the habit of the western world to consider or to think in terms of binaries. We tend to perceive the world in terms of dualities such as black and white, strong and weak. Dunphy (2000) argues that the modern world has sought to "control and regulate gender behaviour and sexual behaviour, sexual dualities have been used to label and categorize people" (Dunphy, 2000, p. 3). Consequently, thinking in terms of binaries has been extrapolated to gender.

2.1.4. Post-modern arguments against the sex-gender dichotomy

Post-modernists and queer theorists had much to say and pen about the sex-gender dichotomy. They argued that the dichotomy was overly simplistic, outdated and based on common sense (Dunphy, 2000). Hood-Williams (1996) contested the sex-gender dichotomy, by arguing that sexual dimorphism is unnecessary, especially when our ancestors valued two variations on a single anatomical theme. Hood-Williams (1996) insisted that our ancestors found very little difference between males and females and that the two sexes were simply variations of each other and were not as different as we think they are. In essence Hood-Williams (1996) takes issue with dichotomy arguing that sex and gender might not be two distinct divisions but rather that biology is an embodiment based on ideology, morality and cultural values. This implies that being and representing oneself as male or female is influenced by culture, societal ideologies and codes of conduct.

Dunphy (2000) highlights the existing evidence available regarding the interplay between biology and culture. To avoid any confusion, this study will maintain a neutral stance regarding the dichotomy of the sex-gender debate and assume that neither perspective is superior to the other.

2.2. Essentialist perspectives

Essentialist perspectives posit for the differentiation between men and women according to innate, observable distinct characteristics, which ultimately remain fixed across time and culture (Tripp, 2000). Essentialism is based on the premise that gender is unchanged by social, cultural and historical processes (Hearn, 1988 cited in Swart, 2005). Kaminer & Dixon (1995) argue that “the difference between men and women is seen as universal, highly dichotomized and enduring” (p. 168). In this sense, the difference between men and women is considered to be purely biological. That is, sex hormones give rise to different anatomical structures, which invariably lead to the development of sex organs.

Essentialism prioritises the importance of genetics, sex hormones and brain structure (Swart, 2005). Biological explanations have also implicated brain structures as perpetrators of the physiological manifestations evident in gender (Moir & Jessel, 1991 cited in Swart, 2005). The sex hormone ‘testosterone’ has also been used to account for violence in males (Kemper, 1990 cited in Swart, 2005). The sex hormone explanation has received mediocre support since it implies that males are innately more aggressive than females, assuming that the natural driving force behind this aggressive behaviour is testosterone (StatsSA, 2007; Shefer, Ratele, Strelbel, Shabalala & Buikema, 2007). However, current evidence disputes this belief. Monti, Brown and Corriveau (1977) argue that the findings regarding the testosterone-aggression relationship in humans is contradictory. Hearn (1998), in agreement with Monti et al. (1977), argues that aggression is not purely testosterone driven (cited in Swart, 2005). He argues that the testosterone-aggression argument is over-simplistic and naive since violence occurs through interplay of several factors (Swart, 2005; Monti et al., 1977).

Socio-biologists and evolutionary psychologists argue that the behaviour of males and females occurs because of their genetic make-up. Wilson (1978) uses genetics as a means of justifying unequal relationships between men and women, i.e. men are aggressive and females are submissive, nurturing and warm (cited in Swart, 2005). Evolution has also been implicated in gender, specifically with regard to sex cells – sperm and egg (Plummer, 2005). The sperm and egg are polarised as opposites on a continuum. In the gender debate and in the justification of gender behaviour, men release millions of sperm whereas females produce one egg at a time (Plummer, 2005). Thus, men are able to father an inexhaustible number of children whereas women are only able to bear one offspring at a time, taking into consideration that women pour significant amounts of parental investment into motherhood.

Evolutionary perspectives imply that men engage with as many sexual partners as possible and women are left with the option of selecting the best possible mate resulting in the fittest offspring (Plummer, 2005). From this perspective promiscuity may be seen as adaptive behaviour. Men spread their genes by having multiple partners while their female counterparts do so at a slower rate. Hence, the selection of a male as a partner is a carefully considered process ensuring that the male will invest his time and resources in the future of his offspring. This will ensure the genetic success of the fittest offspring (Plummer, 2005). Men are considered to be more sexual than women in terms of sexual engagement, desiring sexual intercourse more often than women (Plummer, 2005). This evolutionary explanation provides an alternative way of understanding the relationship between men and women. However, such explanations are dangerous in the sense that they are often seen as condoning antisocial behaviour, such as sexual violence and rape (Plummer, 2005). Socio-biologists, Thornhill and Palmer (2000), use the evolutionary theory of sexual intercourse to explain the occurrence of rape, arguing that rape is part of evolution (cited in Plummer, 2005). Socio-biologists argue that these occurrences have biological undercurrents. Wetherell & Edley (1995) argue that there should be no gold standard of universal gender behaviour resulting exclusively from biological influences. The behaviour between sexes is culturally distinguished and varies within and between cultures. Connell (1995) argues that it is unrealistic to view gender as biologically derived. Essentialist paradigms posit "gender in terms of fundamental attributes that are conceived as internal, persistent, and generally separate from the on-going experience of interaction with the daily socio-political contexts of one's life" (Bohan, 1993 cited in Kaminer & Dixon, 1995). Essentialist arguments are largely deterministic, and imply that gender is dichotomous, i.e. masculine and feminine. Inherent in this argument is that men and women are programmed to behave in ways that are congruent or compatible with their anatomical and physiological structure. However, this argument is problematic and debatable because it leads to the threat of condoning masculine behaviour, suggesting that any behaviour is justifiable and defensible. This argument can be attributed to internal fixed processes that are uniform in all individuals resulting in the inherent danger of condoning unacceptable behaviours especially with respect to sexual offences against women (Gilbert & Gilbert, 1999 cited in Swart, 2005). Biological influences are unable to account for masculine girls and feminine boys, especially if biology remains fixed and unaffected by the external environment. However, this statement is widely contested.

Despite the shortcomings of the essentialist argument, it remains prominent in the minds of individuals and the media (Joseph, 2006; Swart, 2005) flowing from its rigidity and failure to acknowledge external forces in shaping behaviour. Biological explanations were unsuccessful in accounting for the degree of variations within particular sexes (Segal, 2000). Connell (1995) argues that masculinity “is not a biological entity that exists prior to society, rather masculinities are ways that societies interpret and employ male bodies” (p. 211). Attwell (2002) argues that biological sex is merely one factor to explain masculinity.

2.3. Sex Roles

The paradigm shift from the essentialist argument to the recognition of social processes in gender gave rise to considerable popularity in sex and social roles (Blackbeard, 2005). Sex role theory developed by Talcott Parsons, argued that gender roles are internalised through a process of social learning or socialisation (Jackson & Scott, 2002). This theory has strong roots in the psycho-analytical paradigm, which argues that masculine identity emerges when a young boy identifies with his father (Lindegger & Durrheim, 2001). Sex role theory tries to understand the male experience and posits that “for individuals to become psychologically mature as members of their sex, they must acquire male or female ‘sex role identities’” (Pleck, 1987, p. 31). Pleck (1987) suggests that individuals usually display behaviours, attitudes and interests that are congruent to, or reaffirm, their particular sex. Young adolescent boys construct and reaffirm their identity by having a stable male role model and family. According to this theory, certain factors such as absent fathers or gender role reversals result in effeminacy and homosexuality or hyper-masculinity (Pleck, 1987). The socialisation process for young boys often entails ‘rules of practice’ that underlie what it means to be masculine in particular contexts (Danckwerts, 2005).

Mead’s anthropological studies in New Guinea found that most inhabitants were androgynous and defied the western norm of male and female. This led Mead to the conclusion that gender personalities are culturally relative (Jackson & Scott, 2002). Connell (1995), illustrating his allegiance with this statement, argued that “sex roles are patterns of social expectation, norms of behaviour of men and women which were transmitted to youth in a process of socialization” (p. 7). Sex roles provide guidelines and prescribe how men and women should behave in society and different gender identities, i.e. identifying with being male and female and developing through socialisation with the same sex parents (Haywood & Mac Ghail, 2003). Therefore, males and females are conditioned to appropriate roles of

behaviour (Haywood & Mac Ghail, 2003). Most often individuals tend to behave according to the conditioning they receive from others (Haywood & Mac Ghail, 2003).

2.3.1. Sex role theory

Sex role theories have been used to understand the complexity of masculinity alongside theories of socialisation (Parson & Bales, 1995 cited in Haywood & Mac Ghail, 2003), while sex roles refer to stereotypical behaviours and conduct expected of males and females (Wetherell & Edley, 1995). The assumption that underlies this sociological approach is that we learn to be male or female from the social institutions embedded in society. The enactment of masculinity and femininity is based on how that particular society views males and females. Role adherence is a circular argument and implies that males are under more pressure than females to behave in manly ways (Pleck, 1981 cited in Haywood & Mac Ghail, 2003; Maccoby & Jacklin, 1974). Men and boys are often forced to conform to behaviour associated with strength, power and sexual competence whereas women are expected to behave in ways that are intuitive, passive, submissive and emotional (Haywood & Mac Ghail, 2003; Maccoby & Jacklin, 1974; Nayak & Kehily, 2008).

Sex role theory was supported by theorists such as Parsons, Bandura and Pleck. However, there are many criticisms levelled against it. This theory developed through a paradigm shift from essentialism, and remains closely attached to “singular and normative definitions of gender within macro sociological frameworks” (Kimmel, 2000 cited in Blackbeard, 2005, p.26). Parsons (1953) argued that essentialist accounts failed to explain the social nature of sex roles (cited in Carrigan, Connell & Lee, 1987a). Sex role theory encompassed structural account of kinship, the socialization problem in sociology, psychoanalytic accounts of personality formation, the internal interaction patterns of the household and the sexual division of labour (Parsons, 1953 cited in Carrigan et al., 1987a).

The process of socialisation, role acquisition and internalisation is considered paramount in the development of sex roles. However, social institutions within society reiterate and reinforce sex role behaviours (Cheung, 1996; Carrigan et al., 1987a). In addition, peers and teachers all contribute to the reinforcement of sex role behaviours (Maccoby & Jacklin, 1974). When normative gender behaviour is not adhered to, it is considered a consequence of poor socialisation and is heavily sanctioned, as in the case of homosexuals (Joseph, 2006). Wetherell and Edley (1995) have pointed out that sex role theory is very dependent on biological distinctions between men and women. It assumes that the behaviour of males and

females will conform to the societal norm and according to what is deemed acceptable. Furthermore, this theory fails to acknowledge individual agency and the possible deviations from the norm are ignored and dismissed (Wetherell & Edley, 1995). Variations from the norm are considered to be deviations or 'failure' in the socialisation process (Carrigan et al., 1987a). Connell (1995) has criticised this theory arguing that the sex role theory is oversimplistic and does not account for the complexity of gender roles. It considers the individual to be a passive recipient of socialisation. Sex role theory has been accused of overplaying the difference between men and women and underplaying the significance of power, sexuality, race, class, status and family (Swart, 2005). Furthermore, sex role theory fails to account for the power dynamics within each gender (Carrigan et al., 1987b).

Parsons (1959) acknowledged that individuals could deviate from traditional sex roles as is evident with homosexuality (cited in Carrigan et al., 1987a). Parsons (1953) argued that homosexuality was "universally prohibited thereby reinforcing the differentiation of sex roles" (cited in Carrigan et al., 1987a, p. 68). This statement was radically invalid as masculinity was accepted in many societies (cited in Carrigan et al., 1987a). Sex roles are clearly depicted in the media and are perpetuated by advertising, cinema and, above all, society.

Sex role theory has focused on intervening factors such as parenting styles, social institutions within society, peers and teachers. Sex roles remain deeply entrenched in society. Furthermore, socialisation contributes significantly in maintaining and sustaining what a boy and girl should wear, colours, toys, friends, behaviour and even occupations but fails to account for macro-social processes.

2.4. Social Constructionism

Social constructionism is an epistemological position based on the premise that phenomena do not exist in themselves but are dependent on language and social context. In other words, there are multiple ways in which a phenomenon can be constructed, ways which are unique to a particular culture, time and context. Thus, it is possible to have many versions of a phenomenon which might be socially constructed differently from one another. Gender can be regarded as an example of a socially constructed phenomenon. Kaminer and Dixon (1995) argue that constructions of gender are influenced by interplay of historical, social and cultural factors. Gender subjectivity emerges through a dialogical interaction with gender ideologies in a particular culture (Kaminer & Dixon, 1995). There is consensus that a multiple

dimensional understanding of masculinity is needed since it is “socially and subjectively embodied, enacted and inscribed” (Redman, 2001; Swain, 2003 cited in Blackbeard & Lindegger, 2007, p. 27). “Masculinity and femininity are products not of biology but of social, cultural and psychological attributes acquired through a process of becoming a man or woman in a particular society at a particular time” (Jackson & Scott, 2002, p. 9).

Mfecane (2008) suggests that men internalise these norms and meanings of masculinity and then replicate them in their social interactions. Social constructionism asserts that gender is constructed and practised within a particular context as opposed to sex role theory which assumes that masculinity is a vital part of being a man. “Masculinity is not imposed arbitrarily from the top; it is both constructed and lived” (Courtenay, 2000; Moore, 1994 cited in Mfecane, 2008, p. 46). This creates the sense that the nature of masculinity is fluid-like and dynamic and is in constant interaction with society (Courtenay, 2000; Moore, 1994 cited in Mfecane, 2008, p. 46). Language is imposed on humans since it integrates thinking and understanding and is vitally important for development (Burr, 2003).

Burr (2003) argued that constructions of the world are dependent on thinking and understanding. These thoughts and understandings are referred to as discourses. Discourses are “clusters of terms, networks of meanings of statements that provide content to masculinity” (Toerien & Durrheim, 2001 cited in Danckwerts, 2005, p. 13). Toerien and Durrheim (2001) argue that discourses “offer competing ways of creating a coherent sense of masculine identity” (cited in Danckwerts, 2005, p. 13). Therefore, perceptions of what it means to be a man might vary in different contexts but there do seem to be some underlying similarities (Mfecane, 2008). Korobov & Bamberg (2007) argue that male identities emerge from discourse. Identities are considered to be interactional and depend on the situation these males find themselves in (Korobov & Bamberg, 2007). “Identities are performative and psycho-discursive practices are like ‘imaginary positions’ that are subjectively and socially enacted” (Blackbeard & Lindegger, 2007, p. 27).

In each particular context there are different ways in which masculinity can be enacted; there are multiple ways that one can learn to be a man and different ways of understanding oneself and perceiving the male body (Connell, 2000). It is possible for one male to employ multiple identities and this is argued to occur as “a complex weaving of positioning” (Korobov & Bamberg, 2007, p. 253). Redman (2001) argues that boys position themselves and are positioned by others, sometimes in ways that are conflicting and contradictory (cited in

Maccoby & Jacklin, 1974). It is possible for one male to occupy two conflicting or contradictory masculine positions (Cornwall & Lindisfarne, 1994). Masculinities emerge through an interaction of social context and individual actors (cited in Blackbeard & Lindegger, 2007). Masculine identities emerge from interwoven processes of unconscious fantasy, identification and discursive accomplishments with a social context” (cited in Blackbeard & Lindegger, 2007, p. 27).

2.4.1 Social constructionist perspectives on adolescent masculinity

Social constructionism is a very prominent paradigm in gender identity (Ceculo, 2002). Social constructionists argue that masculinity and femininity emerge from interactional relations that occur. The development of a masculine or feminine identity is not merely about being masculine or feminine but rather about doing, the enactment of gender, hence Butlers (2004) notion of gender as performative.

Social constructionism takes a very sceptical view of concepts like masculinity and femininity and disputes dichotomous categorisations of naturally occurring phenomena (Chadwick, 2007). Furthermore, social constructionism as noted by Durrheim (1997) and Bennewith (2003), is “concerned with the fluid and perspectival meaning of masculinity based on the indexical quality of language and performance” (cited in Blackbeard, 2005, p. 28). Bennewith’s (2003) idea of masculinity encompasses the subjectivity of masculinity – men ‘do’ masculinity differently. White masculinity is enacted in sports such as rugby and competitiveness whereas black masculinity is based on strength, speed and sports such as soccer (Attwell, 2002; Epstein, 1998 cited in Blackbeard & Lindegger, 2007). These sporting activities are embedded with certain discourse such as male competitiveness and physical strength. Currently, there are two views that social constructionists have on masculinity. The first view enunciates the importance of linguistic quality and discursive aptitude of individuals attempting to conciliate over meanings of identity. There are multiple gender meanings and they are enacted and embodied at multiple levels of social and personal discourse, whereas the second view emphasises a “performative account which focuses on masculinity as an enacted identity by ‘agentive’ subjects” (Haywood & Mac Ghail, 2003; Korobov & Bamberg, 2004 cited in Blackbeard, 2005, p. 28). Some theorists argue in favour of a combination of the two views.

Connell’s social constructionist account integrates “a critical analysis of capitalism with a deconstruction of patriarchy, premised on the view that gender occurs as a core quality of

production through the benefits men accrue through the subjugation of women” (Connell, 1987 cited in Blackbeard, 2005, p. 28). Capitalism in the form of economic power is prominent in hegemonic masculinity, i.e. the ability to materially satisfy the needs of women and to be able to take care of them satisfactorily (Lindegger & Maxwell, 2003).

The majority of the studies on masculinity have used social constructionist frameworks in explaining and understanding masculine identities, positions and constructions (Blackbeard, 2005; Chadwick, 2007; Lindegger & Maxwell, 2003; Lindegger & Quayle, 2009). This allows masculinity to be looked at from a fluid perspective, where change and variety is indeed possible. Masculinity is flexible in its outward appearance. Social constructionism allows us to view masculinity as multiple and complex and as a phenomenon influenced by many societal factors, history and discourse working together to produce a framework for understanding masculinity.

2.5. Representing Masculinity: Being Doing and Having

Masculinity and femininity are conceptualised distinctly by different authors and theorists. Social constructionists argue that gender identities are socially, culturally and interactively processed and hence masculinity is more about ‘doing’ than essentially ‘being’ (Kimmel, 2000; Korobov & Bamberg, 2004). Butler (2004) reiterates that gender is more about ‘doing’ than ‘being’. Butler (2004) argues that ‘doing’ gender cannot be in isolation and is usually done in relation to another even if the ‘other’ does not exist in reality. Butler (1990) argues that “gender is not something we have, nor is it something we are, rather, it is something that we, with variable degrees of volition, do” (cited in Benwall, 2003a, p. 8). Frosh et al (2002) highlight the importance of ‘being’ and ‘doing’. However, Blackbeard and Lindegger (2007) highlight the importance of ‘having’. Masculinity extends beyond being the physiological and anatomical features of a male but rather involves proving one’s manhood by adhering to the relevant ‘norms’ and ‘rules’ that ‘define’ what a ‘man’ is. The acceptability norm for ‘being’ is tied to being ‘big’, ‘powerful’ or competent and Blackbeard and Lindegger (2007) suggest that it is possible for males to conform to one acceptable norm and simultaneously subvert against another.

It is imperative that masculinity is enacted in a way that is deemed acceptable since displays of masculinity are ‘policed’ by peers and family (Blackbeard & Lindegger, 2007; Maccoby & Jacklin, 1974). Blackbeard and Lindegger (2007) conducted a photo-narrative study with adolescent boys in rural and urban areas. They discovered that ‘having’ seemed to emerge

strongly in the discussions with their interviewees. The notion of having is closely linked to material (i.e. physical objects) and immaterial relationships (i.e. other people). Displays of hyper heterosexuality can be categorised as non-relational heterosexuality which shares a simultaneous relationship with acceptability norms among peer groups. Non-relational heterosexuality refers to a “constellation of hegemonic attitudes and behaviours characterized by an experience of sexuality as ‘sport’ or lust, an obsession with physical attraction, an objectification of sexual partners as well as a tendency towards trophyism, voyeurism and hypersexuality” (Brooks, 1997; Good & Sherrod, 1997; Levant, 1997 cited in Korobov & Bamberg, 2004, p. 472). ‘Objectification’ is closely linked to the notion of ‘having’ because having extends towards treating sexual partners as trophies that men can ‘brag’ about. The notion of trophyism also links to material indicators of successful ‘acquisitions’ such as sport, medals and trophies. Having the ability to show off these objects creates and promotes competition amongst peers to display themselves as the best and earn the most respect from their peers. Male peer groups have been cited as a site or context for the construction of masculine identities. There are very strict boundaries for inclusion and exclusion of masculine identities (Blackbeard & Lindegger, 2007). Thus, males are expected to position themselves in relation to norms that emerge through contested dialogue and discourse

2.6. Connell’s Masculine Hierarchy

Connell (1987) was instrumental in the development and conceptualisation of a masculine framework or hierarchy. Connell’s (1995; 2005) hierarchy of masculinity is based on gender relations. The theory developed after extensive work on the life histories of four Australian men (Connell, 1987). This theory sought to “take account of psychological insights and social forces which attempted to blend personal agency with social structure and which worked to blend diverse intellectual influences of materialism, feminism and critical theory” (Morrell, 2001, p. 7). Connell (1987) argued that gender is synonymous with power. Power refers to the patriarchal advantage that men accrue from subordinating women and other men (Lindegger & Maxwell, 2003). Men however do not share this power equally. There is struggle and contestation for power. There seems to be no real consensus regarding the definitions of masculinity. Hearn and Clatterbaugh (n.d.) argue that there are many debates and little agreement when defining and differentiating masculinity and masculinities (cited in Connell, 2000). However, there is consensus regarding the various masculine positions that can be adopted; one hegemonic and three non-hegemonic forms from Connell’s work (1987).

Connell argues within the hierarchy the different forms of masculinity display distinct relations between each other (Connell, 2000).

Based on Connell's idea of masculinity non-hegemonic forms of masculinity developed in relation to hegemonic masculinity. The three non-hegemonic forms are known as complicit, subordinate and marginalised. Minorities or non-hegemonic masculinities developed due to differences in race, class, ethnicity and sexual orientation (Morrell, 2001). Culture and ethnicity provide their own expectations and ideals of masculine identity (Beal, 1996). Masculinity is reinforced and sustained not only by men but by family and women.

2.6.1. Hegemonic masculinities

Hegemonic masculinity was coined in 1985 by Carrigan, Connell and Lee (1987a) based on Gramsci's concept of hegemony. Gramsci argued that hegemony referred to "the cultural dynamic by which a group claims and sustains a leading position in social life" (Connell, 2005, p. 77). Hegemonic masculinity is synonymously known as the gold standard of masculinity and is defined as the "configuration of gender practice which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of the legitimacy of patriarchy which guarantees the dominant position of men and the subordination of women" (Connell, 2005, p. 77).

Hegemonic masculinity refers to the dominant masculine ideology which is embedded in and upholds patriarchy within society (Langa & Eagle, 2008). Power and control is awarded to a small number of men who use it to subordinate other men and women (Henderson & Shefer, 2008). Small numbers of men are presented as role models or symbols of hegemonic masculinity (Henderson & Shefer, 2008) and hegemonic masculinity is attained and practised (Henderson & Shefer, 2008). Hegemonic masculinity is a norm for behaviour against which boys become socialised according to what a 'real man' is, thus the rules embodied by hegemonic masculinity are grasped, accepted or internalised and used to compare others (Wetherell & Edley, 1999; Lindegger & Quayle, 2009).

The characteristics of hegemonic masculinity differ but most envision it to be associated with the following characteristics: "risk-taking, uncontrollable sex-drive, compulsory heterosexuality, male dominance and the appearance of physical and emotional toughness strength and stoicism" (Erasmus, 1999 cited in Lindegger & Quayle, 2009, p. 43), pressure for men to be materially successful and to be able to 'provide for' girlfriends, wives and families (Barker & Loewenstein, 1997) and lastly, since masculinity is constructed around the

subjugation of women, the reproduction of hegemonic masculinity requires men to control sexual decisions (Horizon report, 2004 cited in Lindegger & Quayle, 2009), including if, when and how sex takes place and whether or not condoms are used (Bujra & Baylles, 2001; Foreman, 1999; Noar & Morokoff, 2002 cited in Peacock & Levack, 2004; Scalway, 2001; Shefer & Ruiters, 1998; Simpson, 2008 cited in Lindegger & Quayle, 2009, p. 44).

However, Connell (2005) argues that hegemonic masculinity remains an ideal that no man attains yet publicly, men appear to have attained the requisite ideals. Hegemonic masculinity is a pattern of practice not just a role of expectation. It is normative, providing the most acceptable way of 'being a man' and requiring that all men position themselves in relation to it (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). Hegemonic masculinity is not fixed; it seems to have a fluid state and involves substantial contestation. Wetherell & Edley (1999) suggest that hegemonic masculinity is "not automatic and involves contestation and constant struggle" (p. 2).

Frosh et al. (2002) conducted a study in London with school going adolescent boys in order to determine their masculine identification and performance in terms of hegemonic masculinity. They found that in focus groups boys aligned themselves with and conformed to the ideals of hegemonic masculinity, whereas in individual interviews they found a huge discrepancy of non-conformance to hegemonic masculinity. It is evident that boys want to be seen as conforming to hegemonic masculinity. It was also found that boys experienced great difficulty and discomfort with this non-conformance to hegemonic norms because they embrace alternative masculinities. The high level of discomfort experienced by boys arises from fear of embarrassment and humiliation by others. Fear is also related to the process of being 'policed'; it is noted in literature that hegemonic masculinity is standardised and reinforced by others (Wetherell & Edley, 2005). Hegemonic masculinity is practised by men; they reinforce the ideals by regulating and examining the behaviour, performance and identity of other men (Blackbeard & Lindegger, 2007).

2.6.2. Subordinate masculinities

Subordinate masculinity stands in contrast to hegemonic masculinity and is subjugated by hegemonic masculinity. Power relations between men give rise to subordinated masculinities. According to Connell (1995) subordinate forms of masculinity are effectively excluded from what is considered to be the 'ideal masculinity'. Hegemonic masculinity sets the precedent and determines which masculinities are subordinated, which is evident with homosexual men.

Homosexual and effeminate men are categorised as subordinate masculinities. Homosexual men are discriminated against because they do not meet the heterosexual ideal of hegemonic masculinity as well as effeminate men, who behave or perform in ways that are considered feminine or 'girly' (Connell, 2009; Hearn, 2004). In some cases homosexual men are considered to be effeminate but this is inaccurate (Connell, 1992). Not all homosexuals portray effeminate tendencies. Epstein (1997) found that boys displaying behaviour considered as feminine face humiliation and embarrassment from their peers who label them as 'girls', 'wimps', 'wuss', 'cowards' and 'geeks' (Connell, 2001; Langa, 2008).

Homosexual men and women face discrimination in the form of heterosexism and homophobia (Wells & Polder, 2006). Heterosexism implies that heterosexual relationships are normal, natural and acceptable while homophobia refers to verbal or physical discrimination against homosexuals (Wells & Polder, 2006; Connell, 1992). Heterosexism is sustained and reinforced through the "media, religion, legal discourses, education and health care" (Wells & Polder, 2006, p. 21). Homophobia refers to "negative attitudes and/or prejudice behaviour" towards homosexual people (Wells & Polder, 2006, p. 21). Implicit rules within heterosexist societies give rise to homophobic attitudes and perceptions and resultant behaviour towards homosexual individuals (Connell, 1992). As a result these groups, particularly homosexual men, are targets and victims of brutal violence and explicit discrimination. Homosexuality is seen as a deviation/negation from compulsory heterosexuality and is not considered masculine under hegemonic masculine ideals (Connell, 1992). Literature has cited two possible options as to why men choose to be closet homosexuals. The first option is governed by fear of embarrassment, humiliation and violence, resulting in homosexuals remaining 'closeted' or reverting to a mindset of denial and concomitant subordination. However, subordination is not imposed, which brings about the second option, i.e. rejection of hegemonic forms and masculinity and development of a hegemony of their own.

Historically homosexuality was considered fashionable amongst the Greek aristocrats (Yang, 1998). Homosexuality was preferred to heterosexuality as women occupied inferior positions in society; as a result love relationships between men and women were not possible (Yang, 1998). Love relationships existed between men because they were equal to each other in terms of class and societal position (Yang, 1998). Consequently, homosexuality flourished in Greece and was considered more normal and acceptable than heterosexuality. Historically, homosexuality was classified as hegemonic in its own right; men in Greece developed

hegemonic ideals that valued homosexuality. Reid (2003), writing on masculinity in South Africa, suggests that homosexuality is considered fashionable similarly to Greece. South Africa in transformation after apartheid is termed the rainbow nation. Freedom and democracy underlie the South African Constitution (Reid, 2003). Homosexuality is argued to be an orientation to some and a fashion to others – “it is just a fashion” (Reid, 2003, p. 7). The word fashion has several connotations and might imply that it is temporary or about to become the new sexual orientation (Reid, 2003). Homosexual men are developing a niche for themselves within society as hair stylists and competitors in beauty pageants (Reid, 2003).

2.6.3. Complicit masculinities

When men do not challenge hegemonic masculine norms this is known as complicit masculinity. Complicit refers to those men who ascribe to the ideal but who don't actually practice or embody the principles that underlie hegemonic masculinity, i.e. men who enjoy benefits of patriarchy but are simultaneously liberal and egalitarian (Connell, 2009). Although they enjoy the benefits of patriarchy, they will not be seen fighting overtly for patriarchy (Connell, 2001). Complicit implies that some men don't meet the stringent requirement of hegemonic masculinity but ascribe to it because of the benefits they reap from subjugating others.

Illustrative examples of complicit masculinity are discussed by Connell (2001); men show that they support egalitarian roles within society. This is evident in their respectful behaviour to their female counterparts, disengagement from violent behaviour, performance of household activities such as cleaning, cooking and childcare, and support dual income. However, they remain beneficiaries of systems that privilege them over women. These men will never be seen challenging the patriarchal system and remain indifferent to feminist movements and efforts. The underlying point is that power and control cannot be shared or divided amongst men and women in any sphere of humanity (Connell, 2001).

2.6.4. Marginalised masculinities

Gender intersects with class, race, ethnicity, sexuality and even technology and results in unequal relationships being formed between different masculinities (Connell, 2005; Tripp, 2000). According to Connell (2005) marginalised masculinities refer to groups and sometimes minorities who are exploited or oppressed because of racial or ethnic

characteristics. Even though these groups might share norms or ideals reminiscent of hegemonic masculinity they are socially marginalised.

Class is another identifiable characteristic of marginalised masculinity. Unequal access to resources results in some men being marginalised. In a study conducted at the University of Zimbabwe by the Affirmative Action Project, findings indicated that young men feel marginalised because of poverty and unemployment, which results in feelings of powerlessness (Gaidzanwa, 2001 cited in Mama, 2009). Historically black masculinity was characterised as the marginalised masculinity. Black masculinity has a substantial influence on how white masculinity is constructed in the United States, and is portrayed in two ways. Black sportsmen are either associated with stoicism and strength, or as criminals who take advantage of white women, resulting in them being labelled sexual offenders and featuring prominently in the sexual politics amongst white people (Connell, 2009). Black masculinity has often felt the wrath of white hegemonic ideals in their attempts to challenge institutional oppression and physical terror.

Black masculinity in first world countries, such as in the United States of America, is characterised by unemployment and increasing levels of urban poverty and violence, factors which have been implicated as sculpturing black masculinity (Connell, 2001). South Africa is similar to the United States of America as a result of the struggle between white masculinity as the hegemonic form and black 'struggle masculinity', which is hegemonic in its own right. Xaba (2001) highlights post-apartheid Black African masculinity with the struggle and the need to fight against oppression, whereas Shefer et al. (2007) discuss white masculinity, which is characterised by affluence and upper class lifestyles. Attwell (2002) found that historically white and black African boys define their masculinity differently with regard to each other. Black African boys living in townships defined their masculinity in terms of power and sexuality whereas white boys defined masculinity in opposition to 'others'. Black African men who fought against the apartheid regime and revolted against the government were considered heroes. The political system within South Africa impacted upon the gender order in the country (Morrell, 2001). During political upheaval and in times of transformation "group identities are most volatile and fragile" (Munro, 1995 cited in Swart, 2001, p. 77). During apartheid and in the post-apartheid period cultural values about manhood were challenged (Swart, 2001). South Africa's cultural history is an interesting venue for the constructions of masculinity and is discussed below.

Connell (2005) openly asserts that types of masculinity are not fixed and static; they are merely configurations of practices that occur in settings of change. Change is sometimes likely to result in upheaval and uncertainty. Historical, political and social changes are some factors that have resulted in what some call the masculine crisis. Wetherell & Edley (1999) argue against the either/or distinction stating that we should not consider or label men as either complicit or marginalised. Wetherell & Edley (1999) argue instead that men adopt positions which are reflective of both complicit and marginalised positions. It would be prudent to investigate and understand the discursive strategies that men adopt in diverse situations rather than assume they only take up one position (Wetherell & Edley, 1999).

2.7. Masculinity in a 'state of crisis'

The issues of 'masculinity in a state of crisis' are controversial and consist of multiple views. 'Crisis' refers to a coherent system of some kind which is destroyed or restored by the outcome of the crisis (Connell, 2009). Kimmel (1987) has argued that the masculine crisis began when masculinity became recognised as an entity (cited in Benwall, 2003b). However, exactly when the crisis began is unknown. Benwall (2003a) has devised a bold notion of the crisis as an 'apocalyptic' crisis, also known as the subject-in-crisis or the inside-out controversy. The inside-out controversy referred to who men were and their position within post-industrial society. This crisis was further perpetuated due to the transformation of gender roles. The inside-out phenomenon is widely known, accepted and contested amongst masculine academics. Some perspectives on this controversy/phenomenon are that this masculine crisis is merely an identity crisis, where men feel threatened by changes in their public status and gender practices (Horrocks, 1994). Nayak and Kehily (2008) argue that feelings of threat are expressed due to change in circumstances such as "unemployment, absent fathers, working mothers, the breakup of the nuclear family, decline in military services, the erosion of corporeal punishment and the unabated rise of feminism" (p. 39).

The suggestion put forth by theorists is that masculinity is in a state of crisis because men are divided in their perceptions of the essence of man. "Men felt themselves besieged by social breakdown and crisis as the familiar routes to manhood (hecame) either washed out or road blocked" (Hartman, 1984 cited in Kimmel, 1987, p. 142). Crisis in contemporary times refers to decisiveness about social roles and identity, sexuality, work and personal relationships. This indecisiveness is not considered appropriate and the tension from the ambiguity is often challenged into violent tendencies towards themselves and towards people around them

(Frosh, 1994, 2000; Jukes, 1993; Seidler, 1989 cited in Frosh, Phoenix et al., 2002). The state of crisis for masculinity impacts the way in which masculinity and femininity are enacted in society by young individuals. The crisis is seen by some as a means of regaining control by men (MacLeod, 2007).

2.7.1. Factors perpetuating the masculinity crisis

It is argued that there are multiple factors which have perpetuated this crisis. One of many is the rise of feminism discussed above. There are other factors, which include that men are perplexed by what it means to be a real man and this 'crisis' is widely publicised and perpetuated in the media (Kimmel, 1987). Kimmel (1987) argues that the media's portrayal of masculinity in books and magazines confuses men about their masculine positions because it contradicts the sex role doctrine. The masculine crisis has also been linked to the relationship between father and son. It is argued that younger boys are becoming increasingly influenced by their mothers instead of their fathers (Frosh et al., 2002). These changes have fundamental implications for the way in which masculinity and femininity are represented and enacted in society (Kimmel, 1987).

2.7.1.1. Social factors

The masculine crisis can be attributed to a range of social factors, which are mostly related to structural changes (Kimmel, 1987). Unemployment rates and loss of autonomy were documented as possible reasons that rendered men into a state of crisis (Kimmel, 1987). For example, in London, the socio-economic situation after the civil war in the 1600s meant that men were incapacitated which led to multiple psychological problems for men (Kimmel, 1987). However, the turn of the century was easier for men. During the 17th century London faced an economic upswing which led to a marked change in gender relations, especially within the family (Kimmel, 1987). In England there was an increase in literacy rates and a decrease in infant mortality (Kimmel, 1987). This socio-economic change resulted in women were being allowed to be part of the working environment when contraception became more freely available, opening up new gendered roles for women. As a result, men became anxious because patriarchy, male domination and authority were under threat (Kimmel, 1987). Concurrently, a new challenge was being exerted on women – upper class marriage rates decreased as men became reluctant to marry. Social factors cannot be ignored because masculine norms are deeply entrenched in the historical heritage of our ancestors who

remained loyal to the industrial revolution and the world of war and were not opting for white collared professions.

2.7.1.2. Technological factors

This crisis might be perpetuated or heightened by exposure to technology such as “videogame violence, the academic success of women, poor literacy rates, drug cultures, rap music and lack of school discipline” (Nayak & Kehily, 2008, p. 25). Benwall (2003a) maintains that this crisis has sustained itself due to the changes that have been made to equalise and improve the position of women in society and the workplace. Nayak and Kehily (2008) counteracted this statement arguing that this crisis might just be a discourse reflecting the view that the current masculine embodiment is out of touch with current times evoking emotional feelings of loss, anger and displacement. This version of masculinity in crisis begins with essentialist ideas that young men in today’s world have lost clarity about what is masculine. Masculinity has thus been distorted and displaced due to global transformations in technology and in the labour sector and thus the fruits of modernity are reflected in men who are ‘learning to serve’ (McDowell, 2002 & 2003 cited in Nayak & Kehily, 2008) rather than ‘learning to labour’ (Nayak & Kehily, 2008).

2.7.1.3. Contextual factors

Another explanation on this crisis lies in the contestation regarding what it means to be a ‘real’ man (Edley & Wetherell, 1997). In the South African context, there are two competing contradictory constructions of what a ‘real boy’ is (Langa, 2008). On the one hand a ‘real boy’ was one who engaged in a variety of risky behaviours such as substance use, promiscuity and/or excelled on the sports field. On the other hand a ‘real boy’ was one who excelled academically, enjoyed academic work, worked well in the classroom and had high hopes for the future. There are clearly multiple constructions of what a ‘real boy’ is and at this point it becomes difficult to select and adhere to the norms of masculinity.

Other issues contributing to the crisis are violence, the HIV/AIDS pandemic (Shefer, Bowman & Duncan, 2008), risky behaviours, delayed help seeking behaviours, mental disorders (Heard, 1999; McQueen & Henwood, 2002; Messerschmidt, 2000 cited in Blackbeard, 2005). The masculine behaviours and attitudes reflected in young males are linked to hegemonic norms of masculinity. Constructions of hegemonic forms of masculinity reinforce the crisis because males are engaging in dangerous behaviours which have life

threatening consequences. Men are possibly starting to question the dominant or hegemonic construction of masculinity. In South Africa some of these behaviours such as violence and HIV/AIDS transmission, as well as delayed help seeking behaviours are contributing to the missing male phenomenon. "Missing males" refers to "the situation where males outnumber females in South Africa from birth to approximately 34 years of age, from 35 years of age onwards women significantly outnumber men" (Shefer et al., 2008, p. 2).

2.7.2. Adolescent masculinity in a 'state of crisis'

Adolescence is a distinct phase in human development experienced by males and females, involving rites of passage to adulthood (Marcia, 1980). Frosh et al. (2002) argue that young males in particular construct their identity through social and sexual experimentation, often based on hegemonic norms of masculinity, coupled with an intense attempts to prove their 'manliness' to others (Shefer et al., 2007).

Adolescence is also a time characterised by a number of emotional, physiological, anatomical and hormonal changes. Development theorists like Erik Erikson discussed and theorised about adolescents and their identity construction (Kroger, 2000). Erikson (1968) theorised that identity construction is a major developmental task and involves how individuals develop a sense of self, what they value and possible future directions.

In South Africa an atmosphere of concern has erupted as young boys feel the need to emulate older men and compete with them for girls and material resources (Lindegger & Maxwell, 2003). "There are undeniable pressures on young males in a variety of contexts to be like other older males" (Shefer et al., 2007, p. 3). These pressures have serious and dangerous ramifications since most of the issues men face, throw masculinity into a state of disorder and crisis and will invariably affect the younger men and how they construct their masculinity. Young masculinity is in crisis because of high rates of violent behaviour, risk taking behaviour, delayed help seeking behaviours and high rates of mortality resulting from high risk behaviours (Frank, Kehler, Lovell & Davidson, 2003; Frosh et al., 2007).

2.7.3. Debates about masculinity in crisis

Whether masculinity is in crisis is debatable. Some dispute this by arguing that this crisis can be explained as men trying to regain power as the dominant gender (Macleod, 2007). Nayak and Kehily (2008) critically assessed whether masculinity is in a state of crisis and although

there seems to be a general consensus regarding the crisis (Morrell, 2001). Nayak and Kehily (2008) make the following arguments against the crisis theory.

The first point that they raise is a conceptual one, namely that masculinity is believed to be a sign that consists of cultural and historical meaning as opposed to an epistemological 'object'. If critics argue that masculinity is merely an epistemological object and has no real 'essence' then it cannot be in a state of crisis since it does not exist. Masculinity is not considered to be physical, but more abstract. Men's roles cannot be in crisis as they are constantly changing to fit particular contexts. Secondly, Nayak & Kehily (2008) speak of a 'white crisis' as they argue that young masculinity seems to be at risk only in the western world because their eastern counterparts, i.e. India and China, seem to be making exceptional economic headway thereby compromising and affecting the way masculinity is perceived in these two opposing contexts.

Thirdly, there seems to be no existing consensus regarding the birth of this crisis. Nayak & Kehily (2008) have not been able to accurately suggest exactly when masculinity rendered itself into a state of crisis. There is evidence to suggest that masculinity was in a state of crisis long before it was actually documented which is evident in the working class and, if it does exist, the crisis marginally affects upper class individuals (Nayak & Kehily, 2008).

Fourthly, there seems to be a decrease in status awarded to men in the employment sector which has resulted in a crisis. However, there is disparity regarding what is documented academically, in media representations of men and the actual lived experience. Furthermore, the end of particular versions of masculinity is highly unlikely to occur due to unemployment among men (Nayak & Kehily, 2008). However, this complication leads to subjective interpretations since unemployment affects the construction of masculinity since men are providers in the household, but this does not mean that unemployment results in the end of masculinity.

Connell (2005) argues that masculinity is not a system but rather a "configuration of practice within a system of gender relations" (p. 84). Systems are likely to experience disruptions but will ultimately reach a state of equilibrium; masculinity is not considered to be a system of gender order which is likely to experience a crisis. This crisis may implicate, disrupt and transform constructions and versions of masculinity leading to changes but not necessarily the disintegration or disappearance of the system.

2.8. Feminist Perspectives on Masculinity

The first wave of feminism originated long before it was recorded in history (Kinser, 2004) and began in 1848 in Seneca Falls, New York by a group of African American women. These women aimed at creating social, political and economic change for women (Kinser, 2004). Black and white American women campaigned and protested for change as they wanted “property rights and wages, rights to guardianship of their children, rights to equal education, rights to political voice though hardly unanimously and the rights to vote” (Declaration of sentiments, 1984; Seneca Falls resolution 1848 cited in Kinser, 2004, p. 128). These protests and campaigns paved the way for the second wave of feminism which was a stronger more co-ordinated effort (Kinser, 2004). The second wave of feminism brought about more challenges for the masculine identity because it paved the way for an atmosphere of insecurity for men, as feminist groups became more vocal and grew in strength due to the focus on women’s freedom. During the second wave the emphasis was on women’s rights and liberation (Benwall, 2003a; Kinser, 2004). Feminist positions argued that the problem between men and women was rooted in male domination and power because men continued to have a vested interest and a resultant profit from patriarchy (Carrigan et al., 1987b). Thus, the emergence of feminist theory was to confront patriarchy and bring forth freedom to women (Butler, 1990). Feminist theory is pertinent to the forces that shape the lives of women, gender relations and gender inequality (Butler, 1990).

This second wave had crucial implications for patriarchy and for men’s identity and masculinity as it disrupted traditional deeply-rooted ideas of masculinity (Connell, 1996). Feminism brought about change for women but simultaneously affected boys’ and men’s ability to secure their masculinity (Connell, 1996). Furthermore, feminists critiqued masculinity arguing that men held all the power and privilege. However, feminists failed to notice that some men are subordinated rendering them more powerless than deemed to be the case (Dowd, 2010). Dowd (2010) argues that masculinity is never achieved; men are constantly required to prove their masculinity by showing they have met the standard of ‘what is considered to be a man’. Being a man implies they are rarely victims but perpetrators of crime and abuse (Dowd, 2010). This was not ever considered by feminists. Failing to note men’s vulnerabilities is especially problematic because although they might be privileged by patriarchal structures within society, they encounter more difficulty and harm through violence, risky behaviour, child abuse and dangerous occupations (Dowd, 2010). A clear example is of physical and sexual abuse, and the prevalence of sexual and physical abuse of

boys perpetrated by women. These incidences are not known and reported, remaining invisible to the public eye unless they involve prominent individuals, such as religious heads (Dowd, 2010). Feminism aimed to liberate women but the consequences of feminism affected the way masculinity is enacted, constructed and represented.

2.9. Contemporary Constructions of Masculinity

There has been extensive work done in the field of masculinity all of which suggests that masculinity is complex, ambiguous and contested (Chadwick, 2007). Globally and locally, men have become popular targets for research and interventions aimed at understanding how masculinity is constructed in current times (Shefer et al., 2007). Studies on masculinity have emerged from critical feminist theoretical works, often informed by post-structuralist, psycho-analytic and discursive frameworks (Shefer et al., 2008; Tripp, 2000). Underlying/embedded in this discussion has been a focus on men's health, educational attainment and morality (Shefer et al., 2008).

2.9.1. History of black and white masculinity

What it means to be a man differs across time, location culture, religion, race, socio-economic status and political situation (Bannon & Correia, 2006). Within South Africa racial segregation, oppression and capitalism caused a significant discrepancy between black and white masculinity (Waetjien, 2004). During apartheid successful masculinity was associated with white, heterosexual men, more so than black African men (Speer & Potter, 2001 cited in Fouten, 2006). During apartheid the Group Areas Act forced black African people to move from their homes and men were forced to seek employment in the mines. There was stigma attached to being unemployed (Mathabane, 1998). Unemployment for black men during apartheid was deemed punishable by law, as it was considered an offence (Mathabane, 1998). African masculinity was caught between movement to industrialised areas and the rural homestead (Waetjien, 2004).

2.9.2. Struggle masculinity

Oppression and subjugation appeared in some form or other internationally but, in South Africa, struggle masculinity was socially constructed by black African men during apartheid (Xaba, 2001). Struggle masculinity refers to the type of masculinity which became dominant among young urban Africans during the struggle against apartheid. During apartheid the struggle for freedom was laced with violence against the apartheid government on a daily

basis and it fuelled the development of struggle and heroic masculinity (Jewkes & Morrell, 2010; Reid & Walker, 2005; Peacock, Khumalo & McNab, 2006). Struggle masculinity was characterised as extreme antagonism and rebellion against the apartheid regime in South Africa including “Bantu education, exploitation of workers and communities, high rents and rates and suppression of protests and political militancy” (Xaba, 2001, p. 109).

It has been suggested that there were two competing masculine identities within the African culture, i.e. between the identities of young and old black African men. The older African men were sometimes categorised as complicit as they displayed acceptance of the regime, while the younger men saw themselves as ‘warriors’ or ‘young lions’ (Xaba, 2001; Wactjien, 2004). Tension heightened when the elders perceived the warriors as preventing them from having employment as the warriors were constantly rebelling against the government and the regime (Xaba, 2001).

In South Africa during apartheid, being labelled a ‘warrior’ or ‘young lion’ was the finest reputation a young black African man could aspire to. There were positive connotations attached to being called a ‘young lion’. The terms ‘warrior’ and ‘young lion’ signified a coveted status and were synonymous with social respect (Xaba, 2001; Wactjien, 2004). This situation was advantageous for men emerging from poverty stricken households and low-status neighbourhoods (Xaba, 2001). ‘Young lions’ were coveted by the women especially those who were involved in the fight against apartheid (Wactjien, 2004). The amount of status a ‘young lion’ had was directly proportional to the amount of women he had or could have (Xaba, 2001).

Resistance to the white government was experienced daily and the tactics employed by the ‘young lions’ gradually become ineffective forcing them into exile where they joined liberation forces (Xaba, 2001). This meant that young black African males joined the struggle for freedom at the expense of receiving an education (Xaba, 2001) as most young black African males received military training but had no formal education (Xaba, 2001). Once trained they returned to South Africa and began protecting communities and townships, and were successful in accomplishing their goals of freeing communities from the harsh treatment at the hands of the government (Xaba, 2001).

In post-apartheid South Africa, there was a significant but parallel shift from struggle masculinity towards human rights and reconciliation (Xaba, 2001). In addition, there was a distinct focus on women and their rights (Xaba, 2001). This meant that constructions of

struggle masculinity were put under severe strain. 'Warriors' and 'young lions' were now displaced and found themselves in a quandary. Violence was no longer seen as heroic but criminal. There were two options available to them. These young men could either gain employment where they could put their skills and training to use or have no meaningful place within society (Xaba, 2001). These men were unable to seek full-time employment because they had no formal education which resulted in them committing crimes against those they were originally enlisted to protect (Xaba, 2001). Finding themselves displaced, their survival depended on committing crime and violence (Xaba, 2001; Freund, 1996). These men were unable to support their families and acquire material resources which led to them becoming involved in violence, crime and eventually death (Woods & Jewkes, 2001; Freund, 1996). The shift in the political system in South Africa displaced struggle masculinity, and men's position as warriors was no longer appreciated or accepted (Campbell, 1992). Apartheid shaped masculine identity (Reid & Walker, 2005). The effect of apartheid on constructions of masculinity still linger and as South Africa progresses further into democracy the consequences of apartheid on masculinity are still evident in how masculinity is currently constructed. Democracy created a shift in gender relations causing a range of alternative masculinities to emerge.

2.9.3. Shift from struggle masculinity to commodity/consumer masculinity

In the 1800s consumerism was strongly associated with female identity (Osgerby, 2003). Men played a minimal role in the development of consumerism historically (Osgerby, 2003). The term 'breadwinner' emerged during the early 1800s (Kimmel, 1997 cited in Osgerby, 2003) and implies mature and hardworking men providing for their wives and families (Osgerby, 2003). Men were rarely seen as principal shoppers but were responsible for the production of goods and items (Osgerby, 2003). The cultural practice of shopping was considered feminine and the role of the provider was considered masculine (Osgerby, 2003). The late 1800s and early 1900s saw a dramatic shift towards consumerism for men; this came about due to commercialisation and urbanisation in America and Britain (Osgerby, 2003) and men were being drawn into consumerism. Data from the US Census of manufacturers indicated that men were consuming twice as much on recreational and leisure goods than women (Swiencicki, 1998 cited in Osgerby, 2003). Men carefully distinguished the items they consumed from those consumed by women and labelled the goods they consumed as 'manly' (Osgerby, 2003). In the 1900s masculinity was represented as elite and fashionable

“with expensive suits, tuxedos, spats and jewellery” (Osgerby, 2003, p. 64). Male consumerism further heightened in the late 1980s and early 1990s as men transcended towards becoming style conscious (Osgerby, 2003). The 20th century saw the movement towards the American ideals, emphasising leisure, smart but casual clothing, glamour and fast paced lifestyles reminiscent of the Great Gatsby (Osgerby, 2003).

In the post-modern era masculine identity is closely related to appearance; how a young man looks affects and represents his masculinity (Alexandra, 2003). The image of masculinity is constructed as a consumer of brands and this has affected how men see themselves and represent their masculinity (Alexandra, 2003). Particular representations and constructions of masculinity have been used to sell products since they impact on how men see themselves and others. This is evident in the area of sports, as young boys become ensnared by clothing and shoes worn by sports heroes (Swain, 2000). Purchasing branded goods relates more to the idea of consumption than just production (Alexandra, 2003). “Masculinity itself is constructed as a product available for consumption if one merely chooses the appropriate brand names” (Alexandra, 2003, p. 535). Men are gently persuaded into consuming masculinity through the use of brand names (Langa, 2008). Langa (2008) and Trujillo (1991) found that boys hinted at the importance of expensive material possessions for the attainment of hegemonic masculinity.

Recent research has indicated that adolescent boys are likely to construct their masculinity according to the context in which they live. Stevens and Lockhart (1997) argue that masculinities are heavily influenced by socio-cultural and political contexts of a country. In post-apartheid South Africa young black adolescents were termed the ‘lost generation’ because the focus shifted from interest in politics to material possession (Stevens & Lockhart, 1997). Research in America found that American culture is characterised by rap music and baggy jeans and basketball has a significant influence on South African youth (Trujillo, 1995 & Pattman, 2005 cited in Langa, 2008). Reminiscent of the American counterparts the ‘lost generation’ and ‘Y Generation’ emerged in post-apartheid South Africa. The term Y generation refers to the urban youth living in South Africa (Mtebule, 2003 cited in Langa, 2008) and developed from the South African radio station YFm which focuses on everything and anything involving urban lifestyles (Langa, 2008). The ‘Y Generation’, similarly to the ‘lost generation’, is accused of focusing too much on urban lifestyles and not enough on other issues such as politics (Langa, 2008). These two generations have shown a strong interest in

successful masculinity which refers to material success and materially extravagant lifestyles, characterised by houses and cars similar to Hollywood rappers (Pattman, 2005 cited in Langa, 2008). Masculinity is constructed around being successful through one's access to resources. There has been a clear shift from struggle masculinity to successful masculinity.

2.9.4. Success, respect and status

Masculinity changes across time, spatial, cultural and social contexts (Fournier & Smith, 2006). Trujillo (1991) argues that "masculinity is hegemonic when it is defined through occupational achievement in an industrialist capitalist society" (Ochberg, 1987, Tolson, 1977, Whyte, 1956 cited in Trujillo, 1991, p. 291). Men construct their masculinity around their occupation and socio-economic status. Burton (2007) and Archer (1994) (cited in Krienert, 2003) found that notions of masculinity are often closely allied to employment status. Fournier and Smith (2006) highlight a predominant form of masculine identity that outshines the others, i.e. an elevated and privileged identity, indicating successful masculinity. This identity is "aggressively competitive, goal driven and instrumental in its pursuits for success (Fournier & Smith, 2006, p. 146).

Successful masculinity is often centred on the ability to provide for the economic needs of others (Burton, 2007). The ability to provide for one's family is directly connected to self-esteem and feelings of power, and the inability to provide creates feelings of uselessness and inadequacy. Successful masculinity is also defined in terms of parenting, job satisfaction, number of sexual partners, number of children and the number of violent encounters (Boonzaier & de la Ray, 2004; Krienert, 2003; Barker & Riccardo, 2005).

Fouten (2006) conducted a study in South Africa with school going boys between the ages of 14 and 16. During discussions with boys about success Fouten (2006) found that boys from the different schools displayed differing levels of ambition to succeed. From two of the four schools sampled, findings from school A suggested those boys were motivated to succeed and improve their situation, while findings from school B suggested that boys displayed a sense of hopelessness and lacked motivation to succeed. The difference was attributed to the perception of opportunities available to these boys. Boys in school B felt hopeless because feelings of hopelessness are endemic in their social context (Fouten, 2006). Findings from Fouten's study (2006) indicate that success implies having employment in the form of a good career, having intimate relationships with others and being able to financially provide for family. Successful masculinity extends to academic as well as personal success, i.e. marriage

and children (Krienert, 2003). Although success implies control, competition and conquest, it extends towards establishing a sense of self and self-mastery (Fournier & Smith, 2006). Men essentially want an identity that reflects success. Identity of success was evident in Uchendu's (2007) study conducted with Nigerian youth from a local university which findings show that masculinity is represented as being refined, poised and having a good sense of dress, exhibiting evidence of personal grooming. A young man must display finesse (Uchendu, 2007).

In Nigeria the meaning of success has changed through generations. Historically, success was synonymous with social respect, managing one's family and political advancement, but in current times success refers to owning and acquiring material commodities (Uchendu, 2007). Uchendu (2007) found that young men are required to be successful on multiple levels. Participant definition of success was synonymous with financial success. The amount of financial success enjoyed by a young man is proportional to his "independence, marital success, athletic and career success as well as success in social relations" with others (Uchendu, 2007, p. 289). Financial success ensures that material commodities can be acquired and life is comfortable (Anyanwu, 2005 cited in Uchendu, 2007). Marital success does not imply loving, caring relationships but having a wife who can produce many children; marriage completes a man (Uchendu, 2007). "Success in marriage means to have children and to exercise authority over the children and their mother" (Uchendu, 2007, p. 290).

The findings of Uchendu's study show that success is attained or achieved through education and hard work (Uchendu, 2007). These participants were clearly aware that education requires hard work and dedication (Uchendu, 2007). Therefore, education is seen as a platform for material success (Uchendu, 2007). All hopes of being successful are attached to receiving a good education resulting in the acquisition of a good job which will generate enough money to meet responsibilities and fulfil needs (Uchendu, 2007). Financial independence is an important part of being a man (Uchendu, 2007).

Messerschmidt (n.d.) suggests that if the traditional indicators of masculinity such as financial stability are not met, the inadequacy felt by men becomes channelled into violence which reinforces and simultaneously validates one's masculinity (cited in Krienert, 2003). Nigerian youth are characterised as being obsessed with acquiring material commodities (Uchendu, 2007). In Uchendu's study (2007) he found that another vehicle for acquiring

material commodities is crime and violence. The crimes most highly ranked are money related (Uchendu, 2007). Furthermore, Uchendu (2007) notes that the climate of obsession with acquisition of material commodities is impacting on the health of Nigerian men; there are reports of physical deterioration and delayed help seeking for sickness. Marital success is achieved by exercising control and authority over the family which results in abuse of women and children.

2.9.5. Sport

Messner (1990) argues that sport is a homosocial culture created by men for other men. It was created as escapism for men away from the 'feminization' taking place in society (Messner, 1990) but was created because it involved physical activity. Sport emerged in the modern era to help men deal with societal changes which to a significant degree undermined male authority, power, control and patriarchy (Messner, 1990). In the face of an apparent crisis of masculinity created by the feminist threat to patriarchy, sport emerged as a site where men could have a "primary masculinity-validating experience" (Dubbert, 1979 cited in Messner, 1990, p. 95). Sports acts as a mechanism to reaffirm masculinity (Lindegger & Maxwell, 2003). Sport reinforced the superiority of men over women and allowed men the opportunity to enjoy physical activity associated with it (Messner, 1990). Violent sports reinforce hegemonic masculinity. In this way sport contributes largely to the construction and maintenance of masculinity (Lindegger & Maxwell, 2003, p. 103). The sports field is therefore an important site for gender enactment (Lindegger & Maxwell, 2003).

Hegemonic masculinity is reaffirmed and enacted in sports through "teamwork, competition, individualism, nationalism, achievement" (Duncan, 1983; Real, 1989, Trujillo & Ekdorn, 1985 cited in Trujillo, 1991). Miedzian (1992) concurs with the above authors stating that the norms of sport perpetuate hegemonic masculinity (cited in Chadwick, 2007). Trujillo (1991) has implicated the media in presenting sports to the public and argues that mass media perpetuates hegemonic masculinity. Sport is argued to perpetuate hegemonic masculinity in the media (Hargreaves, 1982 & 1986 cited in Trujillo, 1991). High profile individuals in the public domain perform in a particular way and are transformed into role models (Hargreaves, 1982 & 1986 cited in Trujillo, 1991). These high profile individuals demonstrate to the public what it means to be a man and so others start emulating them. (Hargreaves, 1982 & 1986 cited in Trujillo, 1991).

It has also been suggested that the sports field is the venue where boys and men learn to push pain barriers and it is where resilience and tolerance for pain affirms masculinity (Beal, 1996). Soccer, rugby and boxing are associated with physical aggression. The soccer field is a site for verbal altercations and physical violence. Combat sports (such as boxing and rugby) emerged to help men deal with this shift in power. Violent sports became popular as men feared "the loss of male power and privilege" (Gorn, 1986 cited in Messner, 1990, p. 95). Sport reinforces dominance through use of aggression and sometimes violence (Bryson, 1987 cited in Messner, 1990). In some countries violence acts as a means of proving masculinity. This is very common in the United Kingdom and is illustrated through sport hooliganism, whereas in the United States gang warfare is the common vehicle used to express violent masculinity (Miedzian, 2002).

Messner (1990) found that men construct their bodies as weapons in sport. Violent encounters in the form of tackles are reinforced and applauded by spectators at sports matches. Having an important place on the sports field often adds to 'boys'/'men's' masculine status (Lindegger & Maxwell, 2003). Sports such as soccer reflect 'heroic positions' and consequently sport stars become 'masculine heroes' or 'masculine ideals' (Messner, 1990). Referring to the United States, Swain (2000) argues that football acts as a key indicator of successful masculinity from a very young age. Younger boys are thus aware of this and are likely to engage in this sport for this purpose.

Soccer stardom is likely to legitimise the practice of risky behaviours such as multiple sexual partners (Lindegger & Maxwell, 2003). These heroes will try to dominate and take full advantage of their stardom. It is believed that through sport they can legitimise abusive tendencies, especially towards women (Lindegger & Maxwell, 2003). However, others have argued that young men are aggressive and hypersexual and sport allows them to project their energy into sport (Erasmus, 1999 cited in Lindegger & Quayle, 2009).

Sport provides a way of "constructing, negotiating and performing masculinity" (Swain, 2000, p. 95). Specifically, rugby, football or soccer signifies successful masculinity (Swain, 2000) and being good at soccer and playing soccer is related to successful masculinity (Swain, 2000). Sport essentially provides a way of "doing" for boys (Swain, 2000). Swain (2000) conducted a study which investigated the role of football on constructions of masculinity amongst boys in junior school and found that being good at football helps young boys establish what it means to be a 'real boy'. Sport in general is one way of establishing

and reinforcing masculine ideals. The ideal about what a 'real boy' is, is centred around "fitness, strength, competition, power and domination through playing the game, and simulating their adult heroes, the boys were seen learning to perform their skills on a public stage, and practising to be a man" (Swain, 2000, p. 107). Sport is an important site for the demonstration of power and strength. McCann (2006) argues that sport in western societies is the embodiment of successful masculinity. But sport such as soccer is currently seen as an embodiment of successful masculinity (Lindegger & Maxwell, 2003).

Schools are an important site for constructing and reconstructing masculinity (Swain, 2000). Sport rules and policies in schools affect how sport is understood by boys and how boys use sport to represent their masculinity (Swain, 2000). Excluding girls from some sports reinforced the dominance and status of boys in general (Swain, 2000). As an example, Lindegger and Maxwell (2003) conducted a gender analysis on boys in and out of school who were receiving Targeted AIDS Interventions programme. Sport was seen as an integral part of masculinity "a masculinist social system" (Burstyn, 2001 cited in Lindegger & Maxwell, 2003, p. 104). A central characteristic of sport is the idea of control and dominance (Lindegger & Maxwell, 2003) and soccer heroes are the embodiment of hegemonic masculinity (Lindegger & Maxwell, 2003).

2.9.6. Strength and fearlessness

Trujillo (1991) argues that hegemonic masculinity is associated with "power, physical strength and control". Strength and fearlessness is often projected into, and observed through, the use of the male body which is used as a vehicle through which power itself is masculinised by means of showing physical strength, force, speed, control, toughness and domination (Messner, 1990). "According to Connell (1983) force and competence are translated into body language during social interactions which define men as holders of power, women as subordinate and this is one of the main ways in which the superiority of men becomes 'naturalized'" (cited in Trujillo, 1991, p. 291). McCann (2006) argues that strength, fearlessness and autonomy are not masculine qualities but rather that young males are taught to be strong, fearless and autonomous. This refutes essentialist arguments that males have a genetic predisposition for physical and emotional strength and fearlessness.

Hegemonic masculine norms require men to display strength even during times of sickness or ill health. Courtcnay (2000) found that hegemonic masculinity presents problems with regard

to health seeking behaviours. The implication is that men must portray an image of strength at all times, even if they are confronted with illness. Strength and fearlessness is often depicted on the sports field. Messner (1990) found that men use their bodies as weapons in sport and try to illustrate their strength on the sports field.

Within the South African context a study conducted by Chadwick (2007) revealed that young boys identified the most with hegemonic norms related to constructions of strength. He discovered that strength refers to gyming, stoicism, appearance, sportiness, high sexual drives, the ability to fight and defend their loved ones and strength in sport (Chadwick, 2007). Strength and fearlessness was investigated by Uchendu (2007) amongst Nigerian youth at a local university in Nigeria. Uchendu (2007) found that being a man implies "superior physical strength, firmness, fearlessness, decisiveness, ability to protect the weak, to be principled, to control, to conquer, to take risks, provide leadership, to be assertive, to enjoy a high social status and to display versatility in martial arts" (p. 283). Internationally, there was a similar finding amongst American men; ideal masculinity involves displaying physical strength and bravado (Uchendu, 2007).

2.9.7. Risky behaviours

There seems to be an array of problems that boys in South Africa and around the world face. The most pressing and detrimental issues are associated with risky behaviours that boys engage in which lead to the contraction of HIV/AIDS through multiple sexual partners, violence and delayed help seeking behaviours (Lindegger & Maxwell, 2003).

The way in which masculinity is constructed can be hazardous to men and women since unhealthy behaviours are promoted, such as excessive drinking, drug use and abuse and violence (Addis & Mahalik, 2005 cited in Mfecane, 2008).

It is generally acceptable for men to engage in dangerous and risky behaviours such as substance abuse and violence (Addis & Mahalik, 2005 cited in Mfecane, 2008). Men go to extraordinary lengths to prove their masculinity, often by exposing themselves to health risks, illness, hazardous behaviour and sometimes even death in the form of suicide (Kimmel, 2001). Men will go to enormous lengths to evade humiliation. Immediately this suggests that male behaviour is governed by a set of rules which stipulate how a man should behave and anything less relegates him to a non-hegemonic state (Noble, 1992 cited in Kimmel, 2001).

It has been suggested that the way in which masculinity is constructed promotes risky behaviours worldwide (Mfecane, 2008). Risky behaviours are likely to occur in sport, especially when individuals wish to prove their masculinity such as through dangerous driving (Courtenay, 2000). Risky behaviours are noted in health care; men avoid health care because of the fear of embarrassment and thus avoid and suppress the illness until it's too serious to ignore (Bushell, 2008). It has also been found that men enjoy risky occupations such as firemen, operating heavy equipment, agriculture, mining, construction, amongst others (Courtenay, 2000). HIV/AIDS has reached pandemic levels in South Africa, which has detrimental consequences to the country as a whole. A possible cause related to the HIV pandemic is that South African youth have multiple sexual partners (Shefer et al., 2007). Sexual violence, multiple sexual partners, unsafe sex is considered to be the 'norm' for young and old males; these norms are argued to be a way of establishing one's manhood (Lindegger & Maxwell, 2003). Risky behaviours associated with masculinity have created a lot of attention and concern and currently require the most time and attention especially with regard to interventions.

2.9.7.1. HIV/AIDS and masculinity

As mentioned before, masculinity is a major contributor to the transmission of HIV/AIDS through risky sexual behaviour. HIV is still rampant amongst adolescents (Bhana et al., 2008). More so in women than men and this is very interesting considering that HIV was initially predominantly prevalent in males (Lindegger & Quayle, 2009). It has been found that having multiple sexual partners poses the greatest risk and leads to the high prevalence of HIV cases in women (Lindegger & Maxwell, 2003; Lindegger & Quayle, 2009).

Previously, interventions for HIV/AIDS have been aimed at women but this was found to be ineffective because women have very 'little say' regarding sexual intercourse and sexual decisions (Lindegger & Quayle, 2009). Women between the ages of 15 and 24 account for 50% of new HIV infections in South Africa (Lindegger & Quayle, 2009). South Africa seems to be losing a large proportion of its workforce to HIV/AIDS since the highest rates of mortality for women are between the ages of 25–30 (Lindegger & Quayle, 2009). Women carry the burden of HIV/AIDS (Lindegger & Maxwell, 2003). Although most interventions are aimed at women, the involvement with multiple sexual partners is believed to be endorsed as a norm of masculinity. It is considered 'manly' to have many partners and younger females pose lesser risk of HIV infection (Lindegger & Maxwell, 2003). The above suggests that the

gender-based interventions aimed only at women are not at all effective and that for an intervention to be effective it must target both men and women simultaneously (Lindegger & Quayle, 2009). Furthermore “studies have shown that preventative campaigns which focus on education only without addressing constructions of gender are unlikely to change sexual behaviours” (le Grange, 2004; Slohim-Nevo, n.d.; Ozawa & Auslander, 1991; Strebel & Lindegger, 1998 cited in Blackbeard, 2005, p. 21).

2.9.7.2. Violence

Violence can be explained in many ways and is evident in all levels of society between individuals, within and among and in the actions of social institutions (Hearn, 2007). Shefer et al (2007) argue that violence is a form of power and control. Unfortunately, it is not only men who bear the brunt of these violent actions; women, children and in some cases men more than women, i.e. homosexuals, all share in the repercussions of this behaviour (Hearn, 2007; Miedzian, 2002). Violence is linked to ‘constructs’ of men’s possessiveness, coercion and pressurising sexualities (Hearn, 2007). Frameworks have been utilised to explain the etiology of violence evident at individual level, the implication of learning from familial socialisation and socio-cultural relations surrounding power (Hearn, 2007). Gondolf (1985) argues that explanations need to be multi-dimensional and need to take into account all the factors that work together to produce violence (cited in Hearn, 2007).

A link has been identified between socialised stereotypical norms of hegemonic masculinity and individual violent tendencies (Long, 2000). Men are more likely to behave violently than women because it is socially acceptable for men to be aggressive and exert their power and control (Long, 2000; Hearn, 2007). Violence is a means of control and asserting power.

South Africa is an interesting context when discussing violence because historically violence was an integral part of society. The struggle against apartheid was met with violent encounters which attempted to sustain the political order within the country during that period. Capitalism, oppression and subjugation provided an interesting twist in understanding violent behaviours between white and black African men.

In order to prove one’s masculinity and avoid the label of a ‘sissies’ (Kimmel, 2001; Langa, 2008) a poor ghetto youth might embark on a robbery, assault or murder whereas middle to upper class youth might engage in a gang rape or a joy ride (Miedzian, 2002). Violence

against women is about exerting power and control; this is crucial to the construction of masculinity and often acts as a marker of manhood (Hearn, 2007; Kimmel, 2001). Sexuality intersects with risky behaviours which act as a defining feature of hegemonic masculinity and results in disastrous and devastating consequences, not only for the individual concerned but for those around him.

The media is inundated with reports of violence in South Africa (Ratele, 2008 cited in Shefer et al., 2008). Incidence of violence seems to lead to fatal deaths because of “knives, guns, fists and rage” (Shefer et al., 2008, p. 1). Young men in South Africa encounter difficulties because of their low socio-economic status which often intersects with risk-taking behaviour which is strongly perpetuated by their strong adherence to hegemonic masculine norms; eventually their lives follow a vicious circle of poverty, crime and ill health. More males die than females (statsSA, 2007). In a study conducted in 2007 it was found that death due to assault was the fourth highest cause of death amongst males between the ages of 15 and 49. Approximately 4 428 males in South Africa died in 2007 because of some sort of assault. According to statsSA (2007) males are more likely to die of violence and assault than their female counterparts. This concurs with Shefer et al’s (2008) finding about ‘missing males’; delayed help seeking behaviours amongst men cause them to die of natural and unnatural causes (Robins, 2007).

2.9.7.3. Delay in help seeking

It is argued that the very construction of masculinity promotes risky behaviour and unsafe sexual practices (Mfecane, 2008). Consequently, health amongst South African men is at risk as constructions of masculinity prove to be quite problematic because help seeking behaviours for men are delayed or not utilised (Courtenay, 2000). Risky behaviours perpetuate successful masculinity and suggest that manliness is reflected through attributes like strength, competitiveness, enactment of risky behaviours and demonstrating no pain or emotions (Mfecane, 2008). Danger exists in this reflection because men delay or avoid help due to fear of embarrassment and/or to maintain their portrayal of strength (Courtenay, 2000).

2.10. Heterosexuality

Masculinity in a hegemonic form insists on compulsory heterosexuality (Trujillo, 1991; Atwell, 2002). Research in South Africa indicates that sexual intercourse is of paramount importance in shaping masculine identities (Ledero-Madlala, 2000; Woods & Jewkes, 2001;

Hunter, 2000 cited in Mfecane, 2008). Women unfortunately bear the price of years of subordination and are at constant risk of ill-treatment since they are heavily dependent on men for material survival and satisfaction (Lindegger & Maxwell, 2003). In the case of meeting their material needs, young women mostly engage with older men since they are better able to provide (Langa, 2008; Mfecane, 2008; Lindcggcr & Maxwell, 2003). This leads to the marginalisation of younger men since it becomes very difficult for them to attract and maintain relationships with women because they lack financial resources (Mfecane, 2008). It is these older 'sugar daddies' (older men) who control women because of their material dependency (Lindegger & Maxwell, 2003). Unfortunately, this is why women bear the burden of HIV/AIDS as they have very little influence during sexual intercourse and use of condoms (Lindegger & Maxwell, 2003; Lindegger & Quayle, 2009).

Women also contribute to the maintenance of constructions of masculinity, and play a reciprocal role in men's successful masculinity. This was evident in the study conducted by Uchendu (2007), which found that the marital success of a man depends on his wife's ability to produce children. Young males in Nigeria are aware that having a fertile wife who can produce children is an important indicator for his future success. In a study conducted by Talbot & Quayle (2010) the research findings from five South African women showed that in social and work situations women prefer men who are 'nice guys', i.e. non-hegemonic masculinities, but in romantic relationships they prefer hegemonic masculine ideals. In this light women are seen as contributors to the construction and maintenance of masculine ideals (Talbot & Quayle, 2010). The findings from Lindegger & Maxwell (2003) concur with Talbot & Quayle (2010) as they indicate that women play a vital role in maintaining and reinforcing gender behaviours and beliefs.

2.11. Conclusion

South Africa is an interesting context for research on masculinity considering the historical shift from apartheid towards freedom and equality. Extensive work has been conducted on how masculinity is constructed and represented in South Africa and internationally. There are various versions and stages of masculinity which are likely to affect how masculinity is represented. Research has focused on how masculinity is constructed, the roles and identities young males occupy and how masculinity is performed. Masculinity intersects with race, class and ethnicity across time to produce multiple identities performing and competing within an organised system known as society. This study is based on the assumption that

there are various masculine identities or versions of masculinity likely to be both performed and represented by men. This assumption extends to the idea that young men can occupy various masculine positions depending on the context or situation. Furthermore, this study assumes, in accordance with Edley and Wetherell's (1999) premise, that men are not restricted to an either/or position but rather it is possible for men to adopt multiple positions which they employ in different contexts.

Literature indicates a distinct shift in the way masculinity is constructed and represented amongst young South African men. There is a trend towards consumerism and acquisition of material commodities. Despite the shift to consumerism, acquisition of material commodities and preoccupation with urban life styles, the underlying masculine ideal of maintaining power and control continues. Several studies have focused on how masculinity is constructed but there seems to be a dearth of research on how masculinity is visually represented, particularly in South Africa. This study attempts to contribute to the existing knowledge of how masculinity is represented and add to the dearth of literature available on how masculinity is represented within the South Africa context.

Chapter 3

Methods

There are two sections in this chapter. Section one in this chapter describes the aim and rationale of the study, the research questions and the research objectives, providing a clear exposé on why this study was conducted. In the second section, a discussion is provided about the methods used to generate data from the original study and the data collection technique. The data collected in the original study was subjected to a mixed method approach, involving both qualitative and quantitative analysis and finally a discussion on the ethical implications of the study.

3.1. Aims and Rationale

Masculinity has been discussed globally. Many studies have been conducted on masculinity and emerging masculine identities. Extensive resources have been invested to create interventions and fund research initiatives to understand the 'lived experience' of men around the world. In South Africa in particular, research findings suggest that certain constructions of masculinity are problematic (Lindegger & Quayle, 2009). In consideration of this, this study aimed to understand how masculinity is understood and represented by young male South Africans. Literature indicates a shortage of studies that investigate emergent representations and constructions of masculinity (Frosh et al., 2002).

The research methodology utilised in this study gave young males a 'voice', or 'platform' to represent and showcase their masculinity. This study focuses on young men and their everyday life and how masculinity is visually represented and verbally constructed. The ultimate aim of this study was to explore how young males represent their masculinity visually through photographs and what these representations and constructions reveal about masculinity.

3.2. Research Questions and objectives

The research addressed the following questions:

1. How is masculinity visually represented by young men?

The first research objective was to explore how adolescent males visually construct their masculinity through photographic images and what the most important representations of masculinity are, i.e. what 'objects' are used to represent one's masculinity.

2. What themes emerge as important representations of masculinity from discussions with young men about their representations of masculinity?

The second objective was to explore how young men construct their masculinity verbally in their narratives of photographs.

3.3. Methodology

This section will describe the research methods used to conduct this study.

3.3.1. Research Methodology

The current study performed a secondary analysis on data that had already been collected in a previous study. I was not involved in collecting the data used in this study. Data in the form of photographs and interviews were collected in the previous study led by a group of researchers (Lindegger, Eagle, Willemse & Quayle, 2006). The photographic data was collected under the caption 'my life as a young man living in South Africa'. The interviews were based on photographs collected. This project was conducted over a period of three years from 2006 till 2008. The aim of this study was to explore masculine identity and performance in adolescent boys between the ages of 18 and 25. This study was framed within the context of HIV/AIDS. Given the current precarious situation that South African youth find themselves in, Lindegger et al., (2006) conducted a similar study to that conducted by Frosh et al., (2002). Thus the underlying objective of this research was to understand how boys position themselves in relation to hegemonic practices of masculinity.

3.3.2. The sample (of the original study)

The sample consisted of four groups of adolescent boys between the ages of 18 and 25. In total there were 584 photographs taken by 34 boys. Each group consisted of about 5–10 boys.

These four groups were drawn from five different contexts. The first group was drawn from a rural school in KwaZulu-Natal consisting of five boys who were undergoing a planned target AIDS intervention (TAI group) and 74 photographs taken by this group. The second group consisted of six boys on anti-retroviral treatment who took sixty seven (67) photographs. The third group consisted of eight boys who were selected from a group of religious boys and 130 photographs were taken by this group. The fourth group consisted of seven boys who were drawn from students at the University of KwaZulu-Natal. There were 143 photographs taken by this group of boys. The fifth group consisted of eight boys who were selected from the Alexandra Township in Johannesburg, who took 170 photographs.

3.3.3. Procedure (followed in original study)

At the initial meeting, the study was explained and the boys' consent was obtained. Thereafter each boy was allocated a disposable camera and asked to take pictures under the caption 'my life as a boy/man' in South Africa. The developed photographs were later returned at pre-arranged dates. At the second meeting an interview was held and the boys were asked to explain all the photographs they had taken.

3.3.4. Auto-photography

Photography is "static images, a slice of a person's perceptions at one place at one moment in time" (Noland, 2006, p. 3). Photography has been deemed a useful technique in many fields but specifically in social science because it documents social and cultural processes (Emmison & Smith, 2000). This method of data collection involves a process where data emerges by means of using a camera as opposed to traditional methods such as surveys or interviews. The uses of photography are multiple and varied and its use expands to all disciplines.

Auto-photography refers to a process in which subjects are given the responsibility of doing the data collection, taking the photographs and then returning the photographs to the researcher for analysis and interpretation (Emmison & Smith, 2000). Pioneers in the field of auto-photography, such as Ziller (1990) and Langa (2008), argue that photography establishes a discourse between the photographer and researcher, the subject and the viewer.

Auto-photography has brought about a novel trend in social science research allowing the research process to be more active and a real experience for the researcher and participant (Noland, 2006; Prosser & Burke, 2008). The aim of auto-photography is to allow participants to express their voices about their lived reality while simultaneously enabling “robust representations that builds on and enriches a body of scientific knowledge” (Noland, 2006, p. 1).

Auto-photography is a very widely used technique in research involving children and teenagers but has also been used with adults (Clancy & Dollinger, 1993). Auto-photography in children’s research allows the researcher to step into the world of children and therefore ‘see’ the world through the eyes of the child. In the 1960s Worth and Adlair (1972) attempted to break away from the traditional methods of data collection and used auto-photographical methods with a group of teenage students as a means of empowering them, circumventing the use of words to express how they felt, as pictures are used in their stead (cited in Prosser & Burke, 2008). Hubbard used auto-photography to understand the lives of children and youth suffering with some kind of adversity (cited in Prosser & Burke, 2008) and found auto-photography to be very useful compared to traditional data collection techniques used for children. The above studies were aimed at giving children the opportunity to literally “create their own agenda” (Prosser & Burke, 2008, p. 41). Sharples, Davison, Thomas and Rudman (2003) conducted a study using children from five different countries from three age groups in order to understand how they perceive the world by using a camera (cited in Prosser & Burke, 2008). Auto-photography is a common technique amongst younger children because of the sense of ownership gained from the project. In addition, it allows researchers to understand life from a child’s perspective, whether it be a sick or homeless orphan. Since children are unable to adequately articulate their feelings verbally, cameras represent feelings, perspectives and emotions that children might find difficult to express about what childhood means to them on a daily basis. In circumstances like violence children are often left traumatised and afraid, and autophotography gives these children a voice.

Auto-photography has its benefits since it allows marginalised groups to be integrated into the research process by giving them the opportunity to speak for themselves (Noland, 2006). This method bypasses the cultural bias evident in other research instruments (Spencer & Markstrom-Adams, 1990 cited in Noland, 2006).

Auto-photography has recently found its way into research on identity and self-esteem. Noland (2006) has used auto-photographic methods to understand how previously marginalised groups, Latina girls and South Asian immigrant women construct their identity whilst living in the United States. Noland (2006) conducted two separate studies using auto-photography involving different research designs. Conclusions that emerged from this study reveal that the identities of these women were closely related to their culture and sense of self.

Auto-photography has extended into the field of gender research. As previously discussed, gender is largely 'performative' and exists only in relation to one another. Gender identities are considered to be multiple and varied in nature. Clancy and Dollinger (1993) conducted a study that involved auto-photographic methods in order to compare sex roles between men and women and found that men mostly photograph cars, leisure activities and themselves whereas women were more likely to photograph interpersonal contact, like touching and smiling. In line with the original study (Lindcogger et al., 2006), Frosh et al., (2002) conducted a study on adolescent school going British boys in order to investigate masculine identity and performance in relation to one another. This study used the photo elicitation method that is very common in visual research, where boys took photos which were later used to elicit discussion in focus groups and individual interviews.

Auto-photographic method has been used in gender studies partly because masculinity can be a difficult topic for men to discuss. In this particular, study photography gave these boys voices and allowed them to personally visualise their masculinity privately and illustrate what being a man means to them, without the threat of experiencing discomfort. Masculinity is indeed a controversial topic and the use of auto-photography added a cognitive dimension to the study as it allowed the researcher to pry into the mind of these boys and understand masculinity from their point of view.

3.3.5. Research design

Photographs and interviews from the original study under the caption "my life as a young man living in South Africa" were analysed in this study. The photographs from the original study have not been analysed previously as the focus was primarily on boys' narratives of masculinity.

The design of this study was mixed method, involving both quantitative and qualitative methods (Creswell, 1998). Using a mixed method approach ensures that the strengths of one approach balance out possible limitations of the other. Mixed method designs subject data to rigorous and systematic analysis (Lewis, 1995). The quantitative section provided insights about what objects were used to represent masculinity, while the qualitative thematic analysis provided these or alternative insights into how masculinity was constructed. Furthermore, mixed methods provide opportunities for data triangulation which increases the validity and accuracy of the data (Morgan, 1998) and yields more answers to questions, thereby increasing the generalisability of the data (Creswell, 1998). Both qualitative and quantitative provided a better understanding how of masculinity was constructed. The only limitation of mixed method approach is that it is time consuming and results in higher research costs (Creswell, 1998).

Some analysis of photographs was undertaken during the data collection process. During the original study photographs were returned to the boys and they were asked to select five photographs that best described their life as a boy/man. The photographs were not analysed at the time but were used to elicit understanding from participants in the interviews about why these particular photographs were captured. The interviews and photographs were analysed using an array of frameworks to understand the focus groups and interviews.

3.3.6. Data analysis

3.3.6.1. Photographs

Content Analysis

The first stage of analysis involved examining the photographs quantitatively using content analysis. Content analysis generally refers to “a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from text (or other meaningful matter) to the context of their use” (Green, 2004, p. 82). The two types of content analysis are data driven content analysis which “develops the categories from the raw data” and theory driven approaches which “categorize data in terms of categories developed on the basis of theory or empirical grounds” (Green, 2004, p. 82). In this particular study photographs were analysed using data driven content analysis method. The unit of analysis was each photograph. The photographs were thoroughly examined and each photograph was labelled. A label was created for the main focus of each photograph. Similar labels were grouped together to form a group. The list of

labels was combined into a group of categories. Labels were grouped according to similarity or based whether they were related to each other, i.e. pants, shoes and shirts were grouped together as clothing. All objects belonging to a particular category were combined in to one code/theme, i.e. clothing. Every photograph was coded. However, categorising of photographs was not mutually exclusive or exhaustive. It was possible for one photograph to belong to more than one category. Content analysis produced frequency counts for only the content of the photographs. The results from the content analysis produced a frequency count of all the categories coded from the photographs.

3.3.6.2. Interviews

Thematic analysis

Narrative descriptions of photographs in the three categories were used to explore constructions of masculinity. Three categories were selected from the ranked items that emerged from the content analysis. These categories were shoes, cars and sport. The rationale for each category selected will be explained in the results section under the analysis of each category. Interviews included questions and discussions about the photographs. Interviews were read and after thorough examination of all the interviews, extracts containing discussions of the photographs about cars, shoes and sport were taken and presented in the results section. Extracts containing these three categories are presented in the next chapter.

The narratives were subjected to a thematic analysis. Thematic analysis is used in qualitative research and is defined as “the search for insight” (Boyatzis, 1998). Thematic analysis is considered to be the foundational method for analysing qualitative data (Braun & Clark, 2006). Thematic analysis is a “method of identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data” (Braun & Clark, 2006, p. 6). Themes are patterns that exist in the data. A theme systematises data and provides an understanding of the topic under investigation (Boyatzis, 1998). Themes can be manifest or latent and are generated inductively and deductively (Boyatzis, 1998). Inductive thematic analysis involves generating themes from the data while deductive analysis refers to generating themes based on previous research and theory (Boyatzis, 1998). In this particular study, inductive thematic analysis was used. This method of analysis provided an understanding of masculine themes emerging from discussions with boys about certain categories that emerged from the quantitative content analysis of photographs.

The method involved in analysing the interviews was taken from Braun & Clarke (2006). Thematic analysis is expressed as an interpretive method of analysis.

Thematic analysis begins before the formal analysis; it starts while the interview is being conducted and during transcription. Interpretive analysis entails immersing oneself in the data and interpreting from a position of familiarity and understanding (Braun & Clarke, 2006). This was the first stage of analysis. Familiarisation of data happens while reading the transcript/narratives and listening to the voice recordings, reading and re-reading the text with the research question in mind, becoming familiar with the transcript. The extracts were examined and analysed; during this stage there was preliminary understandings of the categories. Additional data in the form of field notes and background information taken during the interview was not available for review from the original study. A lack of background information meant that the extracts had to be examined several times to ensure that the data was adequately explored (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

The second stage of thematic analysis involved two steps. The first step involved generating codes for each question in the interview schedule. This stage involved noting down ideas that come about while reading questions and assigning labels to each idea generated. The second step involved coding the transcript using the list of codes generated in the previous step. Each question in the transcript is coded based on whether the text resembles/corresponds to the meaning assigned to the code. Data was coded manually on paper using coloured markers (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

The third stage of the thematic analysis also involved two steps. The first step involved arranging the list of codes generated in the previous stage into themes. While analysing codes, they were examined for possible patterns that might exist between them and a relationship between codes and themes was established. In the second step, themes were described which involved defining and refining the themes generated in the previous step. In this step, comparisons were made of the themes, i.e. an analysis of the spread of themes in the data. Attempts were made to ensure that the themes adequately represented the extracts in the transcripts (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

In the final stage of the thematic analysis the coded data was brought together. At this point the data was examined to assess whether the coded data fitted the themes generated in stage two. This analysis of data was done inductively. Attempts were made to analyse data in the context in which they were spoken instead of using theoretical frameworks.

3.4. Ethics

Data was taken from Lindeggcr et al's (2006) study which received full ethical approval in 2006. Participants in the original study provided consent for the data to be subjected to further analysis. A letter of informed consent was sent to all boys, including minors, as well as the parents. Only when the parents and boys assented by consenting to participate in the study were they included in the study. All participants were advised that all data would be kept after analysis of the original study. This was indicated through the confidentiality clause that all data collected would be anonymous and would be kept after the analysis period in a lock and key protection by the senior researchers. The photographic data collected in this study was not previously analysed. The interviews were previously used in other research. An application for expedited ethical review was made in 2011 to the Human Science Research Ethics Committee HSS/0472/011M (Appendix 1). In the current study photographs from the original study are presented in the results section and in order to protect the anonymity of participants, identifiable features such as faces have been concealed. Overall the current study was low risk.

3.5. Reliability, Validity and Credibility of the Research

A mixed method approach was used in this study to enhance both the reliability and validity of the findings (Creswell, 1998). It is argued that the mixed method approach is complementary because although the approaches produce different kinds of data they enhance the validity by enabling researchers to draw richer and more meaningful accounts and interpretations of the data.

3.5.1. Reliability

Reliability refers to the degree of consistency with which instances are assigned to the same category by different observers or by the same observer on different occasions (Silverman, 2005).

3.5.1.1. Visual data

Photographic data can also be considered textual data (Blackbeard, 2005). The two key issues of textual data are precision of category definition and the accurate counting of category instances in a standardised way (Silverman, 2001). The photographs were defined in terms of what was obviously observable in the photographs and categorised during the content analysis, and all subthemes were combined to form major themes and included in the results tables (Silverman, 2001). Emphasis was put on appropriate tabulations. This means that phenomena/objects categorised were derived and based on what is visible in the photographs. Silverman (2001) argues that appropriate tabulations and precision of category definition ensures that the reader is able to gain an understanding or 'flavour' of the data rather than just relying on the researcher's intuition. Due to the time frame of the study and limited budget there was only one researcher involved in coding the photographs. The reliability of data was ensured through precisely categorising the photographs and ensuring that all categories were accurately counted in a standardised way.

3.5.1.2. Interview data

Silverman (2001) argues that qualitative research is often assessed according to the reliability and validity of the knowledge it produces. An indicator of reliable interview data is a low inference description which refers to direct engagement with verbal data rather than relying on the researcher's recollections of the interview and subsequent discussions (Silverman, 2001). In the results section verbatim extracts from the interview are presented as opposed to the interviewer's recollection of the interview. The data analysed in this study was tape recorded and appropriate extracts linked to photographs were used. The researcher was not directly involved in the data collection process, and the interviews analysed in this study were transcribed based on audio recordings taken during interviews with boys. Silverman (2001) argues that reliable interview data is evaluated based on the following three criteria. Firstly, all the interviews were recorded and the researcher was assured that the transcribers listened to the tape thoroughly before transcribing. Secondly, all recorded interviews were transcribed using transcribing conventions. However, it is not known how consistent the transcribers were during the transcription process. It is possible that more consistent use of transcription conventions would have added to the richness and meaning of the data collected. Lastly, extracts from the interviews are presented in the results section so the words of the participants are used (Silverman, 2001). During analysis of visual and verbal data, reliability was ensured by thoroughly reading and re-reading all the interviews. During the coding process a list of codes was developed based on a reading of the interviews. This process

resulted in a coding schedule. Thereafter sections of the interviews were accurately coded in a systematic and standardised way. Codes were combined to form subthemes and themes. The researcher was not involved in the interviews and transcribing process and was therefore able to remain objective when reading and analysing data.

3.5.2. Validity

Validity refers to the extent to which an account accurately represents the phenomena to which it refers (Silverman, 2005). The validity of findings is strengthened when using a mixed method approach (Creswell, 1998) as this draws on different designs to bring about richness and meaning to the data. Triangulation refers to a form of double checking or thinking about findings from different perspectives which results in deeper, thicker accounts of a particular phenomena (Miller, 1997). Many researchers argue that triangulation is a good technique for ensuring reliability and validity (Creswell, 2003). Triangulation strengthens research as it allows research methods to be combined which provide more valid, reliable and in-depth accounts of phenomena under study (Creswell, 2003). In order to prevent 'anecdotalism' or illustrating certain parts of the data, or telling a few "stories" about the phenomenon under investigation, comprehensive data treatment is important. Illustrative examples of extracts taken were subjected to thematic analysis. This was done by providing extracts from throughout the interviews and providing a thorough account of the content analysis findings. Respondent validation was not possible as the data was collected in 2006 and the researcher did not have access to the participant in the sample. As mentioned before extracts were selected based on whether they contained discussions about the three themes selected from the photographs, although there were no deviant cases, there were marked differences amongst boys regarding how commodities were used to represent masculinity (Silverman, 2001).

3.5.3. Credibility

The credibility of a study can be assessed by the length and duration of engagement with the data and persistent observation of both visual and textual data (Creswell, 1998). There were multiple discussions with the supervisor regarding results and interpretations. Data was collected over a period of time, there were several interviews conducted with each boy, and although the researcher was not directly involved in the data collection process, a fair amount of time was allocated to read each interview transcript which was read and re-read on several occasions. It is also important to note that although each interview was considered for

inclusion, extracts were only selected and presented based on whether they contained discussions on particular selected issues, viz. cars, shoes and sport. Peer review and debriefing is another means of ensuring credible findings in research (Creswell, 1998). There were frequent discussions held with the supervisor about the results and findings of the study.

The credibility of a study can also be increased by clarifying researcher bias (Creswell, 1998). At this point it is important to bear in mind the researcher's role in analysing this data.

I am an Indian middle class female. I was not involved in the design of study and data collection. This was a secondary analysis of data collected. The analysis and interpretation of data is based on a female perspective where, what is understood is based on what is observed. The analysis of data is shaped and based on my understanding of how masculinity is represented in the data. It is possible that there might be some blind spots in the analysis and interpretation as I am a woman and because of the understandings and insights I have of the psychological and unconscious reality of being a man living in South Africa. Triangulation is said to decrease the influence of researcher bias during analysis and interpretation (Creswell, 2003). This was done by subjecting the data to different questions in order to validate the conclusions. Attempts were made to remain impartial and avoid becoming attached to one particular view point and this was ensured through discussions with the supervisor.

Chapter 4

Results

4.1. Introduction

This chapter reports the findings from the research process described in the methodology and is divided into three sections. In the first section, findings from the quantitative data analysis are presented using content analysis of the photographs and a description of the categories of photographs taken by the male participants. The second section reports the findings of the qualitative data analysis, which is based on a thematic analysis of interviews of three categories selected from the quantitative analysis section. The third section presents the overall findings from the first two sections.

4.2. Section A: Quantitative Content Analysis

As described in the previous chapter, photographs were taken by participants under the caption “my life as a young man living in South Africa”. All photographs from participants were included in the total sample of photographs. These photographs were subjected to a quantitative content analysis. Step one involved exploring the subject matter of the observable objects in the photographs. Categories were generated based on the categorisation of the main focus of each photograph. A total of 28 categories emerged from step one. Secondly, each photograph was individually coded using the categories that emerged from step one. Each photograph could be allocated to more than one category. The results of frequency analysis based on the categorisation are represented in Table 1. Table 2a represents a rank order of the first 11 categories from highest to lowest while a summary of all the categories can be found in Appendix 2 (Table 2b). Table 3 shows the frequency of categories for each of the five sample groups, this table and reveals which categories appeared most or least frequently in each of the five groups.

Table 1 below shows the frequency of categories that emerged from the content analysis and the frequency percentages of each main category. The table reflects the number of participants that captured the particular category in the photographs. The categories are reported in groups based on similarity or related to a category, i.e. clothes. Each category serves a main heading for other subcategories. Furthermore, each main category has a subcategory and some categories were sub-divided to include an object or an activity.

Categories that had an object and activity were sports, music, self-enhancements. In some instances participants can be seen engaging with the object or captured the object alone. This was evident in categories such as animals.

Table 1: Frequency of Codes from Content Analysis

Total Sample N= 584	Total (819)	No of Participants	Frequency (%)
1. Clothes	15	7	1.83
2. Shoes	27	13	3.29
3. Cars	61	23	7.44
4. Modes of transport	23	7	2.80
5. Technology	32	16	3.90
6. Magazines	15	6	1.83
7. Education	9	3	1.09
8. Religion	3	1	0.36
9. Family	41	19	5.00
10. Girls	36	21	4.39
11. Boys	99	32	12.08
12. Buildings	105	30	12.82
13. Furniture	9	3	1.09
14. Home activities	12	4	1.46
15. Sports	41	17	5.00
15.1. Objects	27	11	
15.2. Social	14	6	
16. Entertainment	5	2	0.61
17. Music	15	6	1.83

17.1. Social	7	4	
17.2. Objects	8	2	0.97
18. Self enhancement	7	4	0.85
18.1. Objects	6	3	
18.2. Activities	1	1	
19. Substance Use	2	1	0.24
20. Nature	18	6	2.19
21. Animals	10	4	1.22
22. Shops	9	3	1.09
23. Rooms	82	16	10.01
24. Activities	37	14	4.51
24.1. Solitary	13	5	
24.2. Social	24	9	
25. Girls & Boys	38	18	4.63
26. Art	11	6	1.34
27. Nutrition	9	3	1.09
28. Other	40	12	4.88

From Table 1 it is evident that masculinity was visually represented in terms of the following categories. Firstly, masculinity was represented in terms of material commodities (30.96%) if objects in photographs were physical/tangible items that have monetary value, they were classified as material commodities in the form of clothes, shoes, cars, technology, buildings (including rooms) and furniture. Secondly, masculinity was represented in terms of social membership (15.24%) with others such as family, girls, boys, animals, religion and culture in the form of art or paintings. Thirdly, masculinity is represented as 'doing' (48.92%) this is depicted in categories such as activities, movement in the form of transport, home activities, sport, entertainment, music, substance use, nutrition, outdoor engagement with nature and

enhancing oneself. Finally, masculinity was visually represented by a category known as 'other' and this included photographs which could not be categorised into the other groups.

Table 2: Rank order of categories from the content analysis

Categories	Total Number	Rank Order
Buildings	105	1
Foreground	72	
Background	33	
Male Friends	99	2
Rooms	82	3
Cars	61	4
Sport	41	5
Family	41	5
Girls and Boys together	38	7
Activities	37	8
Girls	36	9
Technology	32	10
Shoes	27	11

Table 2 reports the rank ordering of frequency of the top 12 categories. Table 4 (Appendix 3) shows the full list of categories in rank order. The rank order firstly suggests that material commodities/resources were frequent representations of masculinity. This included buildings, rooms, cars, technology and shoes. Secondly, masculinity seemed to be represented in relation to others. Categories such as male friends, family, girls and boys together and girls alone were ranked in the table above. Lastly 'doing' emerged as an important representation of masculinity, through the categories sport, activities and movement in the form of transport. Material commodities, social membership and 'doing' appear throughout the rank order, suggesting an overall importance of these categories. However, material commodities were mostly found at the top of the rank order of categories with three categories – buildings, rooms and cars – in the top five positions, while relationships closely follow with two

categories in the top five, male friends and family. Categories related to 'doing' appear towards the middle and end of the rank order.

4.3. Description of Photographs

A description of photographs for the following categories is presented. Photographs in each category were subjected to the following questions.

1. What is the category about?
2. How were photographs taken? i.e. is this category the main focus in the photographs?
3. What are these photographs suggesting about how masculinity is represented?

One picture for each the top 11 categories from the rank order is presented below. The aim of this part of the results is to provide a fuller sense of the meaning of the photographs. A description of the top 11 ranked categories (from Table 2) will be presented. Below each photograph a description is given of the manifest and latent meanings of the photographs.

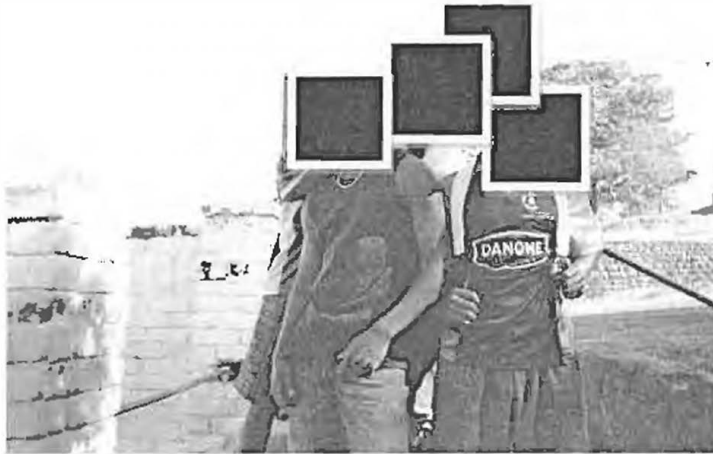
4.3.1. Buildings:



In this category photographs were mainly taken of houses, schools, churches, apartments, shacks. A large number of pictures were taken from outside the property rather than from inside within the property. The buildings were the main focus in the photographs. Pictures taken from outside the property are usually of bigger houses while those taken from within the property are smaller houses. Pictures of buildings taken from outside the property are

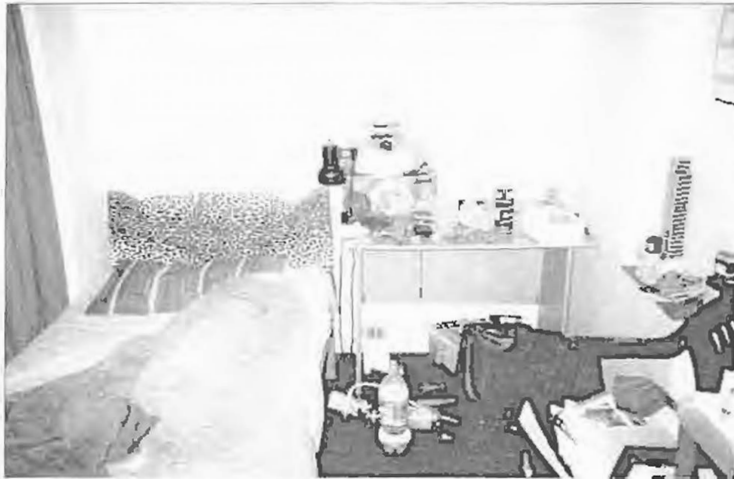
usually taken alone while pictures taken from within the property were captured with people standing around or near the entrance of the house. The house pictured above represents the 'ideal' home and masculinity was commonly represented as owning expensive, extraordinary houses. These houses represent ideals rather than personal lived reality which is common finding in other categories representing material commodities.

4.3.2. Male friends



In the male friends category pictures were taken of boys together in a group, specifically more than two boys. Pictures were taken at different places such as sports grounds, pubs, schools, and restaurants, universities, outside houses and along the road side. Pictures were often taken of boys doing activities such as playing sport or sitting or standing in a group. The main focus of each photograph was boys standing or sitting together posing for the photograph. Most of the photographs were taken of friends only, and it is not known if the participant was in photograph. This category suggests that masculinity is represented as having shared group identity and belonging which is derived from group membership with other males.

4.3.3. Rooms



In the room category, different rooms in a house were captured in the photographs. Rooms frequently captured were kitchens, bedrooms, lounges, and toilets. The rooms were either clean and neat or cluttered. The sizes of rooms varied. In some photographs people could be seen carrying out various activities in a room such as washing dishes and/or cooking in a kitchen, sleeping on a bed, among others. Others are pictures of rooms only and their contents (see picture above). The contents of the rooms and the people in the rooms are the main focus of the photograph. These photographs represent the lived reality of boys and depict masculinity as an ‘inside phenomenon’. Locations within buildings provide insight into the domestic quality and current living conditions of boys in the sample.

4.3.4. Cars



In the car category different models of cars were captured. It was found that the cars frequently photographed were vans/bakkies, SUVs, convertibles and luxury sedans. Car

brands such as Toyota, VW Golf, Audi and BMWs were mostly photographed. Pictures of cars were mostly taken from a distance to capture the name, type and size of the car. Some pictures were taken inside the car whilst another person was driving. Expensive and newer looking cars were more frequently captured than older ones. The cars were almost always presented as the main focus of the photograph and were displayed as exhibits. In some photographs multiple cars were photographed and cars were frequently captured alone. However, there are some pictures of boys standing near the car as if suggesting ownership of the car. Most of the cars photographed represent the 'ideal' car. Masculinity is represented as having access to material commodities such as expensive cars.

4.3.5. Sport



In the sport category most pictures were taken of boys playing sport, training, sporting gear and sports teams. Rugby and soccer were most frequently captured by participants. It is not clear if the participant is playing or observing the match as the pictures were taken from a distance. The main focus of the pictures was sport or the activity of playing sport. The sporting gear is usually presented alone as an exhibit in the photograph. There is great emphasis on sport because boys are seen as aggressive and hypersexual and sport is considered a mechanism of control. Furthermore, sport might be seen as a vehicle towards future opportunities, a way to be successful. Masculinity is represented as being successful which is reminiscent of hegemonic masculinity and sport is a site for gender construction, i.e. what it means to be a man is learnt on the sports ground.

4.3.6. Family



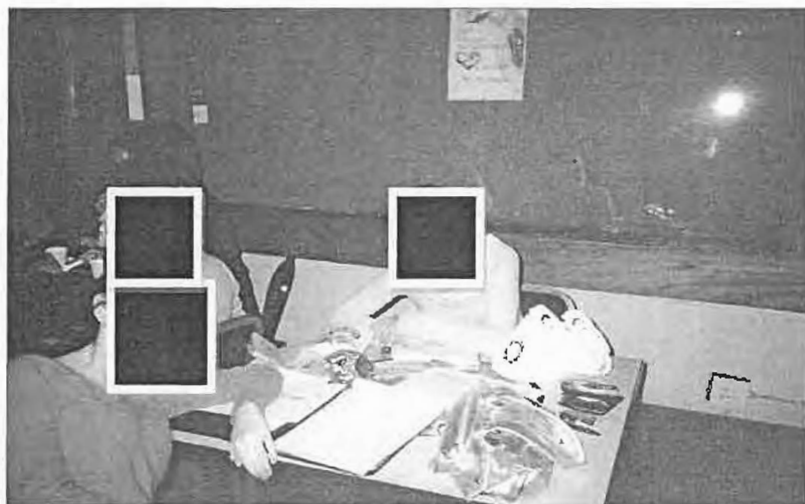
The category family represents pictures of what appear to be families and relatives. It is not known whether the people in the photographs are the participants' families and relatives. Pictures ranged from parents, siblings and grandparents taken in different areas of the house such as kitchens and lounges. In most of the pictures family members were captured in loving embraces and together in one area. The family members were usually the main focus of the photographs. The participant is not in the photograph and focuses on family members only. In some photographs family members can be seen posing or are in natural relaxed positions. Masculinity is represented in terms of close relationships with family members.

4.3.7. Girls and boys



In this category, pictures emphasised boys and girls together. In the majority of pictures the boys are standing near the girls. In only one photograph is the boy holding the girl or

4.3.9. Girls



In this particular category girls were photographed alone or in groups. Photographs taken of girls alone were taken while they were involved in domestic chores such as cleaning, cooking and caring for children. In groups girls were photographed studying or socialising with other girls. The locations of these photographs were houses, universities, schools, classrooms, sports fields and entertainment areas such as circuses, clubs and churches and the girls were the main focus of each photograph. In the most photographs girls were posing for the photograph while others were captured spontaneously whilst working. There were very few pictures taken where girls were not posing. Similarly to the girls and boys category, girls are important in reinforcing and act as indicators of masculinity. Masculinity seems to represent women as relegated to positions of domestic chores and women are represented as inferior servants limited to the household sphere while masculinity is represented as superior.

4.3.10. Technology



In the technology category, objects most commonly captured were computers, cell phones, television sets, printers and faxes. In most instances, the main focus was the object alone, as depicted in the photograph above, while some photographs were taken of boys using the objects, i.e. talking on the cellular phone, or working on the computer. Boys captured in the photograph posed whilst using the object, whereas objects photographed on their own were captured so that the object could be easily identified. These photographs might suggest that masculinity is represented as having access to branded material commodities and social interaction and engagement with others (in the case of cellular phones and faxes). Objects such as television sets and computers might represent recreational activities suggesting an engagement with the media and IT. Masculinity is represented as an instrumentality, in the quest for control, and material commodities are seen as a means to an end.

4.3.11. Shoes



Most of the photographs in this category were taken of different types of shoes, sport shoes (soccer and rugby), formal or dress shoes, sneakers and 'takkies'. The majority of shoes were taken in a clothing shop with fewer photographs taken of participants' own shoes. Shoes in the photographs were brand new with tags still on (see above) or used/old and torn but clean. Some photographs were taken of shoes on top of boxes. Most of the shoes captured were brand named shoes such as Reebok, Nike, Soviet and Adidas. In most photographs shoes were captured as the main focus of the photograph and on their own while very few were captured whilst being worn by a boy. An ideal un-lived reality is represented in the brand new shoes in the photographs while the old shoes represent a lived reality of hard work and effort. The photographs of brand named shoes imply that masculinity is represented by brand consumerism and material success in the form of access to expensive resources.

Table 3: Frequency of categories by groups of participants.

Themes	Groups				
	ARV	Alexandra Township Boys	Religious	UKZN Student	TAI
1. Clothes	2	0	1	3	9
2. Shoes	5	0	2	7	13
3. Cars	20	2	9	13	17
4. Modes of transport	0	1	3	1	18
5. Technology	11	1	6	7	7
6. Magazines	6	0	2	1	1
7. Education	3	0	0	5	1
8. Religion	0	0	0	3	0
9. Family	2	6	3	5	14
10. Female Friends	2	13	4	20	10
11. Male Friends	7	20	27	17	28
12. Buildings	19	6	22	27	31
13. Furniture	5	0	0	0	4
14. Home activities	1	5	4	2	0
15. Sport	2	0	14	7	18
16. Entertainment	2	0	0	5	0
17. Music	0	0	7	8	0
18. Self enhancement	0	0	1	5	1
19. Substance Use	0	0	0	2	0
20. Nature	0	0	3	2	13
21. Animals	1	1	1	2	5
22. Shops	0	0	3	6	0
23. Rooms	18	16	12	23	13
24. Activities	1	5	4	10	1
25. Boys and Girls	3	8	17	8	2
26. Art	6	0	4	1	0
27. Nutrition	2	0	3	4	0
28. Other	2	1	6	11	20

Table 3 illustrates frequencies of the categories by different sub-samples that emerged from the content analysis. This table indicates that the anti retroviral boys group (ARV) had the highest frequencies for cars, technology, buildings, magazines, furniture and rooms. The Alexandra township boys group had the highest frequency for home activities. The religious boys groups were found to photograph one category only, i.e. boys and girls together. The student group was found to photograph categories related to education, religion, girls, music, self-enhancement, substance use, shops, rooms, other activities and nutrition. The last group, targeted AIDS intervention and the TAI group had a propensity to photograph clothes, shoes, transport, family, male friends, buildings, sport, nature and other.

Categories per group frequency that were surprising and worth noting were the ARV group's affinity to material goods. From Table 3 these groups were found to capture cars and technology more than any other groups, revealing that these boys construct their masculinity primarily around material goods.

The religious group was also surprising, since pictures of religious beliefs and symbols were not captured in this group. Boys and girls photographed together had a higher frequency in this group than any other group. It is interesting to note that these boys represent their masculinity in relation to their female counterparts.

In the student group, there were several categories that ranked the highest. It is not surprising that education, substance use, other activities, self-enhancement, rooms, girls and shops were ranked highest since these boys are studying towards tertiary education and have easier access to amenities around them. Religion was surprisingly ranked highest in this group; students at universities seem to have a strong religious conviction despite being involved in the 'urban', 'student' lifestyle. Masculinity seems to be represented in terms of doing in the form education, substance use, activities, self-enhancement. The categorisation of masculinity as an 'inside phenomena' as opposed to an 'outside phenomena' was found to be highest in this group.

The TAI group, similar to the ARV group, showed a greater affinity towards material goods such as clothes, shoes and buildings, while significant others and family seem to be most prominent in this group. Male friends were also ranked highly. Sport, nature and others were also ranked highest in this group. Masculinity was represented mostly in terms of material goods, family and sport.

4.4. Section B: Qualitative Thematic Analysis

4.4.1. Shoes:

The findings from the content analysis show that shoes were ranked in eleventh position in terms of frequency amongst the categories. Despite the position of this category in the ranking, shoes were selected as this category is an under-researched topic in masculinity literature. In a previous study conducted in South Africa by Langa (2008), findings revealed that shoes were used as symbols to represent masculinity. Shoes are used to represent some aspect of the current situation or future goals. In addition, this category was selected to understand how an everyday item such as a shoe is used to represent masculinity. In this study shoes photographed by the research participants were different in brand, colour, type and age (i.e. brand new versus old and tattered). The following extracts provide an insight into how shoes were used to represent masculinity.

Extract 1:

1. P1: Then number 24 is of boots
2. Interviewer: Boots? What are you talking about when you say boots?
3. P1: Soccer boots
4. Interviewer: Oh, ok
5. P1: As a soccer player the boots I have now are not as nice as these ones, so I took
6. these because I believe that I'm still going to continue playing soccer and I pray that
7. in the future become something of a fine person. These are the boots I hope to play
8. with some day, maybe when I playing in a better field when I've found a big team
9. that will pay me so I will be able to get the things I want and get a home and
10. family.

Soccer is seen as a vehicle to attain material success. Soccer boots (shoes) are symbolic of sport but these boots represent material success for this participant. Successful masculinity is reminiscent of hegemonic masculinity because of the need to acquire or, as expressed by this participant, to "get". Shoes are used in the photograph to represent successful masculinity. This extract shows that this participant has a strong future orientation. The participant's attitude to persevere is illustrated by his belief that he will continue playing soccer, play in a better field and for a big team. These statements imply determination to acquire material success. In the latter part of line 9 the participant indicates that material success is attained through soccer which enables access to commodities such as homes and families. However, access to commodities could also be indicative of cultural and social norms; financial success ensures access to resources such as a home. Having the ability to earn large amounts of money facilitates access to better resources. ●nce a man has a house he is able to 'get' a wife

and family, with emphasis once again being on acquisition. This implies that success enables acquisition. Masculinity is represented by having access to material wealth which enables access to women and a family. Family are treated as commodities to acquire.

Extract 2:

1. P2: Well: well maybe growing up years gone () any kid (.) would want something
2. that (.) I don't know (2) this shoe is quite expensive so
3. Int: Oh really?
4. P2: Very expensive so () we all aspire to get all these things and (.) clothing
5. defines you so it it does it does
6. Int: Mmm so I mean this (.) is um: what is it Soviet? I mean I know the name I've
7. definitely heard the name I just don't know what they cost (.) but is this the type
8. thing that you you yourself (.) own do I mean do you own soviet stuff
9. P2: Ja I I own soviet stuff but um:: the the I I took the shop () instead of my own
10. clothing because (.) to actually prove that (2) we'd do anything for it you know (2)
11. you find a lot of people for instance you find a lot of people () that go into shops
12. and not 'gonna' buy they just going to 'drool' over their favourite things so its
13. tryin to say that we so into clothing you know it defines us that when we look at
14. this shoe and say you know want it and go into the shop so that's why I took the
15. one of the shop so you know that kind of thing.

This participant photographed a very expensive shoe and he mentions that all young males aspire to own expensive shoes and items. Being able to purchase expensive shoes implies having access to large sums of money. He maintains that clothing defines who you are as a man. He photographed shoes in a shop instead of his own which suggests that clothes that are brand new are ideal. The wearing of the most expensive brands is expressive of ideal commodity masculinity. Similarly, being able to purchase expensive clothes is an ideal amongst men as it indicates that they are successful. He mentions that young males come in and admire these shoes because there is status attached to wearing the most expensive branded clothing. Masculinity is represented in this extract by wearing the expensive clothing which in turn is indicative of material success. A man is defined by what he wears and ideal clothing, aspired to by young men, expresses successful masculinity.

Extract 3:

1. P3: This is picture number 16, soccer boots; I use these boots to play soccer. When I
2. get my own money I will buy the most expensive boots than these ones my parents bought
3. me.
4. Int: In other words you are grateful for what your parents can afford for you?
5. P3: Yes, I have to understand that since there is lots of us at home we going to have to
6. give each other chance. My parents will not be able to buy for me all the time.
7. Int: doesn't it happens in the soccer gym that your colleagues use more expensive boots
8. than yours where you even start feeling a need to have expensive ones as well and end up

9. forcing your parents to buy you ones.
10. P3: Yes it does happen, but I do not go cry at home for similar one because I know that
11. everything has its own time. I understand that it is not time yet for me to have expensive
12. soccer boots.

In this extract the participant discusses his soccer boots. Soccer is portrayed as a means to attain success. He asserts that he will buy the most expensive boots which implies that he will have his own money, and be able to purchase them. The emphasis is on owning the most expensive ones. This suggests that having money is valued because since large sums of money will enable the participant to own the most expensive items. Having his own money implies that he will not be reliant on his parents and what they can afford to give him. In the future he presents himself as self-sufficient and independent. When he is confronted with other people having expensive shoes he remains patient and understands that there will be a time when he will be able to afford them too. Masculinity is represented in this extract as self-sufficient and independent, but there is great emphasis on owning the most expensive items.

Extract 4

1. P4: Exactly ja (12)
2. Int: Ja and a pair of very clean shoes
3. P4: ((Laughing)) ja those are my shoes. Well I was trying to portrait this, well
4. particularly we men are () shoes. The particular highlights of fashion needs, is shoes.
5. Int: Okay, okay
6. P4: And I was trying to portrait the the you know the fashion statement towards our era. I
7. mean in our in our stage of age
8. Int: Yeh, yeh where shoes play an important role, fit.
9. P4: Yeh ((giggling))
10. Int: Um:: are these also brand name or...
11. P4: Ja clothing culture, South African brand name ja.
12. Int: Okay, okay
13. P4: I was trying to represent South Africa; I mean sometimes we represent our country in
14. many ways, sometimes in fashion, sometimes you know
15. Int: So what did you say this was a...
16. P4: This was a noction culture
17. Int: Its location
18. P4: No its its I don't know how to say this in English, but I know this world (.) it's the
19. hood, it's the hood
20. Int: So the neighbourhood (laughing)
21. P4: Ja the neighbourhood (laughing) Well specifically a poor neighbourhood
22. Int: Okay, okay

Shoes are expressed as a fashionable item and worn to make a fashion statement. The shoes photographed by this participant are representative of the modern generation of boys. This

participant implies that males of a particular age are becoming absorbed in a culture of brands and fashion. These shoes might not appeal to everyone but is the signature style of a particular area in South Africa and they represent South Africa; this implies that there is a link between the shoes and the identity of this boy. Fashion is used to represent who he is as a South African. Shoes are seen as an important component of a young man's life. The shoes represent a culture within South Africa. Particular versions of masculinity are represented in this extract. Masculinity is represented by a young male's dress sense and adherence to a fashionable culture. Culture is reflective of who a man is and where he comes from.

Extract 5

1. Int: Ok, next
 2. P5: Number 13, these are my soccer boots that I play soccer without them I'd be
 3. nothing. I'm talented at soccer and if it weren't for my soccer boots I'd be nothing.
 4. Int: Where did you get them?
 5. P5: My mother bought them for me last year, the ones I had before these got worn
 6. out and my mother bought me these as a gift for passing grade 11 and progressing
 7. to grade 12
 - 8 Int: What do they mean to you?
 9. P5: They mean a lot to me because it shows that my parents want me to succeed in
 9. whatever I do. My mother was proud that I had passed grade 11 so she rewarded
 10. me with the soccer boots to show that she wants me to be able to succeed in
 11. school and in soccer.
- Int: Ok

This participant highlights how important soccer and his soccer boots are to him. Soccer and the boots are seen as a means to attaining success. Soccer gives this participant an identity as a soccer player. He claims that he would be nothing without soccer and his boots and there is a great deal of meaning attached to playing soccer. These boots are symbolic of success because he received them from his mother for successfully completing his Grade 11 studies. Success is rewarded and reinforced by his parents who want him to be successful at soccer and at school. Masculinity is represented as being successful on the soccer field and in the classroom and this is evident from the parents wanting their son to succeed by rewarding him for his achievements.

4.4.2. Cars:

Cars were ranked as the fourth most prevalent category in the content analysis. The motivation for selecting cars was because of its prevalence amongst the photographs taken by the study participants and in the literature reviewed there seemed to be a shortage of research available on acquisition and material commodities. It is evident that the cars photographed

reflect commodity, acquisition and successful masculinity. It is evident from the extracts that capturing cars in pictures goes beyond the gender stereotype of males having a greater affinity to cars than females. This category was used to understand how males use cars to represent their masculinity.

Extract 6

1. Int: For example, as the soccer player you are, there are boys who don't play
2. soccer and who choose to engage in other things. So can you tell me about boys you
3. know who are different?
4. P6: There's a boy I know. I wouldn't say he's my friend but sometimes he visits
5. me and sometimes I see him when I need help with something. He's not really into
6. sports; he's more into his studies. So every time I talk to him we talk about
7. computers, about what job he wants and what cars he'd like to drive when he's
8. educated. You can see that he views his life as a success and photo 3 shows a
9. BMW which is one of the cars he likes. He's educated, and he's still studying,
10. doing a computer course, though I'm not sure what it is exactly that he's studying.

In this extract there are two contrasting identities. The one is the participant who plays sport and the other is his acquaintance who is academically inclined. Education and soccer are considered a means to attain success, especially material wealth. The meaning of success might be different and the end result may remain the same, i.e. the achievement of success, but the vehicle used to achieve success is different. The difference becomes apparent in the way in which these two contrasting identities enact their version of masculinity and that they ascribe to a different set of norms and see each other differently. The participant's acquaintance might interpret success as being highly educated and having money to purchase expensive luxury cars. Masculinity is represented in terms of success. There are several ways in which success might be attained but the vehicles to attaining success are different despite the end goal being the same, i.e. success.

Extract 7

1. P7: This is a photo of my favourite car
2. Int: Which car is this?
3. P7: Golf velocity
4. Int: Ok, so what makes you like this car?
5. P7: Growing up as a boy I think it's every boy's dream to have a car, so what
6. makes me like this particular car is that it's comfortable, I've felt it. Also a lot of
7. teachers at school who have this car say it's a good car.

In this extract owning a car is presented as a common symbolic aspiration for young males. The model of the car and the make is coveted by young males. He mentions that teachers own these cars and being a teacher might represent achievement and success. Teachers by

occupation have qualifications, earn an income and might model success and wealth as they own their own cars, suggesting that the dream has been accomplished. Young males dream of acquiring and having items that reflect success and wealth. Masculinity is represented by owning cars which in turn is symbolic of successful masculine commodities.

Extract 8

1. Int: What is this?
2. P8: It's the BMW 325i. It's every township boy's dream to own one.
3. Int: Why is that?
4. P8: Because it's a statement in the township, it shows that you're got style and
5. speed, basically you're it. But I'd like to have the latest model
6. Int: Ok

This participant implies that cars can be used to make a statement. The car that a young male has reflects his style. Owning an expensive car is an ideal and portrays to others that the young male is successful. It also suggests that young males are under the gaze of others and what they have and own is examined by people around them. The statement "basically you're it" implies that young males become the ideal for others to see and envy. There is a need to show off success, to be seen as successful and to prove success. The BMW latest model is symbolic of those men who have accomplished their dreams and attained material resources, thereby reflecting their success. Masculinity is represented as having and owning the most expensive car brands and models which represents having achieved success.

Extract 9

1. Int: ja (1) do you think, ah, (.) do you think you can be a real man (1) even if you
2. never have a car like that? Even if you're always left with your starter, or even
3. worse, if you have no car ever?
4. P9: you know, it's just that the pressure/ the pressurc. Like you know some, like/
5. like my friends, (.) like, when I used to sit with them in Durban, so, we used to
6. speak about this thing, so, about our future, and I mean like, you know, having/ we
7. have to have our own cars and we use it to visit each other, so.
8. Int: ycs

Cars are seen as a desirable commodity amongst young males and owning a car represents success. The repetition of 'have to have' implies strong possessiveness about cars and is synonymous with acquiring material resources, such as cars. Within groups some members might experience pressure to own and acquire resources because they do not have access to them. Amongst men masculinity is represented as having your own material resources, being able to get your own resources and acquire them for yourself. Young males might experience

pressure related to enacting the norms of hegemonic masculinity. Similarly to previous extracts, masculinity is represented by successful commodity masculinity.

Extract 10

1. Int: o I mean (.) your friends who don't have cars I mean, (3) is that is that quite a
2. big issue in their lives?
3. P10: Um:::::::::: we often talk about what's big and what's small, but many girls are
4. more concerned like boyfriends have cars, so just having to accept that
5. Int: Ja
6. P10: But um:::::::::: I think for guys it's, you know men, often want to not have to rely
7. on people
8. Int: Ja, for sure
9. P10: (), you kind of want to be the strong one whose able to support yourself.
10. Um:::::::::: another nice thing about having a car, especially now I am so fortunate
11. to have this, is that you can give people lifts; you can just bless people with some
12. help

This extract reveals a different meaning being attached to cars; owning a car implies independence and self-reliance. For this particular participant there is emphasis on being strong and being able to support yourself. Interestingly, there is a link between having a car and a girlfriend. This implies that being successful and having access to material resources is important for young females. Consequently, getting a girlfriend for some young males might be especially difficult if they have limited access to resources such as cars. In this extract cars are used as a means to demonstrate self-reliance and independence. Masculinity is represented as having access to material resources such as cars and cars are a means to attaining qualities such as independence, self-sufficiency, self-reliance and assisting and supporting other people.

4.4.3. Sport:

Extracts were taken from the TAI, religious and student groups. This category was selected because it displayed a high ranking in the content analysis of the photographs. Sport has been widely discussed in the literature. It is argued that the sports field is the arena where gender construction takes place and it was useful in understanding how sport is used to represent masculinity. Sports include soccer, rugby, tennis and body building.

Extract 11

1. P11: In picture no.1 it is important to play soccer because soccer protects you from things
2. like drugs, being on the street and thinking about robbery and also doing other things that
3. are not right. Soccer prevents you from doing things like that. It keeps you busy.

4. Int: So how about when it comes to friends?
5. P11: Even there it protects you because sometimes friends put pressure on you to go and
6. do wrong things like stealing. Maybe by the time they go and steal you will not be around
7. but in the gym or playing. When they get arrested you will not be among them. Had it not
8. been for soccer you will be in jail too.

In this extract sport is used as vehicle of defence against doing/committing crime and engaging in substance abuse. It is a defence mechanism for boys as it keeps them occupied and distracts them from committing actions that are considered to be bad. There are two contrasting identities, boys who play soccer and those who don't play sport engage in crime. When boys who play sport meet with those who engage in crime, those who play sport are sometimes pressured to commit crime. Sport becomes a mechanism that prevents boys from doing bad things that can have negative consequences on their lives and future. Masculinity is represented by engaging in sport as a defence mechanism for avoiding negative consequences associated with negative actions and behaviours. There are two vehicles to achieve material needs, soccer and crime. In this way masculinity is represented as following a path free of crime, violence and substance abuse, but young masculinity has some innate tendency towards anti-social behaviour.

Extract 12

1. Int: Now let's look at how you perceive the importance of being a man. As someone who
2. plays soccer, how important do you think soccer is amongst the things that guys do?
3. P12: Soccer is very important, but not just soccer specifically, I think sport in general is
4. very important because of you do not do any sports and you stay at home, you don't study,
5. then you end up doing bad things because I believe that in this world if you don't do
6. anything productive and you need money you end up stealing, robbing people, then end up
7. in jail. You cannot live without money and expect to live productively. That's why number
8. 22 is my dream to end up playing for Pirates.

Similar to the above extract sport is used as a vehicle of defence against negative actions and behaviours, such as crime and substance abuse. In this extract sport in general is argued to be an important defence for young boys growing up as it prevents and distracts them from engaging in activities that could have unfavourable consequences. For this particular participant, soccer is also used as vehicle for attaining money. Similarly to the above extract, masculinity is represented in terms of success by playing sport because firstly, it deters bad behaviour amongst boys and secondly, it is a vehicle used to attain success and money without having to engage in criminal activities.

Extract 13

1. Int: As a young person who plays soccer, do you think playing soccer is important to
2. someone young?
3. P13: Yes, soccer is very important to me. I feel it helps me. It keeps me occupied and out
4. of trouble. I don't have time to myself because I go to school and come back then I go to
5. soccer practice. Even over the weekend, there's no time for me to mess around
6. Int: Mess around how?
7. P13: Like consuming huge quantities of alcohol in huge quantities and going to nightclubs
8. and misbehaving. You can't go out partying the night before if you know that you have a
9. match the following day.
10. Int: Do you think soccer is as important to other guys your age?
11. P13: To some guys soccer is important but to others it doesn't mean anything to them.

This extract is also similar to the previous two extracts mentioned above in this category, and soccer is used as a defence mechanism to deter bad behaviour and trouble. Practising for soccer limits the amount of time available to engage in "bad" behaviours. For this participant, trouble is defined as drinking alcohol, visiting night clubs and misbehaving. Similar to the above extracts there are different ways of acquiring material commodities. In this extract masculinity is represented as being responsible and not engaging in behaviours and activities that are problematic and cause trouble.

Extract 14

1. Int: ok but you play tennis yourself if I remember
2. P14: ja I do um
3. Int: do you think that's as masculine a symbol as a rugby field
4. P14: I don't think so no um
5. Int: but I mean it's exactly the same in terms of keeping fit uh being good at what you do
6. P14: ja ja
7. Int: so why is it less sort of masculine symbol
8. P14: um I think more guys see it as being um you can. like you have to be strong it's more
9. physical
10. Int: rugby
11. P14: rugby ja and whereas tennis is more like you not sort of gonna get hurt as badly or
12. Int: ok
13. P14: whatever they see it
14. P14: ja I think so um . ja I think a large part of being a man is the physical side obviously
15. Int: ok
16. P14: and being stronger and trying to be like . ja . sort of like superman is
17. Int: ok
18. P14: cool and there's other people who aren't really as strong or something
19. Int: ja ja (2) so . like stronger guys who are willing to take more of a beating are sort of
20. more manly

In comparison to the previous extracts, this participant contrasts rugby and tennis. Although the interviewer co-constructs the discussion in this extract, rugby is seen as a more distinctly

masculine sport as opposed to tennis. According to this participant, rugby is more strenuous and physical whereas tennis is less strenuous and the players are less likely to get badly injured. Manliness is associated with being physical, strong and being able to take injury and pain, similar to a “superman”. A precedent is set regarding what ‘manly’ is and what a ‘manly’ man can do or withstand. Masculinity is represented as being a “superman” whom is synonymous with stoicism, resistance to pain, physicality, health and to excellence in activities.

Extract 15

1. Int: so is it a your um weight lifting is that a matter ah of building ah muscle for rugby or is
- 2 .it just a () general?
3. P15: for rugby cause ah it keeps you fit and like I don't wanna be like a prop if you know
- 4.what I mean don't wanna bc (.) not masculine cause that would be () fat and stuff and its
5. good () and ja
6. Int: and its really to keep your body looking muscular and healthy
7. P15: again like I said I've never been a person who just doesn't do anything and just sits on
- 8.the couch and watches TV and I'm always doing something when I'm not at varsity but ja I
9. try to keep healthy

This participant highlighted the importance of sport for building muscle and looking muscular, not only for health reasons but for playing rugby. This participant implies that there is an understanding about what physique is considered to be masculine. He suggests that masculine refers to a body that is “muscular” and “healthy” rather than “fat”. Having a thin body is not considered to be masculine. In addition masculine is presented as being active and engaging in activities rather than being lazy and passive. Masculinity can be physically and visibly represented by being muscular, healthy and active.

4.5. Section C: Summary

In total five hundred and forty eight photographs (n=584) were analysed quantitatively. Photographs were taken under the caption “my life as a young man living in South Africa”. The photographs were used to gain an understanding of how masculinity is visually represented. From the content analysis 28 categories emerged. Photographs in this study were taken from five groups of boys: TAI, religious, ARV, UKZN and Alexandra township groups. A frequency count was calculated for each category which produced a rank order of categories from highest to lowest (Table 2a). This enabled an understanding of what categories were most frequently photographed. A frequency count was also calculated for

categories according to each sample group (Table 3). These findings facilitated an understanding of which categories were mostly representative of each group. A photograph was selected from the top 11 categories presented. An explanation was proffered for each category, how the photograph was taken, i.e. what the main focus of the photograph was and what the photographs suggests about how masculinity is represented amongst boys.

In the qualitative section three categories were selected, i.e. cars, sport and shoes. In summary cars and sport were selected because they were highly ranked in the content analysis, while shoes were selected because there is a shortage of research on this commodity in the literature. In total 15 extracts were presented on these three categories. Extracts were taken from four groups of boys only, viz. ARV, TAI, UKZN student and religious groups. Extracts were analysed for themes and codes. A discussion was presented under each extract detailing how these categories were used to represent masculinity. The main findings from the content analysis and thematic analysis are presented in this section.

As mentioned before all categories were ranked in descending order. Upon grouping the categories four major themes emerged from the content analysis. These four categories were material commodities (*inter alia*, clothes, shoes, cars and buildings), relationships with others (such as family, male friends, female friends and animals), 'doing' activities (sport, music, education and home activities) and other (refers to categories that could not be grouped in the above three). The top five categories from the rank order were buildings (i.e. houses), male friends, rooms (inside of a house), cars and sport.

The frequency count of categories according to the five groups shows that the ARV group represented their masculinity in terms of material commodities more so than the other four groups, whereas the Alexandra township boys represented their masculinity predominantly in relation to home activities. The religious group represented their masculinity in terms of relationships between boys and girls, while the UKZN student group represented their masculinity as 'doing' activities and their relationships with others. The last group represented their masculinity with material commodities, relationships, 'doing' activities and other.

A description of the top 11 rank order categories is presented in section A. Below is a summary of the description given of the three categories subjected to thematic analysis in section B.

Shoes

A range of shoes was photographed by these boys where the shoes were the main focus of the photograph. Pictures were mostly taken of brand new shoes in shops or newly purchased shoes with tags still attached, representing an ideal un-lived reality. There were photographs taken of shoes that were old and tattered but clean. Despite being old or new, most of the shoes captured in the photographs sported brand names. In the five extracts presented on the shoe category, soccer boots were used to represent success coupled with the need to acquire commodities. Success through possession of commodities and money enables access to women and families. Young men aspire to own and acquire expensive commodities and brand name clothing and shoes are an important signifier of success because they are costly. Masculinity is defined by material success through what a man wears and owns. Masculinity is also represented by being self-sufficient and independent, being able to acquire commodities independently and not being reliant on others. Lastly, in the extracts masculinity is represented as being fashionable, keeping up-to-date with fashion and making fashion statements.

Cars

In this category it was established that expensive and newer models of cars were predominantly photographed and the cars were the main focus of the photographs. Photographs were taken in such way that the type and size of the car was evident. In the photographs taken by the study group, they either depicted only the cars, or the boy sitting in the car, or the boy posing near the car. Cars represent an ideal, as well as wealth and access to resources. Owning a car is a symbolic aspiration; cars permit young men to make a statement because they often feel as if they are under the gaze of others and owning expensive cars and having material wealth implies that they are successful according to others and themselves. Having a car implies independence and self-sufficiency; cars are also an important vehicle to having a girlfriend, which in itself is an important marker of their masculinity. Masculinity is represented again as having access to material resources and commodities which facilitates access to girlfriends and derives appraisal from others.

Ricardo, 2007; Barker & Loewenstein, 1997). In this study masculinity was mostly represented in terms of material commodities, which suggests that 'having' is considered to be a distinctive performance of masculinity as revealed in the private and public sphere. However, these ideals of masculinity remain elusive to many as only a small number of men attain these standards of masculinity (Henderson & Shefer, 2008; Connell, 1995).

In the photographs categorised as social membership, masculinity was represented in relation to other men, women and family members. The importance of having relationships with others is pronounced in the findings. Masculinity was represented as having shared group identity and a sense of belonging which is derived from group memberships with other individuals, mainly other men. This suggests that masculine identity is partly a function of positioning in relation to other men. Photographs also visually depict young men displaying possessiveness over women and their attempt to control them. In other photographs women were photographed alone and in subjugated positions, e.g. performing domestic chores, childcare. The findings show that women are commonly represented as inferior and subjugated to men as they are limited to positions within the household and child care. Together these findings suggest that the positioning of women serve an important function in the identity of men, confirming men in their masculinity (as girlfriends), or being inferior to men. Men's power and control over women and subjugation of women are an important part of the performance of masculinity to be exercised and maintained. These findings concur in previous literature (Lindegger & Quayle, 2009). Lindegger and Quayle argued that hegemonic masculinity is constructed around the subjugation of women, the ability to exercise power and control over women and the decisions affecting them (Lindegger & Quayle, 2009).

Masculinity was also represented through 'doing' and engaging in activities, i.e. such as sport, home activities, entertainment and substance use. Activities involved being actively engaged in tasks as individuals or a group. Sport was one of the activities which had a high ranking in photos. The findings from this study reveal that masculinity is represented as doing. These findings concur with literature in this field as gender theorists argue that masculinity and femininity have more to do with doing and having than being (Kimmel, 2000; Korobov & Bamberg, 2004; Butler, 2004).

Three categories were selected from the content analysis of photographs, viz. cars, shoes and sport, and were subjected to thematic analysis. Masculinity was represented as having access

to and being able to acquire material commodities. The visual data revealed that a range of shoes was represented in the photographs. The majority of the shoes photographed were brand new, expensive and sported top brand names, and were often positioned on top of boxes, displaying the shoes as ideal, similarly to how a trophy would be displayed. This portrayal of the shoes might serve as indices of material success by having money to purchase these expensive items. Similarly to shoes, it was found that newer and more expensive cars were photographed and formed the main focus of many photographs. These photographs suggest cars are presented as ideal symbolic aspirations of young men. Cars allow young men to be watched by others and be regarded as successful. Owning a car also indicates self-sufficiency and independence and may increase a young man's chances of attracting female partners. Shoes and cars represent success for boys and this concurs with previous findings indicating that shoes, cars and cellular phones are indicative of success (VSO "Engendering AIDS", 2003 cited in Lindegger & Maxwell, 2005). Various aspects of sport were photographed such as playing sport, sport equipment and young men playing sport. One particular aspect that emerged was that sport is a defence mechanism against bad behaviour and controls and manages aggressive behaviour. An example drawn from the verbal data reinforcing this point is that soccer keeps young boys out of trouble and prevents them from misbehaving because of the routine involved, i.e. practising and playing games. Sport may also be seen as a means to attain success; to be discussed later in this chapter. The popularity of sport amongst boys could also be attributed to the assumption that young men are naturally rebellious and inclined to engage in bad behaviour and sport provides a defence against, or an alternative to, engaging in bad behaviour because it is a medium to channel aggressive behaviour (Erasmus, 1999 cited in Lindegger & Quayle, 2009).

5.2.1.1. Independence, self-sufficiency and self-reliance

In addition to being symbols of material success, material commodities such as cars were used to represent independence, self-sufficiency and responsibility. Young men emphasised the importance of being independent and self-sufficient and indicated in addition that independence arises through owning material commodities such as cars. It was evident from the photographic discussions that young men feel pressurised to own their own vehicles, as they serve as means to meet other people and prevent them from being reliant and dependent on others; it is preferable to provide assistance to others rather than requiring the assistance of others. Masculinity is constructed as being self-reliant and independent. It can be argued that independence might arise from financial success and owning material commodities such as

commodities (Uchendu, 2007; Stevens & Lockhart, 1997). Shoes and clothing are used to make a statement to others as they indicate success (VSO "Engendering AIDS", 2003 cited in Lindegger & Maxwell, 2005).

5.2.1.3. Women and families as commodities

Access to women is also partially dependent on material resources and commodities owned by men. There seems to be a climate of 'competitiveness' among men to be financially stable and able to acquire commodities. Material commodities can be used to attract women to men. In some instances, young men mentioned the importance of owning materials such as cars and homes and then families.

The results show that women and families are considered to be commodities that men need to acquire parallel to the acquisition of material commodities. In discussions with young men, they explained that women are preoccupied with men who have money, houses and cars and this could result in feelings of pressure and frustration, especially if material resources cannot easily be acquired. This could be a motivating factor for young men to succeed financially.

5.3. Body and Appearance

During discussions with boys masculinity was constructed as being strong, healthy and muscular. Distinct physical features attached to being manly as revealed by young men in the interviews. The physical aspect of masculinity is constructed as being physically strong and displaying a high pain threshold. Manly physique is defined as looking healthy and being active. Manly physiques defined by young men in the study were reminiscent of 'superman' or superheroes. Men aspire to be like superman/superheroes. Several studies have highlighted the importance of a 'manly' appearance amongst boys (Chadwick, 2007; Uchendu, 2007).

The general consensus in the literature is that 'a man' is partly defined by an appearance that is muscular, physically and emotionally strong, fearless and able to conquer and protect the weak and defenceless (Erasmus, 1999 cited in Lindegger & Quayle, 2009; Chadwick, 2007; Uchendu, 2007). The findings of this study strongly concur with previous studies that men are expected to behave as super heroes would, displaying strength and fearlessness. These expectations of being strong and fearless may be seen as expressions of masculinity (Chadwick, 2007).

Sport and body building are used as mechanisms to keep men healthy, active and therefore emerged as important aspects of masculinity. Young men engage in sport possibly because it allows for displays of strength and achievement (such as rugby and soccer). Some sports are demarcated as more manly than others. During the interviews the discussions revealed that rugby is considered to be tougher and more manly as opposed to sports such as tennis. Messner (1990) notes that rugby is a site where bodies are used as weapons to defeat and conquer, and the young men in these interviews asserted that being able to withstand a beating is considered to be more manly and becomes a site to reaffirm masculinity. Furthermore, the sports field becomes a venue for young men to control, dominate and conquer (Messner, 1990; Lindegger & Maxwell, 2003).

5.4. Success and Successful Masculinity

According to Krienert (2003) the traditional indicators of successful masculinity are maintaining a stable job and having a stable family life. From the photographs and the verbal and visual discussions conducted with young men in the study groups, success was presented on two levels, i.e. financial and marital success. Financial success refers to owning material commodities such as cars, houses and having money. Marital success refers to having wives and children. Krienert (2003) also argued that a traditional measure of masculine success includes scholarly success as well as marital success. The findings reveal that young men wish to acquire both material commodities and families and they perceived success to be two-fold: on the one hand, the enjoyment of financial success, and on the other hand 'getting' in the form of acquiring a family, both of which were considered symbols of success. Masculinity is affirmed through possession of wives and in turn children, and being able to providing for them materially. This was similar to the findings of Uchendu's (2007) and Krienert's (2003) studies.

Based on the findings, success implies having resources available to acquire commodities while having access to resources in turn indicates success. Financial success increases one's chances of acquiring wives, children and families. Examples from the interviews suggest that owning a motor vehicle will enable a young man to attract a girlfriend while having material commodities such as a house might facilitate the acquisition of a wife and family. This finding concurs with those of Uchendu (2007), who found amongst Nigerian youth that masculine success involves being able to provide for one's wife and to prove one's fertility

by producing children in addition to also being the head of the family and being able to control and exercise power over his family. South African youth are no different to Nigerian youth; amongst young men globally there is a great desire to be successful and to have access to expensive material commodities (Krienert, 2003). The impact of enjoying financial success and having access to the most expensive material commodities is understood by young men and is the impetus which motivates them to be successful. The need to succeed materially could be further understood against the socio-political background of apartheid. Before democracy in South Africa black Africans suffered extreme poverty, subjugation and violence (Xaba, 2007). African men were considered 'boys' not men (Brandt, 2006). Capitalism had detrimental consequences for black South Africans (Waetjien, 2004) because employment possibilities were limited to low-paying work and manual labour (Waetjien, 2004). African masculinity was marginalised based on class and race and this could explain the shift to masculinity currently being constructed as being successful and acquiring material commodities. Post-apartheid South Africa offers a possible shift from the position of marginalisation, partly through increased access to material resources.

The struggle of young men to attain successful masculinity was evident in the representation of the ideals of masculinity discussed in previous sections. For example, frequent photographs of brand new items such shoes, point to the longed for ideal of successful masculinity. The photographs captured an ideal situation, object or person. This ideal represents the aspiration towards a version of masculinity. Ideal commodities include houses, cars and clothing. As discussed above, the ideals aspired to and expressed in these photographs contrast with their personal lived reality, reflected in some of the more mundane photos.

Successful masculinity may be seen as parallel to, or a version of, hegemonic masculinity. Many of the features of successful masculinity which emerged in this study reflect qualities commonly associated with hegemonic masculinity, such as being independent and self-sufficient (Barker & Ricardo, 2007). Furthermore, young men strive to attain success on their own and be successful based on their own merit and hard work and aim to support themselves and limit the support from their parents. Being financially successful signifies that men are able to provide adequately for the needs of their spouses and families (Lindegger & Maxwell, 2003). There was emphasis on their ability to adequately fulfil their masculine role as 'provider' (Messerschmidt, 1993 cited in Krienert, 2003). There is a strong need to provide for one's family and to be viewed as successful in the eyes of other people. There is also

pressure associated with providing for girlfriends and wives because they have to compete with older men for women (Lindegger & Quayle, 2009; Langa, 2008). Women are attracted to older men because they have more resources and are able to fulfil their material needs (Lindegger & Quayle, 2009).

5.6. Vehicles to Achieve Success

The findings reveal that financial success in the form of access to material commodities is reinforced for young men by others. Based on findings from both visual and interview data, parents, teachers, girlfriends and other older men play a vital role in shaping the goals of young men. Parents instil the importance of success by rewarding achievements while teachers and other older men reinforce success as some own vehicles and are a living testimony that hard work results in success. High profile individuals often serve as role models of success (Hargreaves, 1982; 1986 cited in Trujillo, 1991). These high profile individuals set the ideals of what a man is and should be (Hargreaves, 1982 & 1986 cited in Trujillo, 1991). Women also play a pivotal role in reinforcing success and in emphasising men's roles as providers of their family, causing men to feel pressured by the desire to acquire commodities and be providers. The pressure to succeed is accentuated by women, given their expectations of material support and provision by men (Barker & Loewenstein, 1997). However, there is a dearth of literature on who influences young men to be successful in their micro context, i.e. peers, family or women.

From the boys' discussions about their photos, it is evident that they are faced with questions and decisions about how to achieve success. There are several means that young men can utilise to become successful and acquire commodities. Soccer, education and crime were highlighted as the main vehicles for achieving success. In some extracts young men showed interest in playing sport as their means to attaining successful masculinity. Other young men perceive education as the preferred route to success. Soccer is seen as a pathway to achieve stardom, success and fame. Sport is used as a vehicle to attain success by playing for teams and earning an income as a soccer player. Education is also seen as a vehicle to a better future increasing as it does the employability of individuals in the job market. According to Archer (1994) one way of assessing masculine success is through occupational achievement which occurs through financial or monetary success (cited in Krienert, 2003). The ability to maintain employment is seen as a way of 'accomplishing' masculinity (Krienert, 2004).

Findings from this study are similar to Langa's study (2010) which suggested that young men also constructed their masculinity in relation to education and consider education to be an investment which will benefit them at a later stage. Despite the boys' awareness of their current situation of being unable to acquire "it is not my time now", they remain adamant and optimistic about their ability to acquire material commodities in the future. In some situations another alternative emerged; when traditional methods such as employment are not available, young men chose to engage in crime as an alternative to sport and education. Crime serves as a quick and easy method of obtaining material commodities which sometimes has devastating consequences. The latter has been reported by other researchers working on youth in post-apartheid South Africa (Xaba, 2007).

The findings reveal that there are competing identities amongst young men who are all trying to establish their own version of acceptable or successful masculinity. When performing an identity young men demonstrate prejudice to the norms that govern competing identities; however, it is possible for one young man to occupy two competing identities and attempt to establish his own version of acceptable masculinity. This was evident from the fact that many young men desired to be successful in both education and as a sports player. This supports Korobov and Bamberg's (2007) and Cornwall & Lindisfarne's (1994) research which also found that a young man can occupy two contradictory or conflicting identities.

5.7. Implications of Findings

Two main implications arose from this study. The first implication was the effect of engaging in the struggle for material success through education and sport. In competitive capitalist societies, which value autonomy and competition for resources, commodity masculinity can have favourable and unfavourable consequences for youth. The implications of conforming to norms of a commodity or acquisitive masculinity are that young men become embedded in a culture of acquisition of material commodities.

The findings of this study suggest that young men are predominantly concerned with material success and acquisition as the ideal of masculinity. The findings suggest that education and sport (i.e. soccer) are seen as two dominant vehicles to achieve success. In this study education is seen to enable employment and an income which will later ensure acquisition of material commodities. Education is considered an investment for the future (Langa, 2010). In

this particular study and in Langa's study (2010) boys remain aware of their current situation but are simultaneously optimistic about their future. Boys expressed their aspiration of continuing to playing soccer, and that their talent and skill at soccer might someday result in playing professionally for a team thereby earning an income. The fame and income associated with soccer players will enable them to acquire the commodities they desire. Aspirations related to education and sport might be seen as having a positive effect as they are stimuli motivating young men to succeed.

On one hand the positive effect of dedication to education and sport implies that men will be able to provide for their spouses and children and this will lead to positive providing. On the other hand there is a possibility that acquisition and success might lead to negative consequences. Success implies having material power and control over others; this could possibly lead to unfavourable consequences, such as subjugation of vulnerable individuals. Vulnerable individuals such as women and children are likely to face abuse from men who have power, control and authority because they are dependent on material resources offered by these men (Lindegger & Maxwell, 2003).

A predominant finding amongst boys in the sample, was their display of ambition and determination to be successful. However, it is important to note the current social, economic and political situation in South Africa and critically assess how realistic these means to success are and whether or not they will be attainable in light of the current socio-economic trends. In South Africa, there are high rates of unemployment (Peacock & Lavack, 2004), and the reality of employment is becoming increasingly difficult for many South Africans. Furthermore, there are several problems related to education at tertiary institutions, such as affordability and limited space. Although, many participants expressed their aspiration to be a professional soccer player, attaining the status of a professional soccer player may not be a realistically achievable goal to these boys, resulting in some not being able to fulfil their aspiration.

In the acquisition of successful masculinity, the effect of not having access to these routes and failing becomes problematic for young men. It is possible that attempts to succeed through sport and education might fail and concomitant feelings of frustration and disappointment could lead to crime. This was evident in post-apartheid South Africa. So-called "young lions" that had no education and could not gain employment turned to crime and violence to acquire commodities (Xaba, 2001; Freund, 1996) and as a result crime in

South Africa increased drastically. The most highly-ranked crimes in Nigeria are money-related as young men resort to crime to acquire material commodities (Uchendu, 2007). Uchendu (2007) found that Nigerian youth are obsessed with material commodities. Young men may turn to crime to fulfil their desires and acquire material commodities but this could also mean that boys chose to adhere to alternative masculine identities and norms. Men are under considerable pressure to provide and be successful (Krienert, 2003); consequently, they become vulnerable and resort to crime or violence as a means to attain successful masculinity to avoid being failures (Seidler, 2006). Young men may compensate for their inadequacy with violence which will ultimately 'validate' or reinforce their masculinity becoming an alternative form of masculinity (Langa, 2010).

5.8. Surprising Findings

While analysing both the interview and visual data, it was surprising that young men hardly photographed pictures of alcoholic drinks, cigarettes and other substances. There was little talk of substance use and experimentation. Amongst men one would have assumed that substance use would be a popular topic. In previous studies substance use emerged as an important indicator of hegemonic masculine ideals and acceptable masculine behaviour (Attwell, 2002; Blackbeard, 2005; Burnard, 2008). It was surprising that there were very few visual representations and verbal discussions on substance use. In addition to substance use there was little discussion and focus on entertainment. Similarly to substance use entertainment in the form of partying and 'having fun' is considered an important site for the construction of masculine identities (Chadwick, 2007). In this study very little reference was made to how young men entertain themselves. Furthermore, it was surprising to see young men photographing other young men doing household and domestic chores, such as cooking and cleaning, as these activities are traditionally associated with women. This suggests that there might be alternative or even egalitarian values being practised amongst young men and women. This might suggest a change in conjugal roles and could even suggest an emergence of a new masculinity, an alternative form. This was similarly found in Langa's (2008) study, which found that young men are attempting to negotiate alternative voices, however, these alternative voices are met with emotional costs and sacrifices.

Chapter 6:

Conclusion

6.1. Introduction

As articulated by Kriegel (1979) “to be a man is to carry a tape measure by which you measure yourself in relation to the world” (Adams & Govender, 2008, p.551). Men are constantly evaluated on how they enact their masculinity against a set of manly standards. Each particular context might stipulate different sets of conditions that describe what it means to be a man. What it means to be man may often differ across time, location, culture, religion, race and socio-economic status and political realities (Bannon & Correia, 2006). Similar to the rest of the world, South Africa reflects cultural and racial variation which provides an interesting site for masculinity research.

In the past decade there has been extensive research aimed at providing further insights into how masculinity is constructed and enacted by young men across the world. Certain constructions of masculinity have been shown to be more problematic than others and display themselves through violence, crime, delayed help seeking behaviours and risk behaviours. There have been many interventions aimed at changing constructions of masculinity to minimise the negative impact of particular versions thereof. Interventions are likely to be more successful to the when there is a proper understanding of how masculinity is represented and constructed is articulated.

This project aimed to gain insight into how masculinity is visually represented and verbally constructed amongst boys living in South Africa. In order to meet this aim, the study utilised mixed methodology. Photographic methods provide a way to discuss topics and issues that might be difficult to discuss verbally. The mixed method design was used to provide depth and understanding into how young men represent and construct their masculinity. Quantitative content analysis provided a list of what objects and items young men used to represent their masculinity while qualitative thematic analysis provided understanding of how masculinity is constructed.

6.2. Summary of Findings: Research Questions re-visited

The aims of this research project were firstly, to try to understand how masculinity is visually constructed using quantitative research techniques, and secondly, to understand what themes emerged as important constructions of masculinity from discussions with young men about their representations of masculinity. A mixed method design was effective since data was analysed using quantitative content analysis and qualitative thematic analysis.

6.2.1. How is masculinity visually represented by young men?

The findings reveal that masculinity was represented by material commodities, social membership and doing. These three categories reveal how masculinity is represented in South Africa. Material commodities were mostly expensive brands which highlighted the importance of being able to acquire expensive items. "Having" these material commodities is represented as an important part of masculinity. This was also reiterated by the type of photographs taken, which reflected ideal vs. real lived experience. Social membership reiterated the importance of family, friends and women, whilst highlighting the importance of "having" friends and family and the position these groups have in the life of a man. Lastly, "doing" as form of representing masculinity was highlighted as important; masculinity is perceived as active, involved and on the move. These findings strongly support Butler's (2004) and Blackbeard's (2005) idea that gender is more about "doing" and "having" than just "being".

6.2.2. What themes emerge as important constructions of masculinity from discussions with young men about their representations of masculinity?

The findings from the thematic analysis support the findings from the content analysis. The need to be successful and to be able to acquire material commodities was viewed as important. Material commodities reflect success; the need to acquire these commodities is because men wish to be seen as successful and independent. The ability to access commodities implies that men can be self-sufficient, self-reliant and independent of their families. Furthermore the need to succeed might also include having a wife and children. Young men identified vehicles to achieve success such as sport and education. These vehicles provide pathways to achieve success in life. In some cases these vehicles might not be available to young men, forcing them to resort to alternative methods in order to be successful. This alternative method is more often than not crime which has undesirable consequences for young men and society. A masculine appearance and physique was defined

as being muscular and slim; men strive to look masculine and to be seen as consumers of fashion trends

6.3. Limitations

Possible limitations of this study might be the effect of personal bias and gender subjectivity, i.e. female perspective as opposed to analysing data from a male perspective. This could have affected the analysis and interpretation of data collected. Interpretations are based on a female perspective, implying that the results are not based on my understanding of literature, previous knowledge and interactions with males and the media. Interpretations are not based on a lived reality of masculinity.

The sample of boys in the study was based on convenience sampling and is not representative of the population. Boys may have not taken the exercise of photographing seriously which could possibly explain some of the photographs. Photographs were taken of objects which had no perceived relevance to the study, i.e. photographs were taken of a carpeted floor. It was found amongst interviewees that boys were unable to explain why they had photographed particular photographs, providing evidence.

Photography collected as part of research has some limitations, there is a large degree of ambiguity when using photographic data. Photographs can have multiple meanings and can be interpreted differently (Schwartz, 1989). Photography is only visual; meaning can only be interpreted from what is visually present or evident in the photographs (Kanstrup, 2002). Photographs taken at a particular moment might reflect what was conveniently available. Some photographs suggest that some participants might not have taken the data collection process of capturing photographs seriously.

There are some limitations of photo-voice method are that it can be expensive method requiring participants time and effort during data collection and analysis (Given, Opryshko, Julien & Smith, 2011). It can also be financially costly such as equipment purchases and incentives to ensure participant involvement in data collection and analysis of photographs (Given et al., 2011). There are ethical issues about maintaining participant's privacy especially when people are captured in photographs (Given et al., 2011).

6.4. Recommendations for Future Research

South Africa is an interesting context for research on masculinity because of the social and historical context. Based on the findings derived from this study it would be worthwhile for future researchers to engage more with auto-photographical methods. Although the process might be costly, it would be worthwhile to focus on why certain material commodities are valued compared to others to gain further insight into the importance of material commodities in the lives of young men currently living in South Africa. An insight was gained into the importance of material commodities amongst young adolescent males however, it would be interesting to contrast younger groups with older groups and ascertain if there is any consistency attached to the meaning of material commodities for men across different ages in the population.

An important finding in this study was related to men being successful. Future researchers are encouraged to ascertain an in-depth account of what success means and how it is defined by young men. Again it would be interesting if older comparison groups are also included in the sample as a means of comparing. The effects of success on young masculinities require further investigation.

Masculinity might be represented as being successful but what might the implications be if the male is a failure and/or unsuccessful. It would be of interest to explore how alternative versions of masculinity are represented when materially based success is not possible or when young men are not successful, even by choice, and what facilitates this alternate masculinity. What are the implications of not being successful and investigations of how men adapt to their circumstances by constructing alternative acceptable forms of masculinity.

It is also advisable that research be conducted on more public representations of masculinity as in advertising and the media. Lastly, it would be useful to conduct a follow-up study with some of the research participants involved as it would provide insight into how masculinity has changed with time and the effects of consumerism and urbanisation for many young South Africans and more importantly how perceptions and representations have changed in relation to age, socio-economic status, race and ethnicity. The link with change might reveal whether certain representations change across age and socio-economic status. Races and ethnicity can be compared to assess similarities and/or differences.

6.5. Concluding Remarks

Over the past decade the field of masculinity has been inundated with attempts to understand the masculine experience. Studies have focused on the consequences of certain masculine identities such as hegemonic masculinity, illness and diseases (cf. Courtney, 2000; Bushell, 2008), violence (cf. Baker, 2009; Boonzaier & de la Rey, 2004), crime (cf. Uchendu, 2007), homophobia (cf. Reid, 2003; Wells & Polder, 2006), sport (cf. Anderson, 2010; Trujillo, 1991), how males negotiate hegemonic and alternative identities (cf. Frosh et al., 2002; Langa, 2008) and how masculinity is constructed in various contexts and locations (cf. Blackbeard, 2005; Chadwick, 2007; Burnard, 2008). These studies provide a common understanding that there is no unitary masculinity that exists in the world (Connell, 1995). Instead there are multiple masculinities which summarise more effectively the identities and positions that males can adopt (Connell, 1995). In a heterogeneous society that is infiltrated and permeable to several contexts and factors, the possibility of having one specific masculine identity is negligible. Very little insight exists about how success and access to commodities impact masculinity. Within the South African context there is visible evidence about how masculinity has transformed from struggle and violence to acquisition, ownership and success.

This study has especially revealed the popularity and importance of a commodity-based masculinity. It has been suggested that in South Africa, a country where a large portion of the population have very limited access to material resources, this notion of masculinity is likely to be inaccessible and burdensome and might further contribute to major national problems such as crime.

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Appendix 1



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6 July 2011

Ms. N Singh (205511364)
School of Psychology

Dear Ms. Singh

PROTOCOL REFERENCE NUMBER: HSS/0472/011M
PROJECT TITLE: "My Life as a young man living in South Africa" Constructions and Representations of Masculinity as illustrated by young adolescent males using photographic methods

EXPEDITED APPROVAL

I wish to inform you that your application has been granted Full Approval through an expedited review process:

Any alteration/s to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/Interview Schedule, Informed Consent Form, Title of the Project, Location of the Study, Research Approach and Methods must be reviewed and approved through the amendment /modification prior to its implementation. In case you have further queries, please quote the above reference number. PLEASE NOTE: Research data should be securely stored in the school/department for a period of 5 years.

I take this opportunity of wishing you everything of the best with your study.

Yours faithfully


.....
Professor Steven Collings (Chair)
HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

cc. Supervisor – Prof. G Lindegger
cc. Mrs. S van der Westhuizen/Mr. P Rajbansl

Appendix 2

Table 4: Frequency of Codes from Content Analysis

Total Sample N= 584	Total (819)	Frequency (%)
1. Clothes	15	1.83
1.1. Pants	2	
1.2. Shirts	5	
1.3. Pants and Shirts	8	
2. Shoes	27	3.29
2.1. Box	1	
2.2. Alone	24	
2.3. Shoes & Box	3	
3. Cars	61	7.44
3.1. Alone	33	
3.2. Boys & Cars	4	
3.3. Expensive	17	
3.4. Traffic	2	
3.5. Car Interior	2	
3.6. Toy cars	1	
3.7. Car park with cars	1	
3.8. Car & Garage	1	
4. Modes of transport	23	2.80
4.1. Bicycle	2	
4.2. Walking	9	
4.3. Taxi	6	

4.4. Train	4	
4.4.1. Train Track	2	
5. Technology	32	3.90
5.1. Telephone	1	
5.2. Computer	5	
5.3. Cell phones	8	
5.4. Television	11	
5.5. DVD	1	
5.6. Hi-Fi & Speakers	5	
5.7. DVD Player	1	
6. Magazines	15	1.83
6.1. Jewelry	1	
6.2. Musicians	1	
6.3. Celebrities	4	
6.4. Cars	1	
6.5. Body builders	3	
6.6. Girls	5	
7. Education	9	1.09
7.1. Teachers	2	
7.2. Academic Books	6	
8. Religion	3	0.36
8.1. Text	2	
8.2. Symbols	1	
9. Family	41	5.00
9.1. Younger children	19	

9.2. Mother	5	
9.3. Father	1	
9.4. siblings	11	
9.5. Grandparents	5	
10. Girls	36	4.39
10.1. Alone	14	
10.2. Studying	3	
10.3. Group	16	
10.4. Domestic Work	3	
11. Boys	99	12.08
11.1. Alone	46	
11.2. Mock fight	1	
11.3. School acquaintance	5	
11.4. Group	43	
12. Buildings	105	12.82
12.1. School	10	
12.2. University	10	
12.3. Garage	5	
12.4. Pool	5	
12.5. House		
12.5.1. Extra-ordinary house	15	
12.5.2. Ordinary House	40	
12.6. Gates	6	
12.7. Flats/Apartment	2	
12.8. Church	5	

12.9. Construction	6	
12.10. Pub	1	
13. Furniture	9	1.09
13.1. Ornaments	2	
13.2. Photographs & Frames	5	
13.3. Cabinets	1	
13.4. Clocks	1	
14. Home activities	12	1.46
14.1. Fixing objects	3	
14.2. Hanging clothes	2	
14.3. Washing clothes	2	
14.4. Washing car	1	
14.5. Washing Dishes	1	
14.6. Cooking	2	
14.7. Carrying objects	1	
15. Sports	41	5.00
15.1. Objects	27	
15.1.1. Magazines	3	
15.1.2. Stadium	6	
15.1.3. Balls	2	
15.1.4. Trophies & Certificates	4	
15.1.5. Fields	7	
15.1.6. Gloves	5	
15.2. Social	14	
15.2.1. Training	6	

15.2.2. Soccer game	1	
15.2.3. Rugby game	4	
15.2.4. Basket ball	3	
16. Entertainment	5	0.61
16.1. Circus	3	
16.2. Cinema	2	
17. Music	15	1.83
17.1. Social	7	
17.1.1. Live Performances	3	
17.1.2. Playing Instruments	2	
17.1.3. Advertisements	2	
17.2. Objects	8	0.97
17.2.1. CDs	4	
17.2.2. Instruments	4	
18. Self-enhancement	7	0.85
18.1. Objects	6	
18.1.1. Toiletries	3	
18.1.2. Dum Bells	3	
18.2. Activities	1	
18.2.1. Shaving	1	
19. Substance Use	2	0.24
19.1. Spirit Bottles	1	
19.2. Beer Bottles	1	
20. Nature	18	2.19
20.1. Trees	7	

20.2. Flower & plants	6	
20.3. Dam	1	
21. Animals	10	1.22
21.1. with people	3	
21.2. Alone	7	
22. Shops	9	1.09
22.1. Internet Café	3	
22.2. Clothes	3	
22.3. Restaurants	3	
23. Rooms	82	10.01
23.1. Bedroom	24	
23.2. Bathroom	9	
23.3. Lounge	15	
23.4. Floor and Carpet	3	
23.5. Kitchen	5	
23.6. Classroom	18	
23.7. School/Clinic Foyer	8	
24. Activities	37	4.51
24.1. Solitary	13	
24.1.1. Selling	2	
24.1.2. Talking on the phone	2	
24.1.3. Reading	1	
24.1.4. Studying	3	
24.1.5. Driving	2	
24.1.6. Eating	1	

24.1.7. Computer	3	
24.2. Social	24	
24.2.1. Playing card games	3	
24.2.2. Smoking	2	
24.2.3. Drinking	5	
24.2.4. Body Builders	2	
24.2.5. Social gathering	8	
24.2.6. Dancing	2	
24.2.7. Video Games	2	
25. Girls & Boys	38	4.63
25.1.1. Studying	15	
25.1.2. Social	23	
26. Art	11	1.34
26.1. Pictures	3	
26.1.1. Inspirational	5	
26.1.2. Drawings	1	
26.1.3. Oil Paintings	2	
27. Nutrition	9	1.09
27.1.1 Food	7	
27.1.2. Fruits	2	
28. Other	40	4.88
28.1. Lying on pavement	1	
28.2. Rubbish/Garbage	1	
28.3. Journal/Diary	2	
28.4. Street	10	

28.5. Water in Bucket	1	
28.6. Entering a place	8	
28.7. Injury	5	
28.8. Healthcare facilities	4	
28.9. Cemetery	1	
28.10. Dirty dishes	5	
28.11. Gardening equipment	2	

Appendix 3

Table 5: Rank order of categories from the content analysis

Categories	Total Number	Rank Order
Buildings	105	1
Foreground	72	
Background	33	
Male Friends	99	2
Rooms	82	3
Cars	61	4
Sport	41	5
Family	41	5
Girls and Boys	38	8
Activities	37	9
Girls	36	10
Technology	32	11
Shoes	27	12
Modes of Transport	23	13
Nature (Outdoor)	18	14
Clothes	15	15
Music	15	15
Magazines	15	15
Home Activities	12	18
Art	11	19
Animals	10	20
Education	9	21
Nutrition	9	21

Education	9	21
Furniture	9	21
Shops	9	21
Entertainment	7	26
Self-enhancement	7	26
Entertainment	5	28
Religion	3	29
Substance use	2	30

