

**GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE AND MASCULINITY:
A STUDY OF RURAL MALE YOUTH**

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DECLARATION

I declare that the content of this thesis is entirely my own work, except where otherwise stated, and has not been submitted for a degree at any other university.


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As the candidate's supervisor, I approve the submission of this thesis.

Professor Claudia Mitchell



Date: 24 July 2006

ABSTRACT

Gender-based violence is a violation of human rights and includes acts that result in physical, sexual or psychological harm to women. Research points to high levels of gender-based violence in many communities in South Africa. While acknowledging male and female roles in the perpetration of violence, this study focuses specifically on violence enacted by males against females.

Most approaches to address this issue have focused on the link between masculinity and violence and have concentrated on empowering women to challenge subordination and oppression by men. However, there is increasing recognition that focusing only on women is counter-productive, since reductions in levels of violence depend fundamentally on male behaviour change. My aim was therefore to investigate the attitudes, beliefs and behaviour of a sample of rural male youth regarding gender-based violence. The research was located in Ugu District, a rural area in southern KwaZulu Natal.

I employed a qualitative research approach embracing the interpretive paradigm and sought to obtain a rich and deep interpretation and description of participant views relating to the topic. A combination of two main data-collection methods was used, namely, focus group interviews and individual in-depth interviews. Ten boys were selected from each of three secondary schools for participation in focus groups, which met weekly for three weeks. To obtain insights into the individual participant's views and experiences, participants from the focus groups were subsequently invited to volunteer for in-depth individual interviews. The twelve youth who volunteered made up the second sample. A single interview was held with each of these participants. Combined methods of analysis were used to analyze the data, namely, content analysis and discourse analysis.

The study concluded that while displays of dominant forms of masculinity were apparent among the majority of the study participants, there were also displays of alternative forms of masculinity. The responses of a minority of participants indicated that they valued equality with females and challenged traditional norms, adding weight to the perception of the fluidity, multiplicity and the contextual nature of masculinity. These alternative discourses are significant in that they emphasized their openness to relating to women in ways that are not oppressive. Based on these findings, I propose that alternative masculinities be encouraged as a strategy to prevent inter-partner violence and to promote gender equality. The thesis concludes with implications for interventions, future research and policy.

*Music, to create harmony, must
investigate discord.*

Plutarch

DEDICATION

*This thesis is dedicated to my parents, Mrs and
the late Mr Sathiparsad*

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GLOSSARY

<i>amadlozi</i>	ancestral spirits
<i>amashwa</i>	misfortune
<i>ilobolo</i>	dowry
<i>induna</i>	a headman in the community
<i>isiGalagala'</i>	a girl who has had excessive sexual intercourse
<i>isishimane</i>	a man who is scared to talk to girls and has no girlfriend; or a man who does approach women but no one wants him
<i>isifebe</i>	a loose woman who sleeps around
<i>isithombe sikababa</i>	masculine image of the father
<i>isithunzi</i>	dignity and personality
<i>isoka</i>	a man who has several girlfriends
<i>iziphonso</i>	love charms
<i>isithangamu</i>	when a girl is clumsy
<i>isifo</i>	illness
<i>outies</i>	guys or boys
<i>ukudoda</i>	man
<i>ukuhlolwa kwezintombi</i>	inspection of girls
<i>ukuhlonipha</i>	customs of avoidance and deference which respect gender and generational divisions
<i>ukutshora</i>	to ejaculate or to have sex
<i>ukuzila</i>	correct behaviour
<i>umenze umuntu</i>	a human being, an adult personality
<i>umnumzane</i>	a real man; household head
<i>umnyama</i>	darkness, ritual pollution
<i>umuntu</i>	a girl accepting a young man as a lover

ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ANC	African National Congress
GETNET	Gender Equity and Training Network
GETT	Gender Equity Task Team
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
HSRC	Human Sciences Research Council
IFP	Inkatha Freedom Party
KZN	KwaZulu-Natal Province
SGB	School Governing Body
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WHO	World Health Organization

CHAPTER ONE

GENERAL OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Gender-based violence is recognized as a health risk for women and a barrier to social and economic development globally and in South Africa. There have been increasing reports of such violence in diverse contexts such as the family, educational settings and a range of public places. Given that gender-based violence violates women's and girls' human rights and damages their physical and psychological health, addressing the problem therefore, lies at the intersection of human rights, public health and education agendas. Gender-based violence must be viewed within a context of gender-inequality and specific cultural beliefs and attitudes about gender roles, especially those concerning sexuality and economic inequality and in some instances political unrest and violent conflict. South Africa is an example of a country where the political and social history has produced an environment in which violence, in its many forms, has flourished. Women have often borne the brunt of different types of violence, linked to the fact that in many societies, women are constructed as inferior and having a lower status than men, a pattern noted globally and locally.

International studies by researchers such as Barker (2005), Oriel (2005), Arriaga and Foshee (2004), Gadd (2003); Chavez (1999), and Farmer (1999), and studies on the African continent by researchers such as Dunne et al (2006), Phaladse and Tlou (2006), Ludsine and Vetten (2005), Jewkes et al (2005), Izugbara (2004), Koenig et al (2004), Dunkle et al (2004), and Selikow et al (2002) bear testimony to widespread abuse of females by males within families and in communities. There have also been increasing reports of gender-based violence in educational settings around the world. In highlighting gender-based violence in schools in South Africa, Human Rights Watch (2001) notes that female learners who experience sexual abuse by male educators and learners exhibit diminished school performance, emotional instability, unwanted pregnancy and sexually-transmitted infections including HIV and AIDS. These findings are corroborated by Harrison (2005) and Leach et al (2003), who confirm that many rural girls suffer physical, emotional and sexual abuse from older

family members, relatives, partners and male students at school. As to the causes of gender-based violence, Dawes et al (2004), Jewkes et al (2002) and Hearn (1998) offer multi-causal explanations, including family socialization into violence, patriarchy, socio-cultural and economic influences, individual characteristics and behavioural scripts, and women tolerating violence for structural and ideological reasons.

This study takes place against the backdrop of a violent South African society. The apartheid regime has left a legacy of social and economic inequality. Women and girls are most vulnerable to the high levels of violence in the country, particularly to various forms of gender-based violence (Human Rights Watch, 2001). Furthermore, South Africa is one of many highly patriarchal societies where masculinity is associated with dominance, assertiveness and aggression. However, the transition to democracy has heralded changes in political, economic and social spheres, accompanied by changes in gender relations. The country's constitution, noted for being one of the most progressive in the world, recognizes men and women as equal before the law and prohibits discrimination on grounds such as race, gender, marital status, ethnic or social origin, belief, culture, language and birth (Reid and Walker, 2005). The new democracy has thus paved the way to challenge patriarchy and traditional gender hierarchies and has exposed previously hidden sexual practices and abuses. Despite these changes, Ramphela (2006) argues that the post-apartheid rights based constitution has not protected women from sexual harassment, sexual abuse, physical and other attacks on women. Indeed, she observes a surge in the level of violence against women in the form of family murders, sexual attacks on children, wanton infection of women with HIV/AIDS and other abuses. The social dynamics leading to the abuse of female learners fundamentally undermines the hard won gains of the South African constitution and the Bill of Rights in promoting and protecting gender, human and health rights.

Morrell (2001) draws attention to the fact that efforts to reduce inequalities between men and women remain fixed on the inferior and subordinate position of women relative to men. In a rapidly changing society like South Africa, where established power relations are being challenged, it is to be expected that constructions of masculinity will change. In fact, Morrell (2005a) informs us that in the last decade, South Africa has been drawn into a global context of gender work with men and

emphasizes the need to explore and analyze the many different ways that South African men are expressing, negotiating and living their sexuality. In sharing this view, Harrison (2005) and Reid and Walker (2005) confirm that men's perspectives of sexual and other forms of violence against women need to be fully explored and documented, particularly in light of the significance of masculinity in HIV/AIDS prevention programmes. The research reported in this thesis contributes to addressing this gap, namely, that limited research exists on the understanding of male attitudes and beliefs relating to gender-based violence, and the meanings underlying such behaviour. Therefore, following the suggestions of researchers such as Barker (2000; 2005), Larkin et al (2006) and Morrell (2005a), this study focuses on gender-based violence in relation to masculinity.

Male and females are both affected as perpetrators or victims of violence, but girls and women experience much higher levels of violence, reflecting broader gender inequalities in society (Dawes et al, 2004; Mirsky, 2003). Kimmel (2004) maintains that women are fully capable of using violence in intimate relationships, but at nowhere near the same rates or levels of severity as violence perpetrated by men. While acknowledging male and female roles in the perpetration of violence, this study focuses specifically on violence enacted by men against women, and thus views violence within a framework of heterosexuality. While there may be differences amongst researchers in the terms used, in this study, the terms "gender-based violence" and "violence against women" are used interchangeably.

1.2 RATIONALE FOR THE STUDY

This study focuses on the perspectives of rural male school-going youth on gender-based violence. The research is not confined to such violence within schools only, but includes relationship violence generally in contexts such as the family and the community. This approach allowed for a deeper exploration and understanding of how the youth viewed violence against women and girls in a broader context.

Why study males?

As noted previously, extensive research has pointed to ongoing and increasing gender-based violence in a range of contexts. South Africa is no exception as researchers such as Bassadien and Hochfeld (2005), Leclerc-Madlala (2003), Jewkes et al (2001), and Morrell (2001; 2003) highlight that gender-based violence affects all communities and takes many different forms. Because inequality was previously understood to be exclusively experienced by females, interventions have largely focused on women-centred approaches that advocate gendered responses sensitive to the needs of women. Most approaches have acknowledged the interconnectedness of masculinity and violence but have focused on empowering women to challenge oppression and subordination by men. However, over the years, gender has come to be understood as relational, that is, gender power is understood in terms of the ways both males and females create gender identities and how social structures mould these identities and gender relations (Morrell, 1998). This approach does not treat females purely as victims and males as perpetrators; rather, it examines gender regimes holistically, whilst acknowledging that in contexts such as the school, females remain disadvantaged and subject to discrimination.

The rationale for including men in interventions to address gender-based violence has been welcomed and further motivated by many researchers working in this field. Chant and Guttman (2000) note that women are often routinely constructed as being universally oppressed by men. In voicing their disagreement with this position, they state:

This not only denies women agency, but casts men as the villain and the problem. Aside from the fact that excluding men gives them little chance to challenge the constructions imposed upon them, dealing with the issue through women negates the self-reflection on the part of men that might be crucial to change gender relations. It also burdens women with a task that arguably needs to be shared rather than shouldered single-handedly. Excluding men in addressing gender inequality deprives them from engaging in the processes that construct gender identities and neglects aspects of gender, including

war, violence and AIDS, which though relating primarily to masculinity, adversely affects everyone. Excluding men also places a responsibility on women that they are unable to fulfill (2000:26).

Researchers such as Barker (2003), Girard (2003) and Bujra and Baylies (2000) argue that focusing only on women is counter-productive since reductions in levels of gender violence depend critically on male behaviour change. In arguing for the inclusion of men in addressing gender inequalities, Cleaver (2002) suggests that because gender is relational and concerns the relationships between men and women, to address patriarchy and the oppression of women, requires a focus on the lives and experiences of both men and women, and to include men as allies and partners. This entails analyzing the social context within which gendered roles and relations are formed.

In supporting Cleaver (2002), Girard (2003) adds that issues of concern to females such as sexual health and rights, fundamental human rights, exploitation and oppression, violence and indignity should also be of concern to males. Exploring the perceptions of male youth on the subject of gender violence provides insights into the attitudes, behaviour, contributory factors and contexts within which such behaviour occurs. The present research fits with Morrell's (2005a) contention that any analysis must identify forces that produce anti-social, irresponsible and violent masculinities as well as those forces that produce citizens who are able to contribute to their own development and the development of others. Supporting Morrell's position, Walsh and Mitchell (2006) emphasize the need to step beyond only seeing boys as perpetrators of sexual and other forms of violence. These authors suggest listening to the stories of males and experiences as a way to unpack their own constructed masculine identities and values relating to violence, dominance, sexual persuasion and ownership of girls. Exploring the scripts by which men operate in the world is necessary if, in the long term, we are to seek ways of changing constructs to more positive ones. Information on how males and females perceive violence against women could, for example, be fed into sensitivity and awareness programmes promoting gender equity.

Christian (1994) makes a clear case for exploring male attitudes, behaviour and experiences arguing that while women have been too much in the background, men have been too much in the foreground. On the other hand, while men's public selves have been visible, their private selves have been almost invisible. However, he cautions that Men's Studies must take care not to ignore or obscure the questions of power raised by feminism. Picking up on this point, Cleaver (2002) draws attention to considerable anxiety among gender analysts that a focus on men and masculinities will distract attention from women's inequalities, and that by focusing on men, their dominance will increase and patterns of gender inequality will be maintained. However this fear is balanced against a perceived need to involve men to prevent gender inequalities from being viewed only as a women's issue. In fact, Epstein and Johnson (1998) propose drawing on feminist and pro-feminist insights to understand gender relations between boys and girls and amongst boys. We are reminded that in the long term, it is counter-productive to empower one group at the expense of the other. To address this power imbalance, Ramphela (2006) argues that securing safety for women may, ironically, come from empowering men so as to enable them to appreciate the benefits of empowering women and to renegotiate power relations.

Given the concentration of most previous research on women's perceptions, experiences and responses to gender-based violence and empowerment programmes for women, my emphasis in this research was to explore with participants the meanings behind male perpetrated gender violence. I have followed Willig's (1999) suggestion that in order to understand people's actions, we need to know what they mean to them. Investigating meanings underlying behaviour is, I argue, necessary to arrive at an understanding of the high levels of violence among youth. Being aware of the complexity of masculinities, I have sought to develop a better understanding of the attitudes and behaviour of young men in heterosexual relationships and the various influences on their lives which affect their attitudes and behaviour. In doing so, I sought to identify and understand the versions of masculinity practiced by the sample of youth in this study.

This study is part of a larger ongoing research project in the same area.¹ Although the larger study includes the perspectives and experiences of rural female youth on male perpetrated violence, this aspect was beyond the scope of this study. I considered including females in the study, but decided that this could detract from the main purpose of this study, that is, to focus comprehensively on male perspectives of gender-based violence. However, I have drawn extensively on existing research on female responses regarding violence in their lives to enhance my understanding of the topic and this has helped me to focus my research. This study, then, provides insights from a male perspective into the attitudes, behaviour, contributory factors, and contexts within which gender-based violence occurs.

The focus on males in this study coheres with Ratele's (2001) emphasis that in South Africa, priority must be given to examining and reworking masculinities and analyzing how violence is associated with being a "real" man. Despite the dismantling of the structures of apartheid, many black men are still caught up in and support oppressive discourses. Ratele cautions that the newly-found democracy in South Africa may focus our attentions on racial oppression while glossing over sex hierarchies. He further urges that Black males as subjects of both gender and race should be sites for interrogating contradictions of power and connections among gender, age, sexuality, race and class.

The HIV/AIDS epidemic makes this study particularly relevant to South Africa given that gender-based violence frequently involves sexual intercourse. Between five and six million South Africans are reported to be HIV positive (UNAIDS, 2006). The Reproductive Health Research Unit (RHRU, 2004) conducted a national survey of 11,904 youth aged 15-24 which revealed that 75% of HIV positive individuals were aged 20-24 years. At the provincial level, KwaZulu-Natal had the highest prevalence of HIV infection at 14.1%, and the lowest awareness of and exposure to HIV prevention campaigns. The report calls for preventive interventions to urgently address the information needs of the youth in these areas and concluded that gender inequalities are a major driving force behind the spread of HIV. This and related studies are discussed in more detail in Chapter Two.

¹ The project is entitled "Can a school-based intervention help to reduce gender-based violence against female learners in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa?"

Targetting adolescents

Youth or adolescence,² the transition between childhood and adulthood, is a phase of discovery and experiment. During this period of development many of the risk factors relating to interpersonal violence, stemming both from childhood and from contemporary sources, become more pronounced. In fact, Abdool Karim (2005) asserts that the overall power imbalances between men and women, at both societal and individual relationship levels, have their roots in adolescence. Yet this stage of development has been virtually ignored in terms of its dynamic importance in establishing a pattern of healthy, non-violent relationships with intimate partners and family members. In South Africa, 61% of the overall population is reported to be under the age of 30. Of this, 29% are between 15 and 29 years old (Statistics South Africa, 2001). These figures provide a challenge in terms of addressing the range of social issues facing youth development.

I have followed the suggestions of Barker (2003) and Maart (2000) who state that in defining adolescence, we need to focus on some of the common characteristics applicable to all adolescents. Physical maturing, accompanied by the development of new feelings, leads to the exploration of new behaviours and relationships. In Western societies, these may include, for example, discovering drugs, buying into the consumerist mindset, and entering into power relationships based on money and sex (Maart, 2000). In addition, youth in South Africa are significantly affected by crime, poverty and lack of formal education. Many struggle to succeed in school, find employment, and provide financially for themselves and their families. During this phase, young boys learn what it means to become a man, to absorb and internalize the roles and the style of interaction in intimate relationships that they are likely to carry into adulthood. For this reason, Barker (2003) asserts that adolescence is an important opportunity to inform youth about healthy non-violent relationships as they begin to form their own intimate relationships. During adolescence, boys receive conflicting messages about men and masculinity from society, their peers and even their parents. Boys may also be faced with what is described as the “double standard of masculinity”; on one hand boys are expected to be cool, confident and strong, and not express emotion, while on the other they are told that they should be

² The terms youth and adolescence are used interchangeably.

egalitarian (with regard to girls), sensitive and open with their feelings (Pollack, 1998: 146). Being manly and empathic poses a complex challenge. Boys may also have ambivalent feelings about the expectations of male adulthood such as dating, marriage, employment and family. To address these issues, Barker (2003) and Girard (2003) propose targeting male youth for preventive programmes aimed at behaviour change. This is potentially effective because, at puberty, youth experience a growth spurt and physiological maturation which enhances potential for critical thinking and abstract thought, including analyzing and reflecting on issues such as behaviour and human rights.

Adolescents are particularly vulnerable to traditional gender role patterns and struggle to understand the meaning of their sexual feelings for others and their sexual orientation (Papalia et al, 2001). Particularly in economically deprived areas like that where the present study was conducted, adolescents often lack basic reproductive health information, skills in negotiating sexual relationships and access to confidential reproductive health services. Ramphela (2002) notes that since 1994, the position of South African youth, and especially poor black youth, has not improved substantially. For the young people in this study, entrenched structural inequalities in the health, education and social development sectors frame the experience of what it means to succeed as a youth in South Africa today. The challenges facing the youth are reflected by the National Youth Commission (2000: 5) and include “poor housing conditions, limited and racially biased access to education and training, limited opportunities, high levels of crime and violence and a general disintegration of social networks and communities.”

Addressing gender-based violence in the education sector lies at the intersection of human rights, public health and education agendas (Epstein, 1998). We need to know what youth understand about their behaviour and the behaviour of others. Focusing on school-going youth ties in with the suggestions of Bhana (2005), Skelton (2001a), Epstein and Johnson (1998) and Morrell (1998) that what needs to be explored is the kinds of masculinities that are being produced in schools and how these impact on the education of boys. Boys’ educational experiences must be explored in relation to the wider gender relations within the institutions and beyond. These authors state that one way to make sense of masculinities in schools is

through multi-dimensional explanations which take into account overlapping social, cultural and gender differences. It is worth noting Morrell's (1998) comment that while schools may be responsible for producing and perpetuating inequality, they also have some capacity to be forces of emancipation.

A rural area was selected for this study, largely for pragmatic reasons and also because earlier research conducted in the area by Sathiparsad (2002) and Taylor et al (2002) revealed that traditional practices and socio-economic factors have resulted in a legacy of discrimination towards young women. Instances of sexual coercion, teenage pregnancies, rape and the practice of having multiple sexual partners were evident among the youth (Taylor et al, 2002). Observations indicated that although young people became sexually active at a very early age, little was known about how they viewed sex, sexuality and relationships with the opposite sex. These findings aroused my interest to explore this topic further by engaging the male youth on issues relating to their attitudes towards relationships, specifically with regard to love, sexual activity, power and control, and violence. The present research reflects on the various influences related to the context of the participants. I acknowledge that young men in urban contexts may be exposed to conditions and experiences which differ vastly from those of rural youth, thus impacting differently on their development and outlook. This may be attributed to the apartheid government's policy of separate development which ensured that urban areas were favoured in terms of resources such as those relating to housing, health, welfare and education. Therefore, while this study engages specifically with young men in a rural area, it is equally important to engage with urban youth as well on issues explored in this thesis to gain a better understanding of contextual influences on attitudes and behaviour. However, this was not feasible within the current research design and points to the need for further research. The rural characteristics of the Ugu District are detailed later on in Sections 1.6 (Geographical context of the study) and 4.3.1 (Selection of the study area, schools and sampling).

The South African government has acknowledged its role in promoting gender equality and has taken several steps in this regard. It is important to view this study in relation to such government efforts to improve the position of women in South Africa. Therefore, a few selected initiatives are briefly mentioned in the next section.

South Africa adopted the Domestic Violence Act 116 (Government of South Africa, 1998) as a comprehensive legal remedy to domestic violence. One of the most important innovations of the Act is its broad definition of domestic violence (See Section 1.8). The Act protects persons in any domestic relationship, whether married, in a same-sex or heterosexual relationship, cohabiting (regardless of the relationship) or parent-child relationship. While the purpose of the Act is to protect persons from abuse, Ludsin and Vetten (2005) draw attention to the range of problems in the applications process, for example, untrained police and court personnel, difficulty in accessing protection orders, the cost of the process, and delays in the court procedures. The realities thus show that the South African legal system and law enforcement do little to help women stop abuse against them (Ludsin and Vetten, 2005).

In the educational sector, the Ministry of Education has appointed a Gender Equity Task Team (GETT) led by a full-time Gender Equity Commissioner who liaises with the National Commission on Gender Equality. One of the functions of the team is to propose a complete strategy, including legislation, to counter and eliminate sexism, sexual harassment and violence throughout the education system. These efforts are in keeping with the goals of the White Paper on Education and Training (Department of Education, 1995a) which draws attention to the urgent need to address sexual harassment of female students and educators and acts of violence against women in the education system (White Paper on Education and Training, Department of Education, 1995). Attempts are also being made to correct gender imbalances in enrolment, dropout, subject choice, career paths and performance and to address sexism in teaching material. Research by the GETT has highlighted the urgency to address violence, rape and sexual abuse by both students and teachers, and the link between gender, sexuality and HIV/AIDS (Wolpe, 2005).

The HIV, AIDS and STD Strategic Plan for South Africa (2000-2005) (Government of South Africa, 2000) highlights sexual behaviour among youth as a priority for research and service delivery. The Ministry of Education launched 'The Tirisano programme', which spans the education and health needs of pupils to include programmes on sexuality, gender, substance misuse and HIV and AIDS. These

policies create the milieu needed to promote health and development interventions for young people.

The three government departments responsible for the development of 'health-promoting schools' are the Departments of Education, Health and Welfare. The World Health Organisation (1997: 3) defines a health-promoting school as one which "strives to provide a healthy environment, school health education and school health services along with school/ community projects and outreach, health promotion programmes for staff, nutrition and food safety programmes, opportunities for physical education and recreation and programmes for counseling, social support and mental health promotion." The World Health Organisation (1998) recognizes violence prevention as an important element of a health promoting schools. Although the guidelines for the development of health promoting schools (Department of Health, 2000) briefly mention the need to address violence, sexual harassment and HIV/AIDS within broader based life-skills programmes, there is no clear indication that addressing gender-based violence is high on the agenda and no mention of strategies to focus on male students. The concern is that this issue could well continue to be neglected or blurred within broader intervention frameworks.

While the contributions by the various sectors within government are commendable, it is apparent that a network of trained service providers is essential if policies and legislation are to be effectively implemented.

1.4 AIMS OF THE STUDY

The overall aim of the study was to investigate the attitudes, beliefs and behaviour of a sample of rural male youth regarding gender-based violence. In so doing, the study seeks to determine what rural male youth believe constitutes gender-based violence, how they view gender-based violence and how they perceive their community views gender-based violence. In-depth exploration of individual attitudes, beliefs and behaviour of the sample of rural male youth aimed to ascertain the extent to which individual perceptions and behaviour are consistent with community perceptions and behaviour. The study further aimed to identify sources of the attitudes and beliefs

articulated by the youth. Finally, feasible interventions to address gender based violence consistent with the findings of the study are suggested.

1.5 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Based on the aims of the study, the following research questions were formulated:

How do the youth describe the general position of women in their community?

What do rural male youth believe constitutes violence against women?

How do the youth articulate the attitudes of their community regarding violence against women?

What do the youth say about the way they personally behave towards women?

How do the youth relate to women with whom they have relationships? How do they explain their behaviour?

What, according to the youth, are the major influences on their attitudes and behaviour towards women?

1.6 GEOGRAPHICAL CONTEXT OF THE STUDY

The study was conducted in Ugu District, a rural district in KwaZulu-Natal, some 100 kilometres south of Durban. Ugu, with an estimated population of 750 609 (Chetty, 2006), is one of ten districts in the province of KwaZulu-Natal, and was selected as similar to other predominantly rural areas in the province. The area is amongst the more densely populated in the province and about 14% of the land is allocated to agriculture. Ugu District covers 5046 square kilometres with a population density of 138 per square kilometer, comprising an estimated 132 268 households, with an average size of five persons (KwaZulu-Natal Department of Health, 2001).

Research on Zulus and Zulu culture is relevant in view of the fact that 80.9% of the population in KwaZulu-Natal are Zulu-speaking (Statistics South Africa, 2003).

Furthermore, concentrating on rural youth is appropriate considering that 60% of KZN's population live in rural areas (Statistics South Africa, 2001). Rural people in KZN are disadvantaged in that they lack basic services such as electricity, water and have limited access to clinics. Although reticulated clean water is available in the towns, most of Ugu's population do not have access. Boreholes have been established in some areas and rainwater tanks are used at some schools and households. However, collection of water from local rivers is part of the routine of many rural households. There are no flush toilets and pit latrines³ are used. Most homes are made of mud, wood and stones, and have thatched roofs, while some are made with building blocks. Many homes do not have electricity and cooking is done using a primus or over an open wood fire. Some homes have televisions which are charged using car batteries. Churches and small shops selling food dot the landscape, but Ugu offers few public services other than schools and a limited number of clinics. Schools are under-resourced and poorly equipped. In such communities, many adults are illiterate, unemployment rates are high, and there are few opportunities for school leavers even after 12 years of schooling (Taylor et al, 2002).

Ugu District provides a fairly typical example of an area experiencing the impact of apartheid. The coastal belt has good infrastructure, services and reasonable facilities, but the rural hinterland, which was part of the former KwaZulu Homeland,⁴ lacks infrastructure and is poorly developed, despite containing the majority of the population.

The poor living conditions in Ugu District led The Department of Health to identify this area as one of the priorities in terms of health interventions. To address poverty, the Department of Health, in collaboration with the Department of Agriculture and the Department of Social Welfare and Population Development, embarked on

³ Pit latrines are constructed by digging a hole in the ground which is then covered with a cement slab. The latrine is often enclosed by a wooden frame.

⁴ Homelands were initially rural annexes providing 'White' South Africa with labour. The Africans were viewed as traditional tribesmen and tribeswomen. Under apartheid, after 1948, the reserve system was formalized into political entities known as homelands, in which Africans were meant to exercise self-government. The apartheid government co-opted traditional leaders into subordinate roles and they were practically voiceless. With the installation of the democratic government in 1994, although the homelands disappeared as political entities, they are still evident in South Africa's geographical and social landscape (Nelson Mandela Foundation, 2005).

community-based poverty alleviation projects including a food emergency programme. Health care facilities include 3 district hospitals, one regional hospital and a limited number of clinics. However, 16 new clinics have been built after 1994 (Chetty, 2006).

The Department of Health has also put in place an integrated response to the increasing rates of HIV/AIDS, but statistics were not available at the time of writing. However, by March 2006, hospitals were offering anti-retroviral treatment (1675 HIV positive patients were reported to be on treatment), and hospitals and clinics were offering management of sexually transmitted infections (Chetty, 2006). Despite these advances, the health service infrastructure remains limited in dealing with the huge backlogs in health care. A noteworthy initiative is the integrated development plan for the area which emphasizes multi-disciplinary planning and implementation teams, inter-sectoral collaboration, and community involvement. The main focus includes improved water and sanitation, and improved infrastructure in relation to roads, telephones, electricity, cemeteries and refuse disposal (Ugu District Municipality, 2001).

From their study into rural communities in South Africa, the Nelson Mandela Foundation (2005) found that people in these areas often had a feeling of isolation, vulnerability, lack of opportunity, a sense of community and a commitment to traditional values. They described their area as being far away from town, without tarred roads, and with limited transport access to town. This isolation means vulnerability to diseases as there are a limited number of health and medical facilities, and these are often not easily accessible in terms of transport. Rural communities in South Africa have fewer years of schooling, with a mean 4.6 years as compared to 8.5 years in urban areas (Statistics SA, 2001). A rural education survey in the KwaZulu-Natal, Eastern Cape and Limpopo Provinces (Nelson Mandela Foundation, 2005) revealed that in the 195 households surveyed, 65% of the children interviewed reported that no one in the house was sufficiently educated to assist them with homework.

Ugu North is served by two education circuits, with most schools falling within the KwaZulu-Natal Department of Education and Culture Circuit of Scottburgh, but some

of the inland schools in the district fall within the Ixopo Circuit. The Scottburgh Circuit has 167 schools (primary and secondary/high), attended by 77 350 learners. There are no tertiary educational training institutions in Ugu offering opportunities for further training for school leavers. There are also few pre-primary facilities and crèches.

In terms of employment, sugar, timber and tourism comprise the main industries in the district. Many people seek work outside the district, particularly in the eThekweni Metropolitan (Durban) region. In a survey of high school learners attending 10 schools in Ugu North, 31.5% of learners indicated that their fathers were employed, and 23.6% reported their mother's employment (Taylor et al, 2002).

In addition to socio-economic deprivation, Ugu North has not escaped the political violence in South Africa of the apartheid era. Its population largely comprises the Zulu ethnic group, and has been racked by ongoing conflict between two opposing political parties, the Inkatha Freedom Party and the African National Congress. This culture of violence has permeated all areas of South African society and underpins a tendency to deal with conflicts violently rather than through negotiation and discussion. The effects that the political violence had on children and youth in disadvantaged African communities include: a rise in juvenile crime, inadequate care during periods of violence, school disruptions and school drop-outs, and children living in constant fear of their lives. Violence has prevented families from fulfilling the basic functions of nurturing and socializing children in a healthy manner. One of the effects of continued violence was that people have become desensitized to it and accept it as legitimate and, at times, see it as the only solution to conflict.

1.7 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

There are two main areas that frame this study. First, it is guided by the perspective that gender is socially constructed, based on a growing body of evidence suggesting that masculinity and femininity are constructed differently according to the social conditions in which people are situated. Second, it is guided by what might be described as 'the discourses of gender', drawing particularly on the work of Foucault and others.

1.7.1 Masculinity and femininity as social constructions

The significance of gender as a social construction, particularly in the context of masculinities, is well established in the work of Kimmel, (2004), Mac an Ghaill, (1994), Connell (2002) and Vance (1995). Social construction is the development of social categories such as masculinity, femininity, heterosexuality and homosexuality by society as opposed to being biologically determined (Strong et al, 1999). Historically, social construction theory drew on developments in disciplines such as social interactionism, deviance in sociology, labour studies, women's history, anthropology, cross cultural work on sexuality and gender studies. During the 1970s, feminist scholarship focused on critically reviewing essentialist theories which used reproduction to link gender with sexuality, thereby explaining the inevitability and naturalness of women's subordination (Vance, 1995). Essentialism is commonly understood to rest upon biological arguments which propose that gender difference is genetically determined and that each gender has a set of physical, emotional and psychological characteristics. However, cross cultural evidence, in highlighting the diversity of gender roles, made it seem unlikely that that these roles were caused by uniform human reproduction and sexuality (Vance, 1995). This realization made way for the development of social constructionist perspectives which suggest that gender is shaped by and through the society in which we live. In other words, becoming a male or female is a social process that is learned through culture: in the family, in school and in social interactions more generally (Kehily, 2001).

One way to address gender inequalities, according to Thomson (2002), is to explore gender relations and the cultural construction of masculinities. Phrases such as "the pressure of masculinity" and the "fragility of masculine identity " are often proposed to explain violence and sexual risk-taking behaviour by males (2002: 166). Developing country researchers are therefore drawing attention to the need to examine cultural constructions of masculinity and how these lead to violence against women. Authors such as Connell (2002), Morrell (2006), Harris (1995) and Mbilinyi (1992), agree that masculinity is not inherited but constructed in the context of class, race and other factors. These writers assert that biological determinism – attributing roles and tasks to men and women on the basis of some notion of natural suitability – is an attempt to eternalize gender inequality and must be challenged.

To further differentiate between biological and social determinants of behaviour, several authors make a clear distinction between the terms 'sex' and 'gender.' For Bryson (1999: 46), sex is "equated with the biological characteristics of males and females and contrasted with gender which refers to the socially produced attributes of masculinity and femininity and the social arrangements based upon them." West and Zimmerman (1991: 14-15) add that gender "is the activity of managing situated conduct in light of normative conceptions of attitudes and activities appropriate for one's sex category." Kimmel (2004) views gender as a relationship, not a thing, and, as in all relationships, we are active in its construction. We do not simply inherit a male or female sex role. Instead we actively and continuously define and redefine what it means to be men and women in our daily interactions with one another. "To say that gender is socially constructed requires that we locate individual identity within a historically, socially specific and equally gendered place and time, and that we situate the individual within the complex matrix of our lives, our bodies and our social and cultural environments" (2004: 102). Gender revolves around the themes, identity, interaction and institution in the production of gender difference and the reproduction of gender inequality. As experiences are shaped by our societies, we also help to reshape our societies. In this sense, we are gendered people living in gendered societies. The social constructionist perspective posits that "not only do gendered individuals negotiate their identities within gendered institutions, but also those produce the very differences we assume are the properties of individuals." (Kimmel, 2004: 102)

Christian (1994) argues that, based on the assumption that there is no fixed biological base for the social process of gender, it is perfectly feasible for gender to change while biological sex remains the same. Feminine and masculine roles and identities can be redefined and lived differently without the constraints of gender distinctions. Harris (1995) notes a clear distinction between a man's gender identity (how he understands, relates to and internalizes masculine behaviour) and his sexual identity (how he sees himself and acts as a sexual being). Men have sexual aspects to their personalities, and their sexual behaviours can vary enormously, as can their complex gender identities. Social construction approaches adopt the view that physically identical sexual acts may have varying social significance and subjective

meanings, depending on how they are defined and understood in different cultures and historical periods. Because a sexual act does not carry with it a universal social meaning, it follows that the relation between sexual acts and sexual meanings is not fixed, and it is projected from the observer's time and place (Vance, 1995).

Of relevance to this study is Bryson's (1999) observation that human society is not inevitably patriarchal. Nor is the case, as pointed out by Connell (2002), that children are passively socialized into a sex role. They are learning things such as identities, attitudes and behaviour from the adult world around them. Connell (1995) argues that the defenders of patriarchy and injustice in gender relations constantly appeal to difference, to a masculine/feminine opposition, defining one place for female bodies and another for males. However, for Connell, this difference is not logical. The social organization of practices such as these in a patriarchal gender order constitutes difference as dominance, as unavoidably hierarchical, and this pattern can be traced through social settings where men and women interact. Such difference/dominance may be realized in violent body practices ranging from feeling threatened or fearful, to rape and acts of violence against women. These acts of hegemonic masculinity are characteristic of a patriarchal culture. Connell therefore suggests a de-gendering strategy to dismantle hegemonic masculinity and pursue social justice. He points out that psychoanalytic and social construction principles emphasize that women as well as men, are bearers of masculinity. Frequently, silence surrounds the issue of masculinity in women's personalities, though often recognizing the femininity in men's. Like Connell, Bryson (1999) highlights that gender is not simply about social attributes; it is also a basic principle of social organization. This means that it is about power: to learn about masculinity or femininity is therefore to learn about domination and subordination. Thomson (2002) and Christian (1994) suggest the exploration of theories and perspectives relating to gender when studying the interacting and reinforcing influences on the lives of young people. This approach is valuable in understanding the power relations and the development of attitudes and behaviours of young men and women towards each other.

It is important to note the argument of Siebers (2004) concerning personality development and resultant behaviour. On the one hand, genetic or biological forces shape development through a pre-established sequence of phases. From this

position, the bedrock of sexuality is assumed to be universal and biologically determined, and appears as sex drive or impulse. Although capable of being shaped, the drive is conceived of as being powerful, moving toward expression after its awakening in puberty, sometimes exceeding social regulation, and taking a distinctly different form in men and women. Another school of thought views personality as indexical, that is, it is identified by a person's relations with other relevant persons and processes. It is therefore contingent and can change over time without any predetermined direction. This pattern, referred to by Vance (1995) as the cultural influence model, emphasizes the role of culture and learning in shaping sexual behaviour and attitudes. Siebers (2004) is of the view that neither position can ignore the other. He maintains that while the genetic, as an internal force, is undeniably real and pre-existing, we must acknowledge that social and cultural conditions certainly play a role in facilitating the operationalisation of these internal forces. Pinker (2002: 6) quotes the philosopher John Locke's notion of a blank slate in support of Siebers. According to this doctrine, "any differences we see among races, ethnic groups, sexes, and individuals come, not from differences in their innate constitution, but from differences in their experiences. Change their experiences - by reforming parenting, education, the media and social rewards - and you can change the person." To Siebers, what merits attention is not the final product of identity formation but the ways in which they come about and transform over time, and the processes by which such transformation occurs.

Gender is not experienced and constructed in a vacuum, but rather in a gendered world, in gendered institutions. In addition to families and workplaces, the school is one institution that creates gender difference and reproduces gender inequality. As this study took place within the school context, some comment on gender construction and the roles that schools play in influencing how masculinity develops, is appropriate. Schools, like any institution, are thoroughly gendered in their own organization and practice (Gilbert and Gilbert, 1998, Kimmel, 2004; Mills, 2001; Morrell, 1998). The school as an institution maintains historically reproduced rules, routines, expectations, relationships and rewards and deploys resources and space and actively shapes what happens within it. Gender is pervasively and powerfully implicated in this shaping. Students witness and experience patterns of authority and power among the teaching staff and are sensitive to unfair treatment. On the other

hand, much of their school experience may be taken for granted as a natural way of doing things. Gilbert and Gilbert (1998) argue that there is no aspect of schooling that is not articulated to some extent by the gendered relations within the school. This is crucial to understanding schools as sites for the construction of masculinities. Social construction theory does not simply argue for cultural causation. It encourages us to “deconstruct and examine the behaviour or processes which both nature and nurture camps have reified, and which they want to ‘explain’” (Vance, 1995: 47). This process is congruent with the interpretive perspective used in this study which seeks to understand how the social world of a person is interpreted, understood and experienced. Therefore, to enhance understanding of the data, I attempted to examine the discourses of gender and masculinity.

1.7.2 Discourse and discourse analysis

There is a growing consensus amongst researchers such as Edley (2001), Potter and Wetherell (2001) and Whitehead and Barrett (2001) that language lies at the heart of understanding men and masculinity, with many writers now insisting that masculinity, and gender more generally, is something constructed in and through discourse. These authors maintain that masculinity may well exist as a set of discursive practices which inform the way men speak, feel and think. Exploring the discourses of the sample in this study enhanced my understanding of how they positioned themselves as males in relation to females.

A basic linguistic understanding of discourse is that it is a language beyond the sentence (Sunderland and Litosseliti, 2002) meaning that it involves looking for language patterns or a family of terms which are related to a particular topic or activity (Taylor, 2001a). One of the important functions of discourse is that it structures the ways in which we can think about things. Discourse analysis, then, involves “... showing how certain discourses are deployed to achieve particular effects in specific contexts” (Terreblanche and Durrheim, 1999:154). While discourse refers to ‘language in action’, it is more than merely linguistic in that it refers to frameworks of meaning that are realized in language, but are produced by institutional and ideological structures and relations. In keeping with the aims of this study, the purpose of discourse work was to address how these institutional power

relations were both reproduced and contested within everyday contexts of talk and action amongst the sample of rural male youth (Burman et al 1997),

Approaches to discourse analysis draw on the work of the French philosopher Michel Foucault who developed poststructuralist ideas focusing on discourse and power relations. Poststructuralists view meaning as being culturally constructed but fixed in language through a system of signs specific to that language (MacNaughton, 2005). This approach reflects how individual behaviour involves an enactment of gender roles as interpreted by individuals in their social context and how these are constrained by their experiences of their bodies (Paechter, 2001). Adopting a poststructuralist view of gender enabled me to see masculinity and femininity as discourses which are imbued with power/knowledge relations that act upon individuals in particular societies. Also of relevance to this study is the work of French poststructuralist language theorist, Jacques Derrida, who focused on deconstruction, namely, taking apart concepts and meanings in texts to show the politics of meaning within them. Deconstruction is based on poststructuralist assumptions about language and meaning that assume that meaning is arbitrary, shifting and contradictory rather than fixed (MacNaughton, 2005). For Derrida (in Caputo, 1997), the very mission of deconstruction is to show that things such as traditions, societies, beliefs, and practices do not have definable meanings and determinable missions; they are open-ended and cannot be contained within boundaries. In this sense, Derrida is deeply resistant to essentialism, the notion that there are ideal meanings and that traditions are fixed and unchanging. He maintains that we should always be on the lookout for something foreseeable and new (Caputo, 1997). Derrida critiqued the "hierarchization of meanings that produce the possibility of otherness" (Macnaughton, 2005: 86). He argued that the 'other' is not only socially constructed, but it is often repressed or silenced. Deconstructing binary oppositions shows how pairs gain their meanings from each other and how the privileged term derives its position from the suppression of its opposite or other. Significantly, it forefronts this advantaging as socially decided rather than inevitable. Within the interpretive paradigm, this framework helped me to understand how discourses of masculinity were constructed and maintained by the youth, and ways in which these discourses were supported by power/knowledge relations.

Throughout the fieldwork, I was aware of Taylor's (2001a) reminder that language is not merely a neutral information-carrying vehicle; rather, language is constitutive, meaning that it is a site where meanings are created and changed. For Foucault, this involves constructing, defining and producing knowledge in an intelligible way while at the same time excluding other ways of reasoning as unintelligible. A close scrutiny of the participant interactions from the transcripts enabled me to identify the patterns of support for and exclusion of participant voices that were evident, particularly during the focus group interactions. In this way, I was alerted to "the action of discourse to constrain" (Paechter, 2001:43), and to observe how different forms of discourse resulted in the prioritizing of different forms of knowledge (Foucault, 1984).

The essence of analyzing discourse lies in making explicit the unspoken, lived notions surrounding power (Foucault, 1994). Foucauldian poststructuralism conceives power as something which comes from below, from the local interactions between individuals and groups, within, and in opposition to, dominant discourses (Paechter, 2001). Foucault maintains that power does not always radiate in a single top-down direction; rather, it circulates, suggesting that everyone, the oppressors and the oppressed, are to some degree caught up in its circulation (Cameron, 2001). Establishing and maintaining power relations may be contingent upon the use of violence and/or consent (Foucault, 1984). Power and power abuse may be "jointly produced" in the sense that dominated groups may be convinced that dominance is 'natural' or legitimate (Van Dijk 2001a: 300). However, this is not a manifestation of consensus for the use or abuse of power. While acknowledging that such an analysis may be included in a broader theory of power, in this study, I focused largely on the participants' discursive strategies for the maintenance of inequality. The emphasis was on the way in which gender inequalities were constructed, made factual and justified in talk considering the resources such as of interpretive repertoires, identities, and category systems used to justify and sustain those inequalities (Silverman, 2001).

Foucault (cited by Hall, 2001) argues that discourse governs the way in which a topic can be meaningfully talked about and in this way is used to regulate the conduct of others. Therefore in analyzing the data, I was mindful of the practice of discourse 'ruling in' acceptable ways of talking, writing or conducting oneself, and 'ruling out'

and restricting other ways of talking or conducting oneself in relation to the topic (Hall, 2001). Analyses of the discourses involved my noting the individual and joint constructions of accounts or stories by the research participants. The term 'construction' according to Derrida (cited by MacNaughton, 2005), is pertinent for three reasons: First, it reminds us that accounts of events are built out of a variety of pre-existing linguistic resources. Second, congruent with Foucault's view, construction implies active selection and omission of resources. Thirdly, the notion of construction emphasizes the potent, consequential nature of accounts. Much social interaction occurs only in terms of linguistic versions. As mentioned above, in a profound sense, these accounts 'construct' reality.

On applicability of discourse analysis in South Africa, Burman et al (1997) highlight that challenges in South Africa relating to conflict, contradiction, violence and discrimination, and the HIV/AIDS epidemic make this a particularly relevant method for research analysis. While positivist empirical studies tend to dominate the social sciences in South Africa, there is a need for more complex, self reflexive approaches which document personal experience of the daily contradictions of South African life, political violence and issues such as race, class and gender (Burman et al, 1997).

1.8 RATIONALE FOR THE RESEARCH METHODS USED

The value of a study is strongly influenced by the extent to which there is compatibility between the research approach and the guiding theoretical framework (Henning et al, 2004; Patton, 2002; Terreblanche and Kelly, 1999). This section provides a rationale for the qualitative methods used and outlines the analytical framework within which the data were examined.

A qualitative approach

This study employed a descriptive research design using qualitative methodology. Descriptive studies aim at describing a problem, although such studies move beyond description to examine why the observed patterns exist and their implications (Babbie and Mouton, 2001). This is certainly the case in my study. Within this design, I employed qualitative methods of inquiry. In keeping with my research questions, this

approach enabled me to explore the meanings, variations in the data and the perceptual experiences of the participants and in this way I sought to capture their holistic or interconnected nature. The availability of rigorous methods of qualitative inquiry opened up many ways to understanding different aspects of the research topic and to gain insights into the perspectives and experiences of the sample of rural male youth who participated in this study.

Within the qualitative framework, this study utilized the hermeneutic, interpretive framework which is concerned with how the world is constructed, interpreted and experienced by people in their interactions with each other and with wider social systems (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000). The term 'hermeneutics' is derived from the Greek word 'hermeneuein' meaning to understand or interpret (Patton, 2002). Hermeneutic researchers use qualitative methods to establish context and meaning for what people do. Ulin et al (2002) identify three components of this framework: subjective perceptions and understandings which arise from experience; objective actions or behaviours; and the context. Using the holistic approach characteristic of the interpretive perspective, through qualitative analysis I was able link the findings and to explore the multiple relationships among them.

Data collection and data analysis took the form of a triangulated approach in that I employed different data collection methods and adopted different approaches to analyzing the data. Data collection methods comprised focus group discussions and individual in-depth interviews, a process which Kelly (1999) terms 'data triangulation.' In analyzing the data, I combined methods of content analysis and discourse analysis, termed 'methodological triangulation' (Cohen et al, 2003). The combination of multiple methodological practices in a single study, according to Denzin and Lincoln (2000), adds rigour, breadth, complexity, richness and depth to any inquiry, which is consistent with the interpretive paradigm used. I discuss these areas in more detail in Chapter Four.

1.9 DEFINITION AND CLARIFICATION OF KEY CONCEPTS

Since terms and concepts are often used interchangeably or can have different connotations based on the context in which they are used, it was deemed necessary to provide definitions and explanations of the main concepts that are used.

In relatively homogenous societies, defining **youth** by age may be easier as the age range is narrow. In developing countries such as South Africa, however, delimiting the age range of adolescents is extremely difficult because of the effects of poverty, the history of apartheid and the resulting inequities in the educational system (Maart, 2000). One of the effects of apartheid and the political transition in South Africa is that adolescents have been exposed to vastly different life circumstances and experiences. This has resulted in differing views on which specific group can be regarded as being youth. The National Youth Commission (2000: 7) defines youth as young persons, both males and females, within the age range of 14-35 years. On the other hand, the Ministry for Welfare and Population Development (1997) defines a young person as a woman or man within the age range of 16 to 30 years. However, the definition of youth by the World Health Organization (1997:1) as persons who are between 15 -24 years old inclusive appropriate within the parameters of the current study and was therefore adopted.⁵

In keeping with the social constructionist perspective guiding this research, this study adopts the definitions of **gender** proposed by Kimmel (2004), Bryson (1999) and West and Zimmerman (1991) in Section 1.7. In short, these authors refer to gender as the socially produced attributes of masculinity and femininity and the social arrangements based upon them. In addition this study includes Connell's (2002: 10) definition of gender as "the structure of social relations that centres on the reproductive arena, and the set of practices (governed by this structure) that bring reproductive distinctions between bodies into social processes." The term 'reproductive arena' refers to an arena in which bodies are brought into social processes whereby our social conduct incorporates reproductive differences. In other words, gender concerns the way human society deals with human bodies, and the consequences that this has on our lives. A consistent message embodied in all

⁵ In this thesis, the research participants are referred to as participants, youth or boys.

these definitions is that gender arrangements are reproduced socially, not biologically, by the power of structures to constrain individual action. Nevertheless, gender arrangements are always changing with new situations and changing contexts.

Ways of being a man are referred to in the literature by the terms '**masculinity**' and '**masculinities**'. Connell (1995) suggests that rather than attempt to define masculinity as an object (a character type or norm), we ought to focus on the processes and relationships through which men and women conduct gendered lives. 'Masculinity', to the extent that the term can be defined at all, is simultaneously a place in gender relations, the practices through which men and women engage that place in gender, and the effects of these practices in bodily experience, personality and culture" (Connell, 1995: 71). Work on men and masculinity rejects the idea that all men are the same. This has occasioned the shift from masculinity to the concept of masculinities (Morrell, 2005). Connell (2000: 29) clarifies further that masculinities are seen as configurations of practice within gender relations, within a structure that includes large scale institutions and economic relations as well as individual relations and sexuality. Masculinity is thus institutionalized in such structures, as well as being an aspect of individual character or personality.

For Harris (1995:10) the concept 'masculinity' refers to "beliefs about how men ought to behave and are constructed at different levels in society and in the minds of individuals." Notions of masculinity generated by the media, teachers, historians, parents, priests and public figures dominate how men think about themselves. Because men in a particular country with common cultural histories may receive similar notions about how to behave, these common understandings of masculinity constitute dominant cultural norms and patterns of masculinity promoted within national boundaries.

Whitehead and Barrett (2001: 15-16) offer a further definition that lends itself to this study. They state that "masculinities are those behaviours, languages and practices existing in specific cultural and organizational locations, which are commonly associated with males and thus culturally defined as not feminine. So masculinities exist as both positive, inasmuch as they offer means of identity for males, and as

negative, inasmuch as they are not the 'other' (feminine).“ In keeping with the views of the abovementioned authors, these authors emphasize that masculinities reflect social and cultural expectations of male behaviour rather than biology.

Gender-based violence, like violence⁶ generally, refers to a violation of human rights and assumes many forms. It is violence directed against a person on the basis of gender or sexual orientation (Human Rights Watch, 2001). This study adopts the definition of gender violence proposed by O'Toole and Schiffman (1997: xii) as being “any interpersonal, organizational or politically-oriented violation perpetrated against people due to their gender identity, sexual orientation or location in the hierarchy of male-dominated social systems such as families, military organizations or the labour force”. This definition indicates that while gender-based violence is expressed interpersonally, it is frequently explained and legitimized by the norms of a society concerning male/female roles and thereby the attitudes that males and females take into any interaction.

In South Africa, the Domestic Violence Act 116 of 1998 defines gender-based violence within the ambits of households and close relationships encompassing abuse that is physical, sexual, economic, emotional, verbal and psychological. Intimidation, harassment, stalking, damage to property, and any other controlling or abusive behaviour towards a woman also constitute violence. While acknowledging that the different forms of violence do not usually occur in isolation but in combination with one another, definitions of the main acts of violence relevant to this research are provided, namely, physical violence, sexual violence, emotional and verbal abuse, sexual harassment, and rape.

Physical violence, often referred to as 'beating,' includes acts such as hitting, pushing, kicking, punching, slapping, stabbing, or any other act that causes physical pain or injury to a person (Domestic Violence Act, 116 of 1998).

The World Health Organization (WHO, 2002) defines **sexual violence** as any sexual act, attempt to obtain a sexual act, unwanted sexual comments or advances directed

⁶ The terms violence and abuse are used interchangeably.

against a person's sexuality using coercion, by any person regardless of their relationship to the victim, in any setting, including but not limited to home and work.

Emotional and verbal abuse refers to a pattern of degrading or humiliating conduct towards a woman, including repeated insults, ridicule or name calling, threats to cause fear and emotional pain, or possessiveness and jealousy to the extent that it constitutes an invasion of the privacy, liberty, integrity or security (Domestic Violence Act, 116 of 1998).

Sexual harassment refers to "unwanted sexual advances whether or not accompanied by physical contact and unsolicited sexualized degrading language." (Human Rights Watch, 2001: 18). Similarly, Robinson (2005: 21) defines sexual harassment as any physical, visual or sexual act whereby a person asserts his/her sexual identity over another person which makes that person feel any of the following: embarrassed, frightened, hurt, uncomfortable, humiliated, degraded, and diminishes a person's power and confidence.

Rape in South Africa is currently defined in terms of the common law as intentional and unlawful sexual intercourse with a woman without her consent (South African Law Commission, 1999). The crime of rape only occurs when there is penetration of the victim's vagina by way of the perpetrator's penis. That the alleged victim did not consent to sexual intercourse must be proven by the prosecutor beyond a reasonable doubt. As currently defined, rape therefore excludes same-sex violations, oral-genital violations, and penetration of the vagina by objects other than the penis. These are currently defined in South African Law as 'indecent assault' (Artz and Smythe, 2006: 163). However, the proposed Sexual Offences Bill, currently before Parliament, aims to bring about changes in the definition of rape and other sexual offences. It has been proposed that the concept of 'sexual intercourse' be replaced with 'sexual penetration', and that the offence be made gender neutral (Artz and Smythe, 2006: 164)

1.10 OVERVIEW OF THE THESIS

Chapter One provides a general overview of the study including the rationale, an outline of South African policy initiatives and legislation, the theoretical framework guiding the study, the site, the aims and the research questions. The research design is explained and a rationale for the qualitative methods incorporating the interpretive paradigm is outlined. The concepts used in the thesis are clarified and the chapter ends with a summary of selected South African policy initiatives and legislation.

Chapter Two reviews the literature on gender violence, providing an overview of the nature, extent, determinants and contexts of gender-based violence. The chapter includes a table providing a summary of previous research findings relating to gender-based violence.

Chapter Three reviews the literature on masculinities. This chapter includes discussions on men and feminist scholarship and theoretical perspectives of masculinity. Significant themes in masculinity research are identified and discussed, followed by a section highlighting the development of alternative masculinities to address gender-based violence. The chapter concludes by detailing some initiatives that involve men in promoting gender equality.

Chapter Four describes the research methodology. The research design, qualitative methods and the interpretive approach used are presented. The process undertaken in each of the four phases of the research is explained, and the methods of data analysis, namely content analysis and discourse analysis are discussed. Issues relating to dependability of the research instruments and the credibility of the study, and ethical considerations pertinent to the study are discussed.

Chapter Five presents and discusses the findings of the research according to the main themes that emerged from the data. These themes included youth perspectives on the following: the general position of women in the community, violence in relationships, sexuality in relationships, sexual harassment, fidelity, forced sex within relationships, rape, HIV and AIDS, and influences on youth attitudes and behaviour

towards females. This is followed by a discussion of participant understandings of influences on their attitudes and behaviour towards females.

Chapter Six summarizes the main conclusions drawn from the study, discusses the restrictions and restraints, and finally implications of the findings are discussed with regard to future interventions and further research.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW: AN OVERVIEW OF GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter reviews the literature on gender-based violence, particularly with regard to women in southern Africa, and is written in accordance with the research questions listed in Chapter One. In keeping with the aims of this study, this review focuses on male-perpetrated violence against women. Although the research focuses on youth perceptions of gender-based violence, the review is not confined to youth only, because their perceptions may be influenced by their observations and experiences of adult beliefs, behaviours and interactions to which they are exposed. Therefore a reflection on conditions affecting men and women generally is necessary. Although the research participants are school-going youth, the study does not focus specifically on gender-based violence *in* schools. Instead a broader approach is adopted encompassing social relationships outside the school. Therefore the review covers relationships and influences in broader contexts such as the family and the community which may influence the behaviour of school-going youth. Although many studies focus on female perspectives and experiences of gender-based violence, a scarcity of literature focusing on male youth perspectives of gender-based violence, particularly in rural areas, was noted. This review therefore integrates literature relating to both urban and rural youth. A summary of selected studies, to which I make reference throughout the thesis, appears in Appendix D.

2.2 THE NATURE OF GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE

Gender-based violence (defined in Section 1.9) is viewed as a human rights violation as it is directed against a person on the basis of his or her gendered identity. It is a concept that brings with it a number of definitions related to the various forms of gender violence. In the literature, gender based violence refers to violence directed against a person as a result of his or her sexual orientation such as being gay, lesbian, bisexual or being a woman due to preconceived prejudices and chauvinistic beliefs. Violence against women therefore, is any act of gender-based violence that

results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women (Motha, 2006). As indicated in South Africa's Domestic Violence Act 116 of 1998, violence may occur in one or more different forms. The pattern noted in the literature is that sexual coercion and sexual violence are often linked to other forms of violence such as physical and verbal abuse. For the purpose of this review, although I focus primarily on physical violence, sexual harassment and sexual violence, I wish to emphasize that violence in the form of verbal abuse, threats and intimidation, economic abuse and property destruction run as common threads through most abusive situations. In fact, each type of violence shades into and feeds upon the other. This section elaborates on the concepts related to gender-based violence and notes significant aspects which are highlighted in the literature, not the least of which is the overlap in these various areas, and also the challenges in attempting to come up with one single definition of gender violence.

2.2.1 Physical violence

South Africa has been marred by a history of human rights abuses, escalating conflict and increasing levels of violence (Human Rights Watch, 2001; Morrell, 1998; Xaba, 2001). The legitimized processes of violence inherent in the apartheid regime prescribed, sanctioned and legitimized behaviours which violated the integrity and dignity of large groups of people within South African society. Consequently, the gender relations that emerged under colonialism and, between 1948-1993, apartheid, found expression in violent forms of masculinity (Morrell, 2003). Many intimate relationships were thus characterized by a range of physical violence including domestic violence, intimate femicide (murder of an intimate female partner), coercive sex and violence that occurs at various levels of the public sphere such as jack rolling (gang-rape), trafficking of women and witch burning (Bassadien and Hochfeld, 2005). These authors observe that in South Africa, although the home environment is a common location for abuse, violence in public spaces such as shopping areas, bars, and the streets are commonly witnessed. Even in the home, other people are frequently present when the abuse occurs. From a study with young South African men and women aged sixteen to twenty-five in Ngangelizwe (See Appendix D), Wood and Jewkes (2001) reported that male violence against women took the form of slapping, pushing, hitting with objects, assaulting with fists, forcing a woman to

have sex, rape, stabbing with a knife and public humiliation. Slapping and issuing threats were most commonly used. Violence was rarely a one off occurrence and recurring incidents of violence in relationships were reported. The young men attributed their violence to a loss of control caused by anger. Physical beatings of the nature described above are a common means by which young men enforce discipline and control over female partners as evidenced in similar South African studies by researchers such as Dunkle et al (2004), Selikow et al (2002), Wood et al (1998) and Varga and Makubalo (1996). Bhana's (2005) study of six to ten year old boys at a township school in Durban, South Africa found that verbal and physical harassment against girls was rife. Even at this young age, power over girls dominated the gender processes within the school and violence was seen as an optimum method of gaining and maintaining resources. Similarly, Hunter (2005) and Hearn (1998) draw attention to the fact that men who feel insecure and disempowered may see violence as the only way of asserting themselves. The studies summarised in Appendix D provide insights into the nature of violence, including physical violence, perpetrated by males against females.

2.2.2 Sexual harassment

The terms sexual harassment and sexual violence are sometimes used together as both refer to a violation of human rights. As explained in Chapter One, sexual harassment refers to unwanted conduct which is persistent, demeaning or humiliating or creates a hostile or intimidating environment and which is related to sex, gender or sexual orientation. Globally, for many girls, sexual harassment is a common part of school life and is often used as a means through which to maintain hierarchical power relationships, not just in relation to gender, but also within other sites of power such as race, class and other forms of discrimination (Robinson, 2005; Mills, 2001; Staton and Larkin, 1998). For Mills (2001), harassment should not be constructed as a product of male sexual desire or of boys' hormones at work. Such an essentialist construction ignores the effects of this harassment and the context within which it occurs. Harassment usually results from a power imbalance between males and females, and usually serves to reinforce and reproduce these patterns. Staton and Larkin (1998) argue that if schools do not actively take steps to address harassment, the imbalance in gender power relations deepens, resulting in girls regulating their

behaviour to avoid being a target of further abuse, a situation referred to by Epstein and Johnson (1998: 128) as the “enforced invisibility of sexual harassment”. Such sexual harassment has a negative impact on girls’ education, and may result in feelings of extreme discomfort, erosion of confidence, stress and anxiety.

Robinson's (2005) ten year study focused on the relationship between dominant constructions of masculinities and sexual harassment at 14 secondary schools in Australia with male and female students aged 12–17 years (Appendix D). Findings revealed that sexual harassment of girls by boys was a common practice. Most boys believed sexual harassment to be physical and included behaviours such as rape, having sex, touching, kissing and pinching. Verbal, visual or written forms of harassment were not acknowledged as harassment. The use of derogatory sexualized language such as ‘slut’ was normal and, in fact, popular in heterosexual relationships. The activity was viewed as a joke engaged in for fun. In fact, some boys alleged that the girls enjoyed being harassed. The study revealed further that there was strong peer pressure to enter into sexual relationships. Robinson observed that several young men in the sample desired to invest in alternative masculinities, and spoke of their fears of being ridiculed and alienated if they engaged in different performances of masculinity.

Similar findings regarding the high rate of sexual harassment were reported by the American Association of University Women (AAUW, cited by Mirsky, 2003) where a survey of over 2000 secondary school students revealed that 83% of the girls and 79% of boys reported experiencing sexual harassment. Although boys are also harassed, Staton and Larkin (1998) state that research shows that the impact on them is less significant, and much of the harassment is homophobic and comes from other boys. In South Africa sexual harassment and gender-based violence has been identified as key areas of concern in South African schools (Mlamleli et al, 2000; Human Rights Watch, 2001). High levels of sexual harassment have also been reported by male students and teachers in educational settings by the World Health Organisation (WHO, 2002), Human Rights Watch (2001) in South Africa, and by Leach (2003) in southern Africa. Mirsky (2003) cautions that passing off sexual harassment behaviours as part of teenage culture, increases threats to students’ physical and psychological well being, in the short and long terms.

2.2.3 Sexual violence

The high risk status of school going girls to sexual violence in the form of harassment, beating and rape, particularly in rural areas, is highlighted by the Nelson Mandela Foundation (2005). The report states that the inaccessibility of the criminal justice system in rural areas compounds the difficulty that girls and families face in reporting such abuse and in obtaining justice. Sexual violence in the form of sexual coercion and rape are discussed below.

Sexual coercion

South Africa is reported to have one of the highest rates of sexual violence in the world (Motha, 2006; Human Rights Watch, 2001). Sexual coercion is commonly used by men to elicit sexual compliance in women. Sexual compliance describes situations whereby one partner avoids a 'troubled' interaction by putting the other partner's sexual desires ahead of his or her own and engaging in unwanted sex (Oriel, 2005). Male dominance may operate more commonly through coercive rather than forced heterosexual intercourse. Sexual coercion is difficult to prove and not punishable by law, given the fact that successful coercion results in consent, even if sexual intercourse is unwanted. The most common forms of sexual coercion occur within marriages, dating relationships, families, or where sex is agreed to after blackmail, threats or pleading. Such instances of sexual coercion are largely unreported (Jewkes and Abrahams, 2002). In southern Africa, a range of studies conducted with adolescents and adults point to sexual violence, especially in the form of sexual coercion, being a common feature of male-female relationships. Buga et al (1996) reported from their study with school-going adolescents in the Eastern Cape that the most frequently cited reasons for beginning sexual activity was being forced by a partner and peer pressure (See Appendix D).

From their study of pregnant women in a peri-urban African township in the Western Cape, Wood et al (1998) noted that the teenagers usually began sexual activity at age 13 or 14. The constructions of love were defined by the men who declared that the purpose of being in love was to have sex. Violence characterised the narratives

of the majority of the teenagers' sexual initiations, including having their clothes torn off, legs forced apart and being physically beaten. In these instances, silence was the appropriate response and this was reinforced by peers. Likewise, the South African research of Buga et al (1996) and Wood et al (1998) revealed that men generally equated love with sex. Further examples of similar findings relating to sexual violence of varying degrees among young people are noted in studies by Koenig et al (2004) in Uganda, Campbell (2003) in South Africa, Human Rights Watch (2003) in Zambia, Leach et al (2003) in Zimbabwe, Malawi and Ghana, Harrison (2002) in South Africa, Morrell et al (2002) in South Africa, Human Rights Watch (2001) in South Africa, Jewkes et al (2002) in South Africa and Becker (2000) in Namibia (See Appendix D).

Oriel (2005) views the construction of male sexual pleasure as being intimately connected with the construction of masculinity through penile penetration of another person. Hong (2000) found that most men are taught to regard sexuality as a realm of danger and to view sexual intercourse as an act of conquest and gaining power. In a heterosexual setting, this process logically requires the complementary action of women being the objects of conquest and losing power. Harrison (2005) asserts that sexual coercion within relationships whether emotional, financial or physical compounds women's inability to protect themselves. Where male partners are older, they have power and maturity which creates an environment conducive to sexual coercion. While the objectification of women for male sexual pleasure is highlighted by Leach et al (2003), Selikow et al (2002) and Wood and Jewkes (2001), Petchesky (in Oriel, 2005) draws attention to the fact that, in this process, the woman's right to sexual pleasure is often overlooked, particularly in instances of sexual coercion. Oriel therefore suggests focusing on a new model for sexual rights that simultaneously provides women with greater sexual pleasure and, within a context of consent rather than coercion, lessens the risk of HIV transmission.

Rape

Rape is an act of sexual violence that has captured public attention and caused great concern in recent years (Baylies, 2000). The problem of rape in South Africa must be understood within the context of the distinct gender power inequalities which pervade society. Many victims of rape have been and still are schoolgirls. In many townships

in South Africa, formalized gang rape is common, as is sexual harassment. In South Africa, rape is heavily under-reported (Jewkes and Abrahams, 2002; Gray and Sathiparsad, 1998). Women fear that they will not be believed; fear retaliation by the perpetrator; fear legal processes including poor treatment by the police; and fear that their action will not lead to the perpetrator being punished (Gray and Sathiparsad, 1998). Most women have such low expectations of sexual negotiation in relationships that forced sex to please men or to provide it as a unit of exchange is seen as normal (Wood et al, 1998). In various South African contexts, researchers have pointed to the way in which young women's attempts to discuss condoms or AIDS before a sexual encounter has led to rape or violence (Campbell, 2003).

For Jewkes et al (2002: 1238) "Rape, like domestic violence, is both a manifestation of male dominance over women and an assertion of that position. This is not to argue that men are 'naturally' aggressive, but to assert that male control of women and notions of male sexual entitlement feature strongly in the dominant social constructions of masculinity in South Africa." These findings are supported by those of Jewkes et al (2005), Leclerc-Madlala (1999) and Wood et al (1998), who highlight the widespread perception amongst men and women that men who are sexually aroused are not able to control themselves. Bujra (2002: 220) notes that reference to "uncontrollable sexual urges" is what marks men as "real men" and this makes it difficult for them to plan safer sexual encounters. In fact many men who rape do not identify their behaviour as being sexually abusive. Thus rape, and all other forms of violence against women, rely on constructions of masculinity and femininity that treat violence as inherently and acceptable male behaviour with females as victims. In this sense, Jewkes et al (2005) see rape as an instrument of communication by the rapist to convey masculinity and power to himself.

Jewkes et al (2005) state that in male peer group positioning, rape must be understood within the context of the limited number of recreational opportunities available to poor township and rural youth. Competition over women provides affordable entertainment, and opportunities to achieve success and improve self-esteem. From their study in rural Mpumalanga, South Africa, Jewkes et al (2005) found that in the hierarchy of social problems, many things were seen as worse than child rape and incest. Participants claimed that when faced with prospects of

disrupting the family, losing face and greater poverty, child rape would be overlooked. Several also indicated that maintaining gender hierarchy and family structures were more important than taking action against an abuser. These findings clearly point to the gendered nature of rape and the many challenges relating to the social context in which such sexual violence occurs.

From this discussion it is evident that gender-based violence in its various forms is prevalent internationally and locally. Violence perpetrated by men against women is known to occur both privately and publicly. The literature points to violence being a deliberate act against women for purposes ranging from having some fun and demonstrating love to controlling women and wanting sex. The extent of such violence is outlined in the next section.

2.3 THE EXTENT OF GENDER- BASED VIOLENCE

Violence is almost always under-reported by women, and may be linked to many women thinking that it is “normal” to be abused (Jewkes et al, 2002: 1605). Some fear that by making it public, they will bring further harm or embarrassment to themselves, while others may not be ready to talk about the violence. Global observations reveal that women internalize society's norms about, and acceptance of, violence. The WHO (2002) report the following figures of physically abused women who did not tell anyone about the abuse: in Bangladesh, 68% of a sample of 10368; in Egypt, 47% of a sample of 7121, in the UK, 38% of a sample of 430 and, in Nicaragua, 37% of a sample of 8507 women. In reminding us that these attitudes cannot be dismissed as old-fashioned, Mirsky (2003) suggests that they are more common among younger people. Among almost 10 000 men in three states in India, reported use of sexual violence in the 12 months preceding the research was highest (67%) among men under 25 (Duvvury, cited by Mirsky, 2003). A similar study of a sample of 6548 American adolescents aged 12-21, revealed that 37% of the respondents in sexual relationships experienced some form of verbal or physical violence (Kaestle and Halpern, 2005). These statistics are supported by similar studies in Uganda by Koenig et al (2004), and in Zimbabwe by Leach (2003).

Further evidence of youth violence is provided by the South African Youth Risk Behaviour Survey (Department of Health, 2003) which established the prevalence of key risk behaviours including violence, sexual behaviour and substance abuse. Twenty three secondary schools were selected from each of the nine provinces, in which 14 766 pupils were sampled, of whom 10 699 participated. The total sample consisted of 54% females and 46% males, of whom 79.5% were Black, 9% Coloured, 9% White and 4% Indian. The majority of the sample (78.7%) was between the ages of 14 and 18 years inclusive. From KwaZulu-Natal, 1200 pupils drawn from 20 schools participated in the study. Table 2.1 summarizes the findings of the study.

TABLE 2.1
FINDINGS OF THE YOUTH RISK BEHAVIOUR SURVEY
N = 10699

Percentages of sample	Behaviours reported
13.6 (14.4 male and 12.9 female)	Were assaulted by a boyfriend or girlfriend during the six months preceding the survey.
13.2 (15.2 male and 11.7 female)	Perpetrated assault against a boy or girlfriend during the six months preceding the survey.
9.8 (8.1 male and 11.1 female)	Had forced sex at some stage.
28.8 (27.2% male and 30.8% female)	Always used a condom during sex.
12.2 (13.7% male and 10.9% female)	Felt susceptible to getting HIV in their lifetime
73.2 (of the total sample)	Received HIV/AIDS education in school

(Source: Department of Health, 2003)

These figures indicate a common pattern of sexual behaviour among the youth. It is worth noting that despite the majority (73.2%) of the youth indicating that they received HIV/AIDS education at school, a significant majority (70.2%) of those that were sexually active (3218) reported having multiple sexual partners, and a minority (28.8%) always used condoms during sex. Recommendations arising from the survey highlighted the need for violence prevention programmes at schools to prevent coercive sexual behaviours. Other South African studies by Pretorius (2004), Human Rights Watch (2001), Jewkes et al (2002), and Wood et al (1998) supporting findings of high intimate partner violence amongst youth. Jewkes and Abrahams (2002) maintain that forced sexual initiation is reported by almost a third of adolescent girls. Despite the variations in the definitions of violence and the generalizability of

samples, the evidence supports the conclusion that partner violence, either as perpetrators or victims, is common among adolescents.

As mentioned previously, rape statistics are elusive due to under-reporting. Although non-consensual sex in marriage and dating relationships are believed to be common, they are not well reported in surveys (Jewkes and Abrahams, 2002). From April 2002 to March 2003, there were 52 425 reported rapes in South Africa, a significant portion being under the age of 18. During the same period 4 798 cases of child abuse and neglect were reported (South African Police Services Crime Statistics 2003, cited by Dawes et al, 2004). These statistics point to very high levels of violence against women and children. The Crime Information Analysis Centre of the South African Police Services, (2004 cited by Jewkes et al, 2005) documents that in South Africa, nearly 20 000 young girls (aged between 0-7) and over 30 000 adult women are raped and report to the police each year. The earlier South African Demographic and Health Survey (Department of Health, 1998) assessed the frequency of rape in a nationally representative study of over 11 000 women and found that 153 (1.6%) had been raped before the age of fifteen. Of these, 33% named their schoolteacher as the rapist.

The high prevalence of gender-based violence and the related risk of HIV infection points to the need for interventions on various levels. However, before considering interventions as suggested in the literature, an exploration of the determinants of such violence is necessary.

2.4 DETERMINANTS OF GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE

Multi-causal explanations for gender-based violence have been offered by authors such as Dawes et al (2004), Mirsky (2003), Hearn (1998) and Gelles (1997). The predominant causal factors include family socialization into violence, cultural norms legitimizing violence between family members, violence integrated into the personality and behavioural script, and women tolerating violence for structural and ideological reasons. The violent acts of individual men may also be attributed to patriarchy which locates women in subordinated positions by both structural discrimination and ideologies that legitimate and rationalize that situation (Hearns,

1998). This section focuses on the major determinants of gender-based violence. While masculinity is briefly discussed here as one of the major determinants, it is dealt with specifically in Chapter Three.

2.4.1 Family influences

There is strong consensus in the literature that the family, being a primary socialization agent, exerts tremendous influence on the development of aggressive and violent behaviour among adolescents (Strong et al, 1999; Gelles, 1997). However, as posited by the social constructionist model, the family is only one of many interacting systems influencing and shaping human development. In other words, families play a vital, but not exclusive role in teaching children to use force to resolve conflicts and to get what they want. Literature strongly supports the claim that aggression and violence are learned behaviours, based largely on the social learning theory of Albert Bandura and Robert Walters (Arriaga and Foshee, 2004; Bandura, 1986). This theory predicts that continued exposure to violent role models is likely to lead to imitation and acceptance of violent conduct. Research indicates that children in families where violence occurs are placed at risk in future relationships (Pretorius, 2004; Gelles, 1997). They may suffer adverse psychological consequences as witnesses to abuse and violence in their parents' relationships. In keeping with the social learning theorists, Barker et al (2001) argue that adult personal attachments and relationships re-stage aspects of childhood encounters. For many men, life becomes a restless search for love, and efforts are made to overcome feelings of inadequacy which arise from family experience. Adding weight to this argument, Pollack (1998) emphasizes that it is the lack of nurturing and guidance, as much as physical violence as such, that leaves its mark.

Strong et al (1999) draw attention to the fact that children learn about sexuality from avid observation of their parents' behaviour. It is this observation that teaches youth about gender roles, respect, love, caring and sensitivity. If these elements are lacking, children and youth may feel uncertain and confused about what constitutes a healthy relationship. The problem, as emphasized by Arnfred (2004), Izugbara (2004), Strebel (1997), and Willig (1999), is that parents do not usually discuss sexuality with their children; it is a topic that is shrouded in secrecy. Parents may feel

that their children, especially daughters, will become sexually active if they have too much information, or there may be discomfort in discussing issues of intimacy with young people. Krige (1950) describes a Zulu tradition where older girls taught younger girls about courtship and sexuality, a practice which, according to Memela (2005), continues today in some African communities. Much of the information passed down concerns how girls can satisfy boys sexually, while women's sexual satisfaction is totally overlooked (Memela, 2005). It is increasingly being recognized that parental concern and involvement with sons and daughters is one of the key factors in preventing risky behaviour, including early sexual intercourse.

Violence in the parent child relationship was reported in the South African Social Attitude Survey (SASAS) conducted by Dawes et al (2004:13) which investigated partner violence, attitudes to child rearing and the use of corporal punishment by caregivers. The authors draw on Strauss's (1994) definition of corporal punishment as "the use of physical force with the intention of causing a child to experience pain but not injury for the purposes of correction or control of the child's behaviour." A total of 952 parents including men and women of all race groups were surveyed. The study revealed that 57% of all parents with children under 18 reported using corporal punishment, with 33% using severe corporal punishment (beating with a belt or stick). Children three to four years of age were the most frequently beaten. Of the parents who reported smacking their children in the past year, 30% were men and 70% were women. Greater proportions of Africans and Whites beat their children than other groups. Attitudes supportive of the use of physical punishment were the most significant predictors of the severity of corporal punishment. The study found a positive correlation between participants who experienced high levels of partner violence and those who agreed with physical disciplining of children. The arbitrary nature of such punishment is highlighted by Pretorius (2004) who notes that many children and youth in Port Elizabeth reported that the physical punishment meted out to them was unwarranted and they sometimes did not know why they were being punished. Such random exercising of parental power may close doors to communication and relationship building between parents and children.

Boys and fathers

Mothers and fathers have a profound impact on all aspects of their children's development. However, the literature indicates that which parent has the stronger influence depends on the context. The role of fathers is important, for as pointed out by Jarrett (cited by Richter, 2006), it is almost universally true that two parent households, where fathers are present, are better off in terms of security and stability than single mother households. Given the constructs of masculinity and patriarchal forces operational in families, the role of fathers and their interactions with their sons are influential. Although mothers play an extremely significant role (Jewkes et al, 2005; Silberschmidt, 2003; Strong et al, 1999; Pollack, 1998), Ramphele (2002) and Vilakazi (1962) argue that boys aspire to their fathers' power which symbolizes the authority of patriarchy and masculine control. He is the one with whom boys identify and wish to emulate, and the model that girls long for in the quest for romance. The extent to which mothers honour the father's role is highlighted in a study of women in the Ugu District, which emphasized that children needed their fathers even if they (the fathers) were violent (Sathiparsad, 2002). This point is disputed by Bryson (1999), Christian (1994) and West and Zimmerman (1991) who argue that where the father provides a negative role model, single parenting by a caring mother is preferred. Likewise, Morrell and Ouzgane (2005) argue that a biological connection with a child is not necessary for successful fathering, and that love, reliability, dependability and support are of greater importance.

An assumption about the social/psychological acquisition of masculinity is that it requires boys to identify with their fathers. Vilakazi (1962) points out that in the Zulu kinship system the son is expected to model himself on his father who is seen as the embodiment of manliness and strength. His disciplinarian role in the home promotes the notion of his being strong and powerful. Although identification with traditional fathers is the social norm, this may have some undesirable outcomes. Christian (1994) and Kaufman (1994) view such identification as one of the main mechanisms by which hegemonic masculinity and male chauvinism are reproduced over generations and which helps maintain male domination and patriarchy. Child rearing does not occur in a social vacuum as sons of nurturing fathers, or boys who do not identify with traditional fathers, may still pick up conventional sexist attitudes from

other sources. Barker (2003) argues that for some young men, exposure to negative forms of male behaviour such as their fathers' use of violence may influence boys to reject such behaviour. On the other hand, Morrell (2006) and Richter (2006) remind us that a father may be physically present but emotionally absent or physically absent and emotionally supportive. These patterns will impact differently on children and adolescents.

In South Africa, many men are absent from the lives of their children for complex reasons such as migrant labour, poverty, unemployment and disabling housing policies (Hunter, 2006; Richter, 2006). In some instances, as pointed out by Hunter (2006) men may deny paternity due to the mismatch between their ability to father children and their ability to fulfill the social role of fatherhood. For young males and females, fatherhood is defined by one's capacity to provide materially for his family, and the common perception is that a provider commands respect (Morrell, 2006). Acknowledging this, Hunter (2006) notes that many unemployed men are frustrated and disempowered at not being able to meet the expectations of fatherhood, including that of being 'provider'. A pattern observed by Morrell and Richter (2006) is that in many countries, including South Africa, it is common for grandfathers, older brothers, uncles, step-fathers, foster fathers or teachers to take on the fatherhood role. Where fathers have healthy, supportive and satisfying relationships with their children, the children are likely to be more self confident and happy. Despite the value of fatherhood, many men have proven to be irresponsible, absent or negligent. Kimmel (2004:144) suggests that the other side of the "feminization of poverty" coin is the "masculinization of irresponsibility" – the refusal of fathers to provide economically for their children. What requires further investigation is whether the absence of the father correlates with the social problems experienced by their children. In South Africa, apartheid practices such as the migrant labour system and influx control contributed to these circumstances, resulting in women tending to children without male support. Kaufman (1994) asserts that the absence of men from most parenting and nurturing tasks means that the masculinity internalized by little boys is based on distance, separation and a fantasy image of manhood, rather than the oneness and inseparability that typify early mother child relationships. Emotional distance from other males begins to develop in adolescence. Although men may have friends, they seldom have the level of trust and empathy enjoyed by many

women. This distance may lead men to feel isolated, and it is this isolation that may increase the possibility that men end up colluding with patriarchy – because their own doubts and sense of confusion remains buried.

2.4.2 School influences

In the apartheid era, schools did not escape the general culture of violence that permeated all areas of South African society. Schools, especially those in townships, were characterized by defiant learners who used violence to address conflicts, repeated attacks on schools by vigilantes, with teachers and principals being too scared to challenge the youth. Morrell (1998) draws attention to the fact that African schools were worst affected due to political upheavals and the politicization of Black youth. Education was structured to perpetuate the separation of communities based on racial division and as a result, the administration of education was separated for each racial group. Decades of apartheid education and rising learner numbers resulted in gross inequalities and huge backlogs in provision, especially with regard to African education. Particularly in rural areas and in African townships, schools were overcrowded and under-resourced, damaged or empty, resulting in a state of chaos. The installation of the democratic government in 1994 saw the passing of the South African Schools Act of 1996, which outlawed all forms of discrimination and thus facilitated racially integrated schools. However, given the legacy of apartheid's Group Areas legislation, it is not surprising to find learner movement from poorly resourced (formerly black) to better resourced (formerly white) schools. Given the paucity of resources in rural areas, it follows then that the new legislation has made little difference to schools in rural areas like the Ugu District. Prior inequalities constrain the rights to education for young people in rural areas. As a result, education and schooling in rural areas are experienced as a denial of freedoms and opportunities to acquire knowledge and to lead a healthy life with dignity and self-respect (Nelson Mandela Foundation, 2005).

Morrell (1998), supported by Dawes et al (2004) and Mlamleli et al (2000), notes that one of the most worrying features of apartheid education was corporal punishment which was used as a means to instill discipline. Although banned by the South African Schools Act (Department of Education, 1996), corporal punishment is still

widely practised in many township and rural schools. Leach (2003) notes with concern that the practice is also common in much of sub-Saharan Africa by female and male teachers and on girls as well as boys. A study in three rural communities in South Africa (Nelson Mandela Foundation, 2005) found that the use of corporal punishment was supported by parents and teachers who claimed that they did not have suitable alternatives to discipline learners. Although teachers did not openly admit to using corporal punishment, closer investigation revealed that it was a common practice. Evidence from the learners confirmed that they were sometimes beaten severely for minor offences.

For Morrell (1998: 221) corporal punishment is symptomatic of authoritarian attitudes within the education system which in turn are central to the maintenance of an oppressive gender order. In addition to implementing corporal punishment, schools may foster violence by not taking steps to combat homophobia and misogyny, implementing authoritarian disciplinary measures and excluding students from participating in curriculum deliberation and school governance. Morrell (1998) argues that by failing to address all forms of violent behaviour, schools are contributing to a socialization process that threatens gender justice. Echoing this concern, Mlamleli (2000) notes that gender-based violence and harassment are often not considered in educational policy and planning. A general absence of a culture of teaching and learning in schools, poor management, lack of discipline and professionalism are some challenges that need to be faced.

In the context of education globally and locally, concerns have been raised about behaviours and identities of boys in schools, covering areas such as school violence and bullying, homophobia, sexism and racism, and perceived underachievement. Skelton (2001a) asserts that schools construct forms of masculinity through the authority patterns within which boys negotiate their own ways of being a boy. What male teachers say and do influences the kind of masculinity which is hegemonic in the school. Skelton observed from her study at British schools that hegemonic masculinity of a local culture characterized by violence tended to be repeated in a modified version in the management and control strategies of the school. Likewise, Leach (2003) highlights the role of the school in constructing male and female identity among adolescents within the context of high levels of gender violence. From

her study in schools in Zimbabwe, Malawi and Ghana, Leach documents high levels of corporal punishment and bullying, and incidents of male teachers and older male pupils aggressively propositioning female pupils for sex. The use of sexually explicit abusive language was common and boys' intimidating behaviour was dismissed as part of growing up. These findings are reflected in findings by Human Rights Watch (2001) and Wood and Jewkes (1998) which reveal a similar pattern in South African schools. The sexual socialization process which becomes the norm is one in which male violence is accepted, with obedience and tolerance being expected from females in adolescent relationships. Swain (2006) and Epstein and Johnson (1998) bring into focus the important role played by the school in producing and regulating sexual identities both within the school and beyond. They highlight the paradoxical situation whereby schools may forbid expressions of sexuality by children and teachers, at the same time as these provide a major currency and resource in the everyday interactions of school life. The production of sexual identities at schoolboy level is determined by the power relations between teachers and the dynamics of control and resistance. However, Epstein and Johnson (1998) remind us that the school is only one of the social sites for the production of sexual or other social relations.

2.4.3 Peer influences

While acknowledging that families and schools play a significant role in the socialization of children and youth, increasing attention is being paid to the powerful influence exerted by peers in adolescent development. Barker (2003) and Dawes and Donald (2000) confirm that with the onset of adolescence, usually accompanied by a move to high school and a reduction in parental supervision, influences outside the family become more significant. Besides parent and educator influences, peers may be an even more powerful source of influence. The "closed cultural circle of the peer group" has become increasingly recognized as a key area of influence in masculinity making (Swain, 2006: 334). Research on dating violence conducted by Arriaga and Foshee (2004) with 526 school-going adolescents clearly illustrates this point (Appendix D). Their study concluded that although friend dating violence and inter-parental violence were significant correlates of participants' own perpetration of violence or victimization, friend dating violence was more influential than inter-

parental violence. The findings suggest an influence process whereby friends who are involved in dating violence may convey to the adolescent that dating violence is acceptable. On the other hand, it is also possible that, once in a violent relationship, an adolescent may be attracted to and seek out friends who are in violent relationships. A further conclusion was that although boys and girls were equally likely to be victims, female victims experienced severe violence while male victims experienced moderate violence. These findings are significant in focusing interventions to address dating violence. As Arriaga and Foshee (2004) and Barker (2003) conclude, adolescent dating relationships provide a foundation for adult relationships, including violent adult relationships.

In supporting the findings of Arriaga et al (2004) authors such as Dawes et al (2004), Mills (2001), Strong et al (2001), indicate that peers provide standards for gender role behaviours in several ways, the most common being verbal approval or disapproval. This is aptly captured by Papalia et al (2001: 310), who state that peer relationships "provide a measuring stick for self- efficacy." It is via peer relationships that children and youth develop social skills, attain a sense of identity, gain a sense of belonging, and learn to develop intimate relationships. A boy's position in the peer group is ultimately determined by the array of social, cultural, physical, intellectual and economic resources that he is able to draw on and accumulate resources that he uses to gain popularity and particularly, status. The search to achieve status is inextricably linked to the search to achieve an acceptable form of masculinity (Swain, 2006). Besides the positive effects of peer relations, Papalia et al (2001) identify a number of negative effects including pressure to conform and a tendency to reinforce prejudice. During adolescence, conformity may relate to issues such as substance use and abuse, gender roles, sexual relations, and the use of aggression and violence to assert oneself. Kimmel (2001) suggests that for adolescent males, peers are a kind of gender police, constantly threatening to unmask them as feminine. Young men therefore find themselves constantly on guard, making sure that nothing remotely feminine surfaces. Even mannerisms and movements such as walking, talking and eating contain a coded gender language.

One area where peer influence appears prominent is that of sex and sexuality. Boys encourage other boys to be sexually active, even if they are unprepared or

uninterested. Sexual ignorance may evoke ridicule and laughter from other boys. Buga et al (1996) provide evidence of this tendency from their study of 1 072 girls and 903 boys attending schools in rural Transkei in the Eastern Cape (See Appendix D). The study showed that both boys and girls aged thirteen were engaged in regular sexual activity. Many of the girls reported that they had sex because they were forced by their partners, succumbed to peer pressure or wanted to show that they were normal. For the boys, engaging in sexual activity centred on proof of normality, peer pressure and self-gratification. Similar studies at schools in Zimbabwe, Malawi and Ghana by Leach et al (2003), and by Thorpe in Durban (2002), show that dominant views of masculinity and femininity pushed boys into competing to get girlfriends so that they could boast about their conquests and increase their status among male peers.

For boys, especially those from working class backgrounds, adolescence is characterized by what Strong (1999: 155-156), De Almeida (1996) and Kimmel (1994: 129) term 'homosociality,' that is, relationships in which self-esteem and status are more closely linked to evaluations from people of the same sex. For a boy, in homosocial relationships, a girlfriend's importance may lie in giving him status among other boys, his relationship with her being secondary. The generalized role expectations of males - that they must be competitive, aggressive, and achievement oriented - carry over into sexual activities in that they achieve recognition for 'scoring' with a girl. Mac an Ghaill's (1994) study of young men stressed that within the collective peer identity of male students, part of the striving for masculinity included boasting about sexual performance. This view is supported by Wood et al (1998), Selikow et al (2002) and Leclerc-Madlala (1999) in that it promotes hegemonic status of being a 'real' or 'successful' man and is important for positioning among same sex peers. Thus the arena in which male peer group status, respect and self esteem can be won or lost is one in which the central focus is the control of women. These authors point to the fact that girls, by contrast, run the risk of being labeled as 'sluts' by both male and female peers if they have sex in any other context other than a steady relationship.

Effective social interactions are necessary for an adolescent to make friends, become part of a peer group, develop social relationships and become an independent,

socially competent individual. Whereas low self esteem increases vulnerability to peer pressure, high self esteem increases adolescents' confidence and can enhance their sense of responsibility regarding their behaviour, particularly their sexual behaviour. Strong et al (1999) suggest that a strong bond with parents, which enhances a sense of self, appears to lessen adolescents' dependence on the approval of their peers and the need for interpersonal bonding, which may lead to premature sexual relationships.

2.4.4 Cultural influences

To understand gender relationships between youth, it is imperative to understand the youth culture that informs these relationships. The influence of culture on attitudes and behaviour is a subject of ongoing debate. Mayer (2000: 72) defines culture as "the enduring norms, values, customs and behavioural patterns common to a particular group of people". People's own cultural patterns are often invisible to them, because they experience them as a natural part of the environment. Consequently, people act within the confines of their cultural matrix, often without being aware that this matrix strongly affects their awareness of themselves and of others.

Barker and Galasinki (2001: 3) view culture as lived experience that embodies the texts, practices and meanings of all people as they conduct their lives within the totality of 'a whole way of life.' Culture is said to be centrally concerned with questions of shared meanings. However, the instability of meaning in language leads us to think of culture, identities and identifications as places of borders and hybridity rather than fixed, stable entities (Barker and Galasinki, 2001).

For Pinker (2002), in this vast socio-cultural system, over and above the individual, the mind that really counts is the one belonging to the group, which is capable of thinking, feeling and acting. Pinker (2002: 22) quotes the father of modern anthropology Franz Boas (1858-1942) as follows: "I claim that, unless the contrary can be proved, we must assume that all complex activities are socially determined, not hereditary." Boas was firm in his belief that differences among human races and ethnic groups came not from their physical constitution but from their culture, a system of ideas and values spread by language.

Harris (1995) argues that almost all cultures create ideals and norms about appropriate male behaviour that serve ultimately to ensure the survival of the particular culture. Understanding culture, according to Mayer (2000), requires moving beyond the symbolic representations manifested in external modes of dress, tradition, customs and rituals, to an exploration of values and power relationships that shape the culture. Abdool Karim (2005) states that cultural prescriptions of masculinity and femininity may control and determine what men and women know, how they communicate with each other and how they behave within their relationships. These norms may be enforced by societal institutions such as schools, workplaces, communities and health systems and are likely to have a significant influence on sexual behaviours and attitudes of men and women. While acknowledging that old traditions and customary practices have social value, some practices such as gender violence appear inconsistent and incongruent with the wider practice of building democratic cultures.

Pattman (2005) and Pollack (1998) assert that boys in all cultures spontaneously engage in rough and tumble play, which serves as practice for fighting. Children are violent well before they are infected by war toys and cultural stereotypes. The question that needs answering is how do children learn to aggress. The question, however, according to Pattman (2005), should be how do they learn *not* to aggress. Similarly, Pinker (2002) maintains that as a society, although we know the causes of violence and how to eliminate it, a failure of commitment has prevented us from putting resources into solving the problem. This may well be applicable to the problem of gender violence.

Authors such as Adomako Ampofo and Boateng (2005), Koenig et al (2004), Leach et al (2003) and Becker (2000) concur that cultural values and attitudes contribute to gender inequalities and the oppression of women in many parts of Africa. Leclerc-Madlala (2003a) cites the example of the Ugandan Health Ministry which considered rewarding girls who remained virgins until marriage with a modern appliance such as a refrigerator or a stove, which clearly conveys a gender value that links women to the kitchen. Leclerc-Madlala comments on culture as a determinant of behaviour within the context of sexual violence as follows: "Cajoled, coerced, or assaulted into

intercourse is hardly a matter of choice for many. It is also a far cry from anything remotely related to practices that could be called 'cultural' or 'traditional.'" (2003: 23). Nhlapo (1992) asserts strongly that no society has sexual abuse as part of its deep culture. Thus, if culture and abusive social relationships are largely attributed to learned behaviour, then this behaviour can be unlearned and conditions and attitudes supporting such behaviour can be transformed. Leclerc-Madlala (2003a) argues that contemporary culture must be challenged, in particular, the patriarchal mindset, gender inequalities, sexual violence and hegemonic masculine sexualities. In South Africa, responses to domestic violence by abused women and their partners are often located in culturally bound explanations of the causes of domestic violence and prescribed notions of blame and responsibility (Bassadien and Hochfeld, 2005). The contribution of patriarchy to masculine behaviour and further cultural practices relating to men and women are detailed in Chapter Four.

2.4.5 Substance abuse

This study acknowledges alcohol as a problem but it is not considered in great detail, as the focus of this research is on male power over women which dominates the gender processes. However, it is important to note the possible influence of alcohol on relationships, particularly in view of Sathiparsad and Taylor's (2005) findings from a study of 129 educators at secondary schools in Ugu North, including the schools participating in this current study. Although the study found that 69% of the educators identified drug abuse among students as a problem and 55% mentioned alcohol, the study did not explore the link between alcohol, sexual behaviour and violence.

Alcohol use generally begins in adolescence and may be attributed to a combination of social, intrapersonal and developmental factors. It is common for alcohol use and abuse to appear amongst youth at secondary schools. Males tend to be boastful in describing "escapades" involving their use of alcohol, and Mills (2001) identifies alcohol as an important signifier of masculinity which has links with masculinized violence. Findings from the Youth Risk Behaviour Survey of 10699 youth conducted by the Department of Health (2003) highlighted the extent of the problem among learners: 38.5% of the males and 26.4% of the females reported consuming alcohol

in the month preceding the survey. Despite the finding that 17.9% of males and 8.7% of females reported having used alcohol or drugs before the last time they had sex, a direct link between substance use, sexual behaviour and violence was not established in this cross-sectional survey. The study by Koenig et al (2004) in rural Uganda among 4279 reproductive aged women was more conclusive. Their research revealed that while alcohol consumption before sex by the male partner was positively related to the risk of coercive sex, a woman's alcohol consumption prior to sex was not significantly associated with reported sexual coercion. Similarly, from their South African study on risk factors for domestic violence, (Jewkes et al, 2002) report a positive correlation between domestic violence and alcohol consumption on the part of the man and/or the woman. Jewkes and Abrahams (2002) argue that alcohol consumption may also increase the risk of women being raped, probably because it reduces their ability to interpret and act on warning signs and to effectively defend themselves. The findings of these studies suggest that alcohol and drugs play a role in coercive and violent relationships and further research in this area amongst youth is necessary. However, it is important to note observations from authors such as Dawes (2004) and Gelles (1997) that use of alcohol and substance abuse is normally not a direct cause of violence, but an amplifier of already conflictual situations.

2.4.6 Media influences

The influence of the media on shaping attitudes and behaviour of individuals has been the subject of considerable debate. Television, films and other media orientate viewers, young and old, to a culture that accepts and expects violence. Citing the National Television Violence Study conducted in the United States, Kimmel (2004) notes that 61% of all shows contained some violence which was perpetuated by a white male who showed no remorse and went unpunished. While the violence was typically justified, the serious and long lasting consequences of violence were frequently ignored. Potter (2003) adds further weight to this argument by drawing attention to the fact that one of the reasons for violence being popular on television is that it serves the function of arousing the audience and getting the viewers interested in the action. Kimmel (2004) highlights the persuasive function of television commercials, especially those which link gender roles to the significant adult roles

that the youth will be playing in future. Gender stereotypes are also attached to media messages which convey that speaking, dressing or acting in a certain way will bring certain benefits in relation to the opposite sex.

Walsh et al (2002) draw attention to the ways in which media and popular culture feature in a gendered analysis of HIV prevention strategies. Kelly (cited by Walsh et al, 2002) found that mainstream media messages tended to reinforce the message of 'compulsory sexual behaviour' - one that conflicts with messages from HIV interventions regarding abstinence and sexual fidelity. Such contradictory messages can have serious consequences, especially for female youth. While acknowledging this point, Kimmel (2004) argues that while the media influences the ideas about gender, young people also negotiate a real world of people who do not fit these stereotypes. Media representations do not have a dramatic and immediate effect on gender behaviour, since most human learning is a steady accumulation of information, attitudes, and ways of responding rather than a sudden revelation. Therefore, for Kimmel (2004), the media simply provides another push towards accepting current gender arrangements as if they are natural and right.

Similarly, Potter (2003) submits that the media cannot be blamed for creating the concept of violence and emphasizes that the media simply reflects what is already in society. This blends with Silberschmidt's (2004) observations from East Africa where the media portrayed masculinity as synonymous with toughness and aggression. Boys and men were thus encouraged to adopt masculinities with strong elements of violent and aggressive behaviour. However, Potter (2003) maintains that there is a stronger influence in favour of violence when the perpetrator is rewarded or not punished; when the perpetrator is active or a hero; when the action is portrayed as being justified; or violence appears in a humorous context. From the above, it is evident that the media may have varied effects with regard to violence on children and adults, although exact effects have been difficult to establish. Pretorius (2004) reports youth narratives from Port Elizabeth which support the notion that the media perpetuates the use of violence as a means of resolving relationship conflicts. In her study, the youth drew direct links between the viewing of violent behaviour on television and the enactment and mimicking of such behaviour by youth. Despite these influences, Strong et al (1999) argue that although the media provide many

models of male behaviour, media influence is often overshadowed by the influence of the family.

2.4.7 Masculinity

Chapter Three reviews previous research on masculinities, and here I focus on work done in the area of masculinity and gender violence. In explaining male perpetrated violence, it has become common to relate men's violence to social divisions, namely, divisions of economic class, and to factors such as age, locality, gender and sexuality. Hearn (1998: 207) sees the practice of violence itself as a form of social division and social inequality. It is a social distribution of "who does what to whom." Men's violence to women is a structure, a process and an outcome of men's societal domination embedded in a structure of patriarchal relations. This is consistent with the argument presented by Mills (2001) that the link between violence and masculinity is not 'natural', but a social and political project that serves to protect male interests. Feeding into this pattern is women's, children's and some men's submission to men (Hearn, 1998: 209). For Bassadien and Hochfeld (2005), these patriarchal relations, accompanied by patriarchal discourses, are harmful to women because it prevents them from seeking help.

In his study of 60 British men who were perpetrators of violence against women, Hearn (1998) concluded that violence was used to achieve certain ends, to enforce controls, and sometimes to end the relationship, a pattern observed by Abrahams et al (1999) in their study of South African men. A common theme through both these studies was that in many instances, violence was a social choice with a clear intention to do harm. In this sense, violence may be 'rational', and not something that is 'out of control'. An interesting observation by Hearn (1998) was that the men in his study had a tendency to isolate the violence as something separate from the rest of their lives. Mills (2001) and De Almeida (1996) report similar findings, stating that the important issue is the social construction of men's relations and their reference to violence as an element in their doing of masculinities.

Mills (2001) and Kimmel (2001) identify violence as a significant marker of manhood in that men are constantly under the scrutiny of other men. They boast to each other

about their accomplishments, including their sexual conquests. Markers of manhood such as wealth, power, status and sexy women are often paraded in front of other men, seeking their approval. For Kimmel (2001), women become a kind of currency that men use to improve their ranking on the masculine social scale. However, Harris (1995), Kaufman (1994) and Whitehead and Barrett (2001) remind us that although certain behaviours such as sexual and physical assertiveness, competitiveness and aggression have come to characterize males, not all males display these traits in the same way. This is echoed by Kermode and Keil (2003) who state that, despite the fact that men have the potential to do more damage during a violent act because of their physical strength, the overwhelming majority of men are not reported for acts of violence or sexual misconduct. These authors maintain that all men are suffering at the hands of misplaced stereotypes and unrealistic expectations which cast a negative perception on masculinity. They suggest that men have endured the bad press that masculinity has experienced over the last century because of fear of challenging gender-based political correctness and also because the bad press was accepted as part of the legitimate process of feminism. Masculinity is considered in greater detail in Chapter Three.

The theoretical explanations for gender-based violence highlight first, that violence does not occur in a vacuum and second, that violence cannot be attributed to a single cause but to multiple causes prevalent in different contexts. The following section focuses on three primary contexts identified in the literature.

2.5 THE POLITICAL, SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL CONTEXTS OF GENDER- BASED VIOLENCE

2.5.1 The political and socio-economic contexts

Gender-based violence is an issue that should not be discussed in isolation from its social, political and economic context. Widespread political and social violence continues to plague many developing nations and is a reality for many young people (Motha, 2006). It is against this backdrop that school related gender-based violence in South Africa occurs. The youth who participated in this study were born in the late 1980s under the apartheid regime and were reared in a rural area where they

experienced the educational, health, welfare, political and socio-economic conditions prevalent at the time. Given that the social context in which young people grow up often impacts on their life-long development, a brief account of some of the conditions that these youth were exposed to during their developmental years, particularly with regard to violence, is provided.

The history of South Africa up to 1994 could be summed up as undermining the notion of 'belonging' for the indigenous people who constitute the majority of the population. As early as the sixteenth century, indigenous people were identified as 'other' by colonial settlers, thus denying recognition of their humanity (Ramphela, 2002). Communities were stifled by systematic deprivation and repression and competition for diminishing resources reduced tolerance levels for individuality and self expression. This trend continued with the Apartheid government's policies of separate development (1948-1994) which stipulated that people should live in separate areas based on racial categories. Apartheid ideology was based on the principle that black people were a mass bounded by ethnic groupings best managed by divide and rule tactics (Ramphela, 2002). For black people this meant submerging their individualities in a collective defined by racism, and Ugu is an area that reflects the impact of the apartheid legacy.

Historically, African people were told that they were inferior which led to a feeling of helplessness and hopelessness. Poverty, lack of education and skills and unemployment hindered many men in poor areas from fulfilling family responsibilities. (Dawes and Donald (2000). Young boys lacked the father model with the tools to assume the authority and responsibility for being male in a patriarchal society. The legacy of apartheid, along with the ethnically-based economic, labour and social development policies, has resulted in large scale inequality and underdevelopment in South Africa (Ramphela, 2002). Conditions such as poverty, illiteracy, homelessness and malnourishment, and racial discrimination in the health, welfare and education systems mirror South Africa's complex racial and ethnic hierarchies. These circumstances have led to profound inequalities in children in different racial groups and geographical areas and between genders (Biersteker and Robinson, 2000). By every index, African communities have the highest deficits in the provision of basic services and lowest level of access to the means of providing a better quality of life

(Department of Education, 1995a). This applies more especially to rural areas where poverty is concentrated. Although South Africa has world renowned specialist health facilities, these have virtually no impact in rural areas where families do not have access to basic health care and other services such as potable water and adequate sanitation. These conditions point to the lingering effects of apartheid's racial, geographic and socio-economic policies (Biersteker and Robinson, 2000).

In South Africa, violence has become a first line response to conflict and the concepts have become almost synonymous. It was pervasive in African tribal society, white colonial settlements, and apartheid's system of oppression, in the liberation struggles and today in social, economic and political spheres (Dawes and Donald, 2000; Morrell, 1998; Reid, 2005). The 'normality' of violence is evidenced by Jewkes et al (2002) who from their study in three South African communities reported that 75% of the women believed that it was sometimes or always acceptable for an adult to hit another adult (Appendix D). Family interaction and norms and values transmitted to children through socialization are influenced by socio-cultural and economic contexts. It follows then that individual behaviour is structured by these contexts and this influences their proclivities towards the use of violence in intimate relationships (Dawes et al, 2004). Societal violence contributes to family violence and the problem is exacerbated when levels of economic inequality and the stresses associated with deprivation and poverty are high. Parents, by their relationships and behaviour, provide models for their children, and this includes approval for intimate partner violence (Bandura, 1986).

Dawes et al (2004) report that the poor are at greater risk for partner violence than other groups. Furthermore, higher numbers of African/Black and Coloured women report assaults by partners, and more men in the same communities assault their partners than in others. Given the co-occurrence of race and class in South Africa, this suggests further that poverty is a significant risk factor for domestic and other types of violence in South Africa. On this, the Department of Health (2003) reports that the prevalence of poverty is highest among the 'Black /African' population, and that 72% of the poor live in rural areas.

Similar findings linking poor socio-economic conditions to violence against women are reported in Botswana (Phaladse and Tlou, 2006), Zambia (Human Rights Watch, 2003), Zimbabwe, Ghana and Malawi (Leach et al, 2003); Namibia (Becker, 2000), South Africa (Human Rights Watch, 2001; Selikow et al, 2002; Wood and Jewkes, 2001; Morrell, 2001), and in the United States (Zierler and Krieger, 1997; Farmer, 1999). These studies, point to poverty leaving women with no choice but to engage in transactional sex to supplement family income and/or to pay school fees. Of particular concern is the 'sugar daddy' phenomenon reported by Phaladse and Tlou (2006), Sideris (2005), Sikwibele et al (2004), Dunkle et al (2004), Alexis (2003), Leach (2003) and Selikow et al (2002), where older men engage in sexual relations with younger girls who are presumed to be disease free. Abdool Karim (2005) describes this pattern of feeding on conditions of poverty and economic dependency, where young girls enter exploitative and risky relationships to ensure food, shelter and schooling costs. Parents who are aware of their daughters' activities often turn a blind eye because family survival or sibling education depends on this income. In the same vein, Larkin et al (2006) note that when faced with a future of poverty and hopelessness, young men may use sex to gain control in their lives with little concern about the health consequences, including HIV risk.

Violence assumes a gendered form in that the beliefs in favour of male dominance over women, are manifested in marked social and economic inequalities. Particularly in the rural areas of South Africa, women's position remains tightly circumscribed (Dawes, 2004). Due to the HIV/AIDS epidemic, communities require women to take on care-giver roles, and they are expected to sacrifice educational and other occupational pursuits. This pattern entrenches the gendered power imbalances that make them vulnerable to being abused. Women lack the power in relationships to refuse sex or to negotiate protected sex in many societies (Arnfred, 2004; Silberschmidt, 2004; Sikwibele et al, 2004). Poverty and economic dependence severely compromise a woman's capacity to refuse sexual relations that she perceives as dangerous. The lack of economic opportunities is more pronounced in rural and geographically isolated areas and influence both men and women to migrate in search of employment and income. However, it is more likely that men, less constrained by caring for children, leave their families in rural areas to seek employment in cities. These migrations become a source of HIV infection as the men

engage in sexual contact with women or men along their routes (Jewkes et al, 2003; Ramphele, 2002). This is one way of introducing HIV into their families.

In South Africa, the migrant labour system with its pattern of oscillating migration was introduced by the mining industry (diamond and gold) in the late 1800s. For the next century, all black workers in the mines were housed in compounds as migrant labourers. In the early 1970s this system was phased out of the diamond mines, but grew stronger in the gold mines. In 1988, it is estimated that over 95% of the 500 000 Black men were housed on a single sex basis in the massive compounds, each containing several thousand men (Wilson and Ramphele, 1989). Campbell (2001) reported that of the 350 000 Black male workers employed in the mines, 95% were migrants who came from rural areas within South Africa and from surrounding countries such as Lesotho, Botswana and Mozambique. For Ramphele (2002), the migrant labour system served as the entry point of the HIV/AIDS epidemic into South Africa. Wilson and Ramphele (1989) clarify that the migrant system is not confined to the mines. In major urban centres of South Africa, single-sex barracks have been built to house up to 12 000 Black workers at a time.

The consequences of the migrant labour system on family life have been profound. For Vilakazi (1962), this system encouraged an insidious individualism, away from close kinship and family groups, and with this began the destruction of the strong sense of social solidarity. A man was thus exposed to new ways of life, new associates, a different kind of order and morality and a lack of customary restraints. Fathers have talked of the pain of seeing their children grow up as strangers. Children are shocked by their fathers' young concubines. Wives complain that their husbands only come home when they are old and sick to be nursed. The men confess to taking other partners as they sometimes stay a full year without their wives (Campbell, 2001; Wilson and Ramphele, 1989). Women from rural households were expected to lead celibate lives and focus on managing the household and nurturing the children. Suspicions of adulterous relationships poisoned many relationships and women were physically and sexually abused by jealous husbands. Tension often flared up as the man tried to re-establish his authority in the household (Ramphele, 2002). Many men ended up with two families: an urban woman to satisfy immediate sexual needs and a rural wife to keep the home stable.

2.5.2 The cultural context

In South Africa as in other societies such as Botswana (Phaladse and Tlou, 2006), Ghana (Adomako Ampofu, 2005) and Kenya (Silberschmidt, 2003), women are cast in a subordinate, dependent and passive role where the ideal virtues include virginity, motherhood, obedience and ignorance. Societal norms place the responsibility of nurturing, parenting and caring in the hands of women. Yet in the allocation of household resources, particularly in poor communities, it is male members of the household who get priority (Abdool Karim, 2005). This practice, according to Jewkes et al (2002) can be traced back at least to the nineteenth century when the control of women by men was central to the structure and functioning of African homesteads.

The installation of a democratic government in South Africa in 1994 heralded an improvement in the legal status of women. Equality is enshrined in the Bill of Rights, and legislation such as the Choice in Termination of Pregnancy Act, 1996 and the Domestic Violence Act, 1998 are examples of efforts to recognize these rights. In addition, The Commission for Gender Equality is a constitutional body established in 1996 to address issues of gender discrimination and other forms of oppression. Despite these initiatives, the position of women especially in the rural areas remains unchanged. This may be due to the fact that many women are unaware of their rights and even if they are aware, their environments are not conducive to their challenging subordination and other forms of oppression to which they are subjected. Furthermore, as pointed out by Koenig et al (2004) and Jewkes et al (2002), many of these oppressive practices are rooted in culture and have come to be accepted as 'normal' by women. In certain African contexts, a 'culture of silence' indicates a socially accepted behavioural constraint that dictates women's shyness and modesty in sexual relations. In this section, I concentrate on women in Zulu culture in view of the location of this study in an area inhabited by Zulus. Some practices relating to women and the entrenchment of successful femininity for women and masculinity for men, are discussed.

Isoka: Historically, in Zulu culture, a young man having many girlfriends, known as *Isoka*, is a title carried with pride and denotes successful Zulu masculinity. Being an

Isoka is part of the process of becoming an *umnumzane*, a real Zulu man (Krige, 1950; Vilakazi, 1962). The Zulu ideal of a young man striving to be popular by having many girlfriends is an ongoing practice and is now being adopted by young women as well (Selikow et al, 2002; Leclerc-Madlala, 2001). However girls behaving “just like boys” are frowned upon by elders (Leclerc-Madlala, 1999) and by young men (Robinson, 2005; Becker, 2000; Thorpe, 2002). The cultural ideal is for a woman to be soft spoken, respectful and obedient and to serve her husband, children and in-laws. In many societies, “good women” are expected to be ignorant about sex and passive in sexual interactions. These dominant ideologies define for women that sexual practices linked to reproduction are moral, and those linked to pleasure are immoral; and for men they endorse variety in numbers of sexual partners. While men are congratulated for such behaviour, women may be termed ‘whores, slags, sluts or loose.’ Such language reproduces female sexuality as a vessel to receive male sexuality and women are seen as either pure (and asexual) or impure (and sexual) (Arnfred, 2004). For Abdool Karim (2005) and Makahye (2005), it is this double standard for men and women in acceptable sexual behaviour that seriously challenges HIV prevention targeted at promoting monogamy and fidelity. Leclerc-Madlala (2001: 543) aptly summarizes the traditional woman / modern woman role clash:

A young unmarried woman should be preparing for a future of muted wifehood where control of the sexual encounter is firmly in her husband's hands, and where it is her duty as a wife to show love by meeting his needs, including his sexual needs, when, where, and how he wants. The popular perception of the modern young woman as someone who is assertive and active in pursuing her sexual interest in a manner similar to a man is a perception of transgression, an overstepping of accepted morality. Placed beyond the culturally conceived boundaries of patriarchal control, the modern woman is characterized as out of control, a notion that reverberates through the local discourse on contemporary women, their sexual behaviour, and the HIV/AIDS epidemic.

Similarly, the expected compliance of women and grooming to serve male needs is highlighted by researchers such as Phaladze and Tlou (2006), Chavez (1999), Becker (2000), Wood et al (1998) and Mannathoko (1992).

However, there are alternative views regarding multiple partnerships being the sole right of men only. Arnfred (2004) quotes Caldwell et al who maintain that men's promiscuity is nothing new and is a fact of 'Eurasian' civilization. What makes African sexuality African is that women are promiscuous as well. This is seen within the context of some African societies where there are separate hierarchies for men and women, compared to Western political and economic systems where women, in order to make progress, must fit themselves into a male mould. In KwaZulu-Natal, while in the 19th century, men and women could enjoy multiple partnerships, by the 1950s this was seen as a male prerogative only, reflecting a tradition of polygamy. Hunter (2005) explains this shift as arising out of a blend of Zulu and Christian values placing pressure on women to act with purity, and a woman having more than one partner came to be chastised as being *isifebe* (loose woman), a trend that continues today.

Ngubane (1977: 76) describes some traditional beliefs and practices underlying the current attitudes towards women. She explains that the concept of *umnyama*, meaning darkness and referring to a state of "ritual" pollution that is contagious and is capable of causing illness and misfortune (*amashwa*), is primarily associated with women. An intensified point of *umnyama* is associated with a woman who has just given birth. She is considered to be dangerous to herself, her baby and to males whose virility suffers if they eat food cooked by her. A menstruating woman is also considered to have a contagious pollution and becomes a danger to the virility of men if she has sexual intercourse with them. A polluted person (*umnyama*) must engage in correct behaviour (*ukuzila*) which entails withdrawing from society, being soft spoken, controlling her emotions, and avoiding sexual intercourse (Ngubane, 1977).

Investigations by Makahye (2005) and Leclerc-Madlala (1999) into the position of men and women in African communities in KwaZulu-Natal revealed that a common perception was that women were corrupt and the carriers of disease. Similarly,

Bhana's (2005) study with younger boys in KwaZulu-Natal, aged between six and ten, bears testimony to the generational transmission of these messages: some boys spoke of girls smelling and giving the boys diseases.

Another common phenomenon is that in an effort to gain advantage over men, women are often believed to be using love potions, known as '*umuthis*', meaning medicine. A variety of medicines or love charms come range from animal fats, flesh and plant roots to chemicals such as washing soda (Krige, 1950). Medicines can be used by a man to make himself attractive to girls or may be administered to girls to cause them to love him. While these substances were traditionally associated with men, it is believed that women are widely using them. These medicines may be used to attract a certain love interest, to secure fidelity, to harm an illicit sexual partner of one's lover, or to cause a couple to quarrel or end their relationship. Ngubane (1977) explains that while Zulu men's use of *umuthis* and love charms (*iziphonso*) to win the hearts of women is socially accepted, a woman's use of love potions and charms is not acceptable and is widely condemned as immoral and a further indication that women are out of control.

iLobolo: The practice of *ilobolo* (bridewealth) is found amongst African families in KwaZulu-Natal whereby the process of marriage and marriage arrangements are marked by sacrifices and the exchange of gifts. According to Zulu customary law, from the time marriage negotiations are begun, there is a series of gift exchanges between the two families, and each gift takes the negotiations a step further (Krige, 1950; Vilakazi, 1961). De Haas (1987) explains that *ilobolo* signifies the existence of a legitimate marriage as against a less formal type of union. Among the Zulus, marriage is far more than a transition for a girl and a boy; it is a gradual build up of harmonious relationships between the two families. The loss of a member disturbs the equilibrium between the families; hence the *ilobolo* or the passing of cattle, the principal commodity in the bridewealth, is given as compensation from the family of the boy to that of the girl for a symbolic loss to her group. Quoting Gluckman (1950) de Haas explains that by paying *ilobolo*, a man acquires rights to the sexual and domestic services of a woman and rights to the woman's offspring. The status of women is clearly linked to procreation and the expectation that marriage produces children, remains. If the girl is a virgin, an extra cow is given to her mother as a form of appreciation from the in-laws for providing the family with a 'pure' daughter in law

(Leclerc-Madlala, 2001). By paying *ilobolo*, a man proves his worth as a prospective husband.

iLobolo is still a valued practice as confirmed by Jewkes et al (2002) from their research into perceptions of *ilobolo* among rural women in the Eastern Cape, Mpumalanga and the Northern Province. They found that women perceived that *ilobolo* entrenched the dominance of the husband in the relationship. For 79% of the sample of 1306 women, *ilobolo* payment meant that a man owned his wife while 74% understood that payment of *ilobolo* meant that she was his sexual provider whenever he wanted it. In this sense *ilobolo* is viewed as a custom that enhances women's risk of domestic violence as it entitles men to treat their wives as they please (Bassadien and Hochfeld, 2005; Ludsin and Vetten, 2005; and Memela, 2005). Under customary law, upon marriage, a woman is absorbed into her husband's family. Disputes that arise are expected to be resolved by his family. Holomisa (2005) views this as an advantage, stating that the essence of *ilobolo* is the cementing of ties between the two families meaning that both parties have an interest in the success of the marriage. Therefore, even the police will encourage a woman seeking to lodge a domestic abuse case, to take up the matter with her in-laws. However, Ludsin and Vetten (2005) argue that it is precisely this system that increases the likelihood of women remaining trapped in relationships, thus keeping them in subordinate positions.

Succession and inheritance: According to customary law, upon a man's death, his eldest son becomes his successor and heir. The consequence of the rule was to exclude women, girl children and other children who were not first born or born out of marriage to participate in administering an estate that fell under African law and custom, a system, according to Ludsin and Vetten (2005) that promoted the subordination and oppression of women. However, the historical rationale was that the heir did not inherit the estate but merely acted as a representative to continue caring for the family (Holomisa, 2005; Ndashe, 2005). This duty to maintain families made it difficult for the court to equate this form of differentiation between men and women as unfair discrimination, especially since Section 31 of the South African Constitution of 1996 makes provision for customary law and provides for the rights of all persons to belong to cultural, religious and linguistic groups. However, these

rights may not be exercised in a manner inconsistent with the Bill of Rights. Ndashe (2005) cites a case whereby the court recently dismissed the paternalistic notion of protection accorded to women by the heir, thereby refusing to support discriminatory rules of custom. However, the realities of African women remain varied and complex and the debates regarding constitutional protection to women as part of a cultural group are likely to continue.

Virginity Testing: Krige (1950) notes the practice of Zulu mothers to regularly examine their daughters' vaginas to check whether they were still virgins, as it was considered a disgrace for an unmarried girl to have a child at her father's kraal. This custom of virginity testing (VT) fell into disuse over recent decades, but with the rise in HIV/AIDS, the practice has been revived by communities in an attempt to prevent girls from becoming sexually active, providing an example in South Africa of the rediscovery of tradition in response to social crises (Sideris, 2005). The practice of virginity testing (*ukuhlolwa kwezintombi* – inspection of girls) entails inspecting a girl's vagina to check whether the hymen is intact and thereby determine whether she is still a virgin (Leclerc-Madlala, 1999). Traditional practices encouraged polygamy in a patriarchal society, and young girls were brought up for marriage and child rearing. Parents secured a measure of control by regularly examining girls to check their virginity, a role undertaken by Zulu mothers. Virginity was prized and, as mentioned previously, girls who were virgins at the time of marriage received an extra cow as part of the *ilobolo*.

Proponents believe that this practice protects girls from teenage pregnancies, HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases, and uncovers cases of rape or child abuse, whereas opponents of the practice emphasize that it is unconstitutional, unhygienic and violates the human rights of those being tested. Harrison (2005: 277) cautions that an emphasis on virginity may be detrimental to young women, especially if they feel pressure to 'prove their virginity' through sexual intercourse with a male partner, or be pressured to practice anal sex to preserve their virginity. The Commission of Gender Equality, the South African Human Rights Commission and the National Youth Commission have repeatedly expressed concern about the practice, stating that it undermines human dignity, gender equality and youth development and is nothing less than a form of violation of and violence against

women. For Ngubane (1977), the practice clearly entrenched the subordinate role of a woman in a male-dominated society. However, many well educated and predominantly male government ministers, education and health officials support virginity testing as a form of rediscovering African traditions and indigenous knowledge systems. The current debate on virginity testing in South Africa remains locked in a traditional versus modern paradigm, whereby culture is equated with tradition and the democratic constitution is equated with western modernism (Leclerc-Madlala, 2001).

Reflecting on the political, socio-economic and cultural contexts of gender-based violence are particularly significant in view of the increasing rates of HIV and AIDS in South Africa. The following section further explores the intersection of these contexts with HIV and AIDS.

2.6 GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE AND HIV/AIDS: THE UNDENIABLE LINK

The undeniable link between gender based violence and HIV and AIDS is emphasised by researchers such as Abdool-Karim (2005), Mitchell (2005), Campbell (2003) and Bujra (2000). The fundamental determinants of HIV risk among women include social inequalities involving class, race, ethnicity, gender and sexuality. In fact Vetten and Bhana (in Campbell, 2003: 129) refer to HIV/AIDS and violence against women as 'twin epidemics' facing South Africa. Many sub-Saharan African nations already report more new infections among women than among men (UNAIDS, 2002). Of the 15-24 year old young people living with HIV, 63% live in sub Saharan Africa (UNAIDS, 2004)

The Reproductive Health Research Unit's (2004) national survey of 11 904 youth aged 15-24 revealed that 75% of HIV positive individuals were aged 20-24 years and 95% were African. Among the HIV positive 15-24 year olds, 77% were female. Nearly 1 in 4 women aged 20-24 years is infected with HIV compared to roughly 1 in 14 of males of the same age. Another significant finding was that provincially, KZN had the highest prevalence of HIV infection at 14.1% followed by the Eastern Cape at 12.8%. The survey shows that young women are at higher risk for HIV infection than men due to biological reasons, although the empirical evidence for this is mixed. A

significant finding was that youth in the rural areas reported the lowest condom usage and the lowest awareness of and exposure to HIV prevention campaigns. The report concluded that gender inequalities are a major driving force behind the spread of HIV. Physical violence, the threat of violence and the fear of abandonment prevent women from negotiating condom usage or leaving relationships that are physically unsafe.

These findings are corroborated by Taylor et al (2002) who studied 901 secondary school learners in Ugu, the rural area in which this research is located. Despite the fact that 64.8% of the learners viewed the threat of acquiring HIV/AIDS as discouraging multiple sexual partners, 16.5% still indicated that they would want to have many partners. Of the 256 sexually active learners, only 33.5% of males and 10.1% of females reported always using condoms. Some of the learners began sexual activity as early as at age 10. An earlier study by the South African Demographic and Health Survey (Department of Health, 1998) reported a high rate of teenage pregnancy (35.1%) among the 15-19 year age group, indicating that many young people do not practice safe sex behaviour which places them at risk of HIV/AIDS. A subsequent report by the Department of Health (2003) revealed that 8.1% of males and 11.1% of females in their national survey were forced to have sex. These findings are supported by Dunkle et al (2004) and Campbell (2003) who observed that women with violent or controlling male partners are at increased risk of HIV infection, thus pointing to the need to further explore issues relating to masculinity, gender violence and sexual behaviour.

Gender and HIV

The AIDS epidemic has forced an examination of what sex and sexuality mean in their socio-cultural contexts, how sexuality is constructed and played out in public and private spheres, and the relationships between health, disease and sexual behaviour. There has been growing realization that gender inequality lies at the centre of the HIV epidemic (Mirsky, 2003; Cornwall and Wellbourn, 2002; Foreman, 1999b). HIV/AIDS is increasingly being recognized as a gendered disease (Baylies, 2000; UNIFEM, 2005), impacting on women but requiring an understanding of the role played by, and the construction and performance of, masculinity in driving this

epidemic (Pattman, 2005; Ramphela, 2002). For women, social norms defining their acceptable behaviour, characteristics and responsibilities, economic dependency and violence make them vulnerable, whereas ideals of masculinity associated with risk-taking and sexual conquest also create vulnerability in men.

To address the spread of HIV, Larkin et al (2006) emphasize the need to go beyond a limited focus on sexual behaviour, to explore the social and economic contexts that impact on gender identities and their interaction with sexual practices. HIV/AIDS being perceived to be a result of deviant and promiscuous behaviour and responses of moral panic have meant that instead of receiving sympathy and support, people with AIDS are blamed, feared and avoided (Phaladse and Tlou, 2006; Baylies, 2000; Strebel, 1997). From this discourse, a return to 'traditional values and lifestyles' and the control of seemingly deviant sexuality is seen as a solution to the AIDS problem. Similarly, Mitchell (2005) brings into focus the location of sexual violence and sexual abuse within new discourses of shame, secrecy, poverty and gender imbalances. She highlights the need to locate desire itself with affection and the body and normal sexual experimentation, and the necessity to explore issues of culture and consumerism. For this reason, authors such as Lindegger and Maxwell (2005) and Pattman (2005) suggest that the very construction of masculinity must be questioned and challenged. Morrell et al (2002) draw attention to the extent to which patriarchal power impacts on rates of HIV transmission, particularly amongst girls, via coerced sexual intercourse. Coerced sex increases the vulnerability of young women in particular, as it is less likely to be protected and is often more physically traumatic than consensual sex.

Biologically, women have a greater susceptibility to HIV infection and other sexually transmitted diseases. Coercive sex itself is more likely to lead to trauma or abrasions which can facilitate the transmission of HIV (Dunkle et al, 2004). Mirsky (2003) draws attention to studies in Uganda (Wagman) and India (Amin), Brazil (Barker) and Tanzania (Maman) which point to women in relationships with high risk men experiencing almost three times as much physical violence and sexual coercion as women in low risk partnerships. Furthermore, women in violent relationships are less likely to seek treatment for sexually transmitted infections. These studies showed that women whose partners maintained multiple sexual relationships were five times more

likely to experience physical violence than women who reported that their partners had never had other relationships. Dunkle et al (2004) report similar findings from their South African study where women with violent or controlling male partners were at increased risk of HIV infection, even after their own risk behaviour was taken into account (See Appendix D). Clearly, men's behaviour threatens women. Foreman (1999a: xi) reflects on the different circumstances in which both sexes contract the disease. Women are vulnerable to HIV because they have limited opportunity to protect themselves; men are at risk because they refuse to do so, often deliberately, because "that is how men are expected to behave." What is clear is that the widely accepted concepts of masculinity underpin the behaviour of men across the globe.

Inequality and HIV

Globally, and more specifically in Africa, women living with HIV or at high risk of HIV infection have borne the brunt of persistent and deepening forms of economic and social inequality. Zierler and Krieger (1997) and Farmer (1999) claim that social inequalities lie at the heart of HIV infection among women in the US. Economic deprivation and discrimination on the basis of race, class and gender are interwoven with risk of HIV/AIDS among women. The authors state that women's relations with power in personal life (as with sexual partners) and public life (as with opportunities for earning a living wage) shape the distribution of HIV in women. In doing so, they propose that transmission and infection are inextricably bound to social and economic relations of race, class, gender and sexuality. It is these relations that point to which women are at risk for HIV infection (Farmer, 1999; Zierler et al, 1997).

Although women at high risk of HIV infection are aware that condoms can prevent transmission, they are unable to insist on the use of condoms because of their economic dependence on men, which robs them of the choice of whether or not they have sex, or whether a condom is used (Campbell, 2003; Selikow et al, 2002; Zierler and Krieger, 1997). Many women express feelings of powerlessness, low self esteem, the lack of a voice and the inability to effect risk reduction decisions or behaviours with their partners. Mirsky (2003) reported that women were less likely to use condoms when they needed men for social status or when teenage or younger women were sexual with older men. Even women who want to resist do not have

enough leverage to refuse having unprotected sex because such women are wives, poor mothers, sex workers and/or rape victims. Disempowered rural women often run the risk of being infected by husbands returning from the city who refuse to wear condoms (Ramphele, 2002). These conditions led Morrell et al (2002) to conclude that the risk of HIV infection amongst women is increased because men set the terms of intimacy.

Zierler et al (1997) describe a cross sectional study of 600 women in three cities in Brazil who depended on sex with men for money, drugs or gifts. The study found that women in the lowest social class stratum were more than four times more likely to be HIV positive (17%) compared to women in higher social class strata (4%), independent of HIV prevalence in the cities where the women lived and worked. Similarly, Machel (cited in Campbell, 2003) reported that Mozambican schoolgirls from wealthier areas reported fewer sexual partners, more frequent condom usage and more assertive behaviour in their relationships with men than young women attending schools in poorer suburbs, pointing to the possibility that greater access to money and education may do more to change behaviour than as a result of HIV prevention programmes. Such research indicates that defining features such as poverty, racism, sexism and powerlessness are closely linked to HIV transmission and AIDS, and that HIV and direct violence against women are intimately linked. Although women at high risk of HIV infection are already aware that condoms can prevent transmission, they are unable to insist on the use of condoms because their precarious economic situations often force them as poor women to rely on men. Amaro (in Zierler and Krieger, 1997) illustrates this from interviews with 2527 Latina women in northeast United States on their reasons for having sex with men who did not use condoms. The women expressed feelings of powerlessness, low self esteem, lack of voice and inability to affect risk reduction decisions or behaviours with their partners.

As Foreman (1999a) notes, in many societies, men are still expected to have frequent intercourse with their wives or regular partners and occasional or regular intercourse with casual partners. Women are expected to accede to men's demands. Abstinence is seen as harmful and condoms are seen as restricting a man's pleasure. Such concepts of masculinity are likely to ensure the continuous spread of

HIV. Changes in the patriarchal male-female dynamic could increase equality, thereby enhancing social justice, reducing diseases, and making gender transformations more sustainable.

Further complicating the issue is the belief that having sex with a virgin can cleanse one of HIV is common in sub-Saharan Africa. Men may seek out young partners believed to be virgins to free themselves of the virus. Dunne et al (2006) and Human Rights Watch (2001) claim that in southern Africa, reports of male school teachers raping their female pupils are spreading and young girls are being violated and infected with the virus through the perpetuation of male sexual myths. The 'victims' of this unhappy tradition are young women who cannot defend themselves.

Walsh et al (2002) outline concerns relating to adopting a youth-focused gendered analysis on HIV/AIDS. Consistent with Strebel's (1997) view that to effectively tackle AIDS requires more alternative, emancipatory responses, Walsh et al (2002) question the depiction of gender in HIV/AIDS discourses in life skills and sex-education programmes in schools. Terms such as 'risk-taking, negotiation, decision-making and consensual sex' may be used differently in relation to young men and young women; for example, just by carrying a condom, a young woman may place herself at risk of verbal or physical abuse. Furthermore, sexual behaviour is linked to morality in such a way that sexually active girls are judged differently from sexually active boys. As young women are presumed to be pure and innocent, how do they relate to the absence of references to desire and pleasure in messages of prevention? The authors argue that such notions of innocence in HIV/AIDS campaigns must be challenged and replaced by constructions of young men and women as 'knowers' who should be involved more directly as producers and consumers of narratives about sexuality, HIV and AIDS.

In African countries such as Tanzania, Zambia and Kenya, men are increasingly being drawn in as partners in the fight against AIDS. A positive move is that some men are becoming aware of themselves as gendered beings and of their masculinity as a cultural construction, rather than something fixed. They are now making connections between constructions of masculinity and men's behaviour towards women. The literature on masculinities alerts us to the possibility of a range of

alternative masculine discourses and masculine positions. Bujra and Baylies (2004) suggest finding creative ways to exploit such variation. However, ultimately, ways need to be found of targeting both men and women for greater mutuality in sexual relations.

2.7 CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter provided an overview of the nature and the extent of gender-based violence written with the research questions strongly in mind. The increasing rates of male perpetrated violence against women were highlighted, followed by a discussion of the main determinants of such violence. In this regard, the literature points clearly to the multi-factorial causation and the complexity underlying this phenomenon. The situation is exacerbated by the contexts within which violence occurs, namely, the political, socio-economic and cultural contexts. South Africa's apartheid past, characterized by human rights abuses, poverty and inadequate health, education and welfare systems, has contributed to violence being accepted as a normal way of resolving conflicts, including conflicts in intimate relationships. Furthermore, the literature points to certain cultural practices which promote inequality between the sexes, thus keeping women in a subordinate position in relation to men. Some of these practices were briefly discussed. Finally, with several authors emphasizing that gender inequality lies at the heart of the HIV epidemic, the chapter highlighted the intersection between gender-based violence and HIV and AIDS

In an attempt to understand the complexities surrounding male perpetrated violence against women, the following chapter provides a review of the literature relating to those aspects of masculinities and male behaviour which relate to the aims of this thesis.

CHAPTER THREE

MASCULINITIES

3.1 INTRODUCTION

To facilitate an understanding of men and masculinities, this chapter further explores the construction of masculinity, a contested terrain. This is done by viewing masculinity in relation to feminism, reviewing significant theoretical perspectives on masculinity and detailing the patterns of masculinity outlined in the literature. A range of views are then offered concerning masculinity being 'in crisis.' To address issues related to gender-based violence, the necessity to develop alternative masculinities, as advocated by various researchers, are discussed. The chapter concludes with some discussion about including men in intervention strategies and provides examples of a range of successful initiatives.

3.2 THE STUDY OF MEN AND MASCULINITIES WITHIN FEMINIST SCHOLARSHIP

Although feminism was a primary influence on the origins and development of contemporary men's groups (Robinson, 2003; De Almeida, 1996), it was and remains a highly ambivalent relationship. A note on feminism is appropriate here because, as pointed out by Mills (2001), feminists have been central to problematizing dominant constructions of masculinity and their relationship to violence. It is feminists who have identified rape, domestic violence, war and poverty as consequences of masculinized gender performances. Mannathoko (1992) sees feminism as a political movement aiming to transform gender relations to liberate women from oppression. The 1970s heralded in a mass movement of women against their oppression throughout the world, with varying intensities depending on cultures and countries. Such movements have impacted widely on society and on the consciousness of women. Feminists question and challenge the origins of oppressive gender relations and attempt to develop a variety of strategies that might change these relations for the better (Mannathoko, 1992).

However, authors such as Baylies and Bujra (2000), Silberschmidt (2003) and Cornwall and Wellbourn (2002) maintain that despite these advances and an increase in women's education, the position of many women, especially in developing countries, remain basically unchanged. Silence around the word 'feminism' exists in some schools as it causes discomfort. In some instances, feminism is used in a derogatory way to describe the actions of women who raise gender issues. Mills (2001) argues that because feminisms provide valuable insights into the lives of both boys and girls, feminist work ought to underpin the approaches utilized with boys on gender and violence issues. A brief overview of major feminist perspectives is presented here in order to locate feminism within the broader struggle of men and women for justice and equality.

Some feminists are reluctant to engage with men's ideas and writing on masculinity, claiming that men's studies can be seen to want to complement women's studies and do not recognize the power issues inherent in this complementary approach (Robinson, 2003). Some pro-feminist men are perceived by feminists as promoting a modernization rather than an eradication of patriarchy, whereby they gain advantages through such a move while still reaping the privileges of a dominant social group (Haywood and Mac an Ghaill, 1996). Robinson (2003) adds that some feminist critiques see men as trying to divide feminists or only engaging with feminism in order to co-opt or conquer it.

In the United States, the first wave of feminism culminated in the ratification of the Constitution in 1920 gave women the right to vote, to serve as jurors, to own property in marriage, to divorce and to receive an education. The second wave, which occurred in the 1970s, brought women into the professions, changed the divisions of labour in the home, exposed sexist biases in the workplace and highlighted women's interests in all walks of life. However, in much of the Third World, the position of women has not improved and globally, women are still subject to discrimination, harassment and violence (Pinker, 2002).

For this reason, in the late 1980s and 1990s, African women scholars highlighted the oppositional gender binarism that translates into theories emphasizing struggle and

disharmony between men and women. They asserted that Western feminism located women as victims and overemphasized sexuality and sexual orientation, thus ignoring the history of African women which speaks of agency and achievement. African feminism combines African American feminist perspectives with Third World feminist perspectives and claims to be part of a broader global feminist movement based on the specific history of Africa and the achievements of its women (Morrell and Ouzgane, 2005).

Arnfred (2004: 67) asserts that the European model of sexuality is portrayed as being healthy and civilized, while “African sexuality” is viewed as being permissive, immoral and primitive. The study of sexuality in Africa has been shaped by the false dichotomy between ‘us’ and ‘them.’ Images of ‘African sexuality’ are constructed as being pathological, perverse and primitive as opposed to European sexuality which is seen as healthy, normal and civilized. Much research that has been undertaken in Africa conforms to this stereotype and tends to view tradition as static and ahistorical rather than dynamic and subject to change (Reid and Walker, 2005).

In South Africa, the post-apartheid democratic transition has been accompanied by changes in the gendered order of society (Reid and Walker, 2005). New ideals of equality between men and women are enshrined in the Constitution. Feminist activists and scholars acknowledge the historical significance of gender politics for the democratization process. In creating a more equitable democracy with regard to race and gender, women’s concerns were placed firmly on the political agenda. This resulted in a significant shift for feminist activists from resistance to one of engagement with the state (Sideris, 2005). Cornwall and Wellbourn (2002) note that a major obstacle to achieving gender equality is the limited scope for men’s involvement in gender and development work. In terms of old style feminist theory, men were classed as the problem and were viewed as obstacles to positive change. However, there is increasing recognition of the need to open up spaces for change among and by men and to involve men in striving for gender equality (Cleaver, 2002; Bujra and Baylies, 2000; Bryson, 1999).

Three main feminist approaches bear relevance here: the liberalist perspective, the Marxist/socialist perspective, and the radical perspective. The **liberalist feminist**

perspective maintains that as men and women have the same qualities, there is no inherent inevitable conflict between men and women. Women are therefore entitled to the same rights as men and men will also gain if women's demands for equality are met. Mannathoko (1992) argues that liberal feminism does not adequately challenge non-feminist views of the inequalities between men and women and its reformist approach to changing gender inequities tends to perpetuate the status quo. In supporting this view, Seidler (1994) stresses that what liberalism viewed as a relationship of equality with men and women was in reality a relationship of power and subordination. It is not enough to think of others as equal without considering the power relationships between men and women. However, this approach has had a greater impact on development strategies in southern Africa than other approaches. In agreeing with the liberal feminists, **Marxist and socialist approaches** posit that men and women should work together to remove all forms of subordination and relations between the sexes and should not be debased by women's economic dependency (Mannathoko, 1992). This point is aptly captured by Ramamzonoglu (in Bryson, 1999) who claims that women's liberation does not view men as a class enemy, but focuses on economic, social and sexual structures which allow men to dominate women and to legitimate this domination. Some male socialist writers have drawn attention to the fact that in a capitalist economy, men are not only exploited as workers, but also suffer as men in that they are forced into a breadwinning role and expected to conform to a model of masculinity which prevents them expressing their feelings or displaying emotion. This analysis suggests that men and women have a vested interest in prioritizing gender issues.

In contrast, the **radical feminists** argue that because men are advantaged in the present patriarchal system, they are unlikely to support significant change, a point disputed by masculinity theorists such as Connell (2002), Whitehead (2001) and Hearn (1998). Radical feminism defines masculinity as, by nature, oppressive, and viewed by some feminists as a simplistic analysis of patriarchal power (Seidler, 1994). Patriarchy involves complex issues of structure and agency, through which it may be possible to distinguish between male power which is socially constructed and male persons which are biologically constructed (Whitehead, 2001; Mills, 2001, Harris, 1995). While radical and liberal feminism tend to ignore social class disparities

in their analysis of gender inequalities, Marxist feminists locate women's oppression in social class, race and ethnicity (Mannathoko, 1992).

Many men feel resentment at the lumping together of all men as wife-beaters or rapists which leaves no space for the recognition of loving tenderness between men and women (Bryson, 1999). A major issue for Brittan (1989) is that some feminist writers insist that it is men in general who are responsible for the oppression of women. However, he maintains that one cannot talk of men in general, only individual men who behave in a variety of individual ways. For Seidler (1994) what must be taken seriously is the fact that many men have responded to feminism by internalizing a particular conception of their masculinity as "the enemy". Since masculinity was equated with power in relation to women, it seemed that identification with feminism involved an abandonment of masculinity. On the other hand, some feminist discourses have emphasized the many possibilities available to men which allow a range of emotions and capacities for love and caring which may be denied by dominant discourses of masculinity (Seidler, 1994). Literature in the area of gender and development during the last decade increasingly points to the role of men and masculinity in addressing inequalities (Morrell and Ouzgane, 2005; Barker, 2003; Girard, 2003; Chant and Guttman, 2000).

Having viewed the theoretical perspectives on feminism, the next section discusses the main theoretical perspectives relating to masculinity.

3.3 THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES ON MASCULINITY

No single theory can adequately account for every facet of a person's life. However, exploring issues of gender and identity may be a useful starting point. Further, Edley and Wetherell (1996) propose that adopting an interdisciplinary perspective is useful in helping to understand men and masculinity. Authors such as Kimmel (2004), Connell (1995) and Kaufman (1994) support the feminist argument that any adequate theory of men and masculinity must have the concept of 'power' at its core. A synopsis of salient theories on masculinity, as highlighted by Edley and Wetherell (1996) is provided in this section, along with their specific contributions in helping to understand masculinity, especially with regard to relationships with women.

3.3.1 Gender and Identity

The word 'identity' is used to describe peoples' sense of who they are. Kessler and McKenna (1978, in Harris, 1995:9) defines gender identity as "an individual's own feelings of whether he or she is a woman or man, a girl or a boy. In essence, gender identity is self attribution of gender." At an individual level, a boy constructs his gender identity based upon his biology which influences messages he receives from his environment about how he ought to behave. Litosseliti and Sunderland (2002), in sharing Hearn's (1998) view, prefer the word 'identities', and describe individuals as having a multiplicity of identities. Litosseliti and Sunderland (2002: 6) borrow Ivanic's (1998) definition to justify this preference:

The plural word 'identities' is sometimes better, because it captures the idea of people identifying simultaneously with a variety of social groups. One or more of these identities may be foregrounded at different times; they are sometimes contradictory, sometimes interrelated: people's diverse identities constitute the richness and dilemmas of their sense of self.

With this understanding has come the notion and study of the multiplicity of gender identities: different femininities and masculinities, evident across populations and cultural contexts and within individuals. Much of young people's learning about gender is learning what Connell (2002), Frosh et al (2002), Mac an Ghaill, (1994) and West and Zimmerman (1991) term 'gender competence', that is, they learn how to adopt a specific gender identity and produce a certain performance while distancing themselves from others.

Whitehead (2001: 352) draws on the poststructuralist understanding of identity:

wherein the individual ceases to exist as a concrete, self knowing, grounded person but is replaced by the discursive subject; framed in and formed by the various and contrasting subject positions which serve to provide both the means of social interaction and sense of selfhood.

Poststructuralists have focused on the inextricable links between power and knowledge and how individuals are constituted as subjects and given unified identities. In doing so, they have drawn attention to subjectivity, difference, and everyday life (Petersen, 2003). Self reflexivity is seen as being central to the notion of personal and political change. People engage in reflexively interpreting the social phenomena in which they find themselves, in part to mitigate the insecurities of every day life. The act of reflexivity, then, can be understood as an act of gender signification. The individual's pattern of self is proposed, suggested and imposed on him by his culture, his society and his social group (Foucault, 1994). At the same time, Derrida, in his conversations with Caputo (1997), suggests that people who fight for their identity must understand that their own identity is not exclusive of another identity; rather, it is open to another identity.

Kimmel (2004) maintains that the term 'gender' encompasses both masculinity and femininity. One of the important elements of a social constructionist approach to gender is to explore the differences *among* men and *among* women since these tend to be more decisive than the differences between women and men. Identities are multiple, constructed and relational (Pattman, 2005; Petersen, 2003; Whitehead and Barrett, 2001; Connell, 1995; 2000; Mac an Ghail, 1994; Hearn and Collinson, 1994). These authors argue that people actively construct their identities in daily interactions and the kind of everyday performances which are associated with and give substance to particular identities. They are not things we have, but are rather what we do or perform and negotiate in relation to others and are multiple. Because individuals do not have biologically fixed identities, any sense of self can only come about through working to achieve a sense of belonging in the social world. There is literally an infinite number of ways in which the components of identity can intersect or combine to make up masculine identity. There is an arbitrariness about any identity construction which will inevitably entail the silencing or exclusion of some experiences (Petersen, 2003). Whitehead and Barrett (2001) and De Almeida (1996) add that because belonging is not an automatic process, masculine performance for most men is central to achieving entry to and being accepted within any particular community of men. This desire for belonging creates both a gender and an individual's sense of self. Our choice of identities is influenced by the fact that we are

born into a society with longstanding cultural discourses which position us in ways which make the acquisition of certain identities more likely than others. Therefore the investigation into gender, relationship patterns and sexuality should also be entrenched by the study of the socio-cultural realities within which people interpret and negotiate their lives and their sexualities (Pattman et al, 2005; Tersbol, 2003). Even accepting that sexual difference (gender identity) is socially constructed, does not detract from the intensity with which it is felt as constitutive of personal identity (Sideris, 2005).

The late nineteenth-century debates about sex difference culminated in the introduction of the notion of 'sex-role' whereby a man or woman enacts a general set of expectations which are attached to their sex. In terms of the sex role, masculinity and femininity are quite easily interpreted as internalized roles. In short, sociologists have identified significant problems with sex role theory which throws light on our understanding of gender and identity. The idea of role minimizes the importance of gender. Gender, like race or age, is deeper, less changeable and infuses the more specific roles a person takes on. One of the key themes about gender identity is that difference in race, class, ethnicity, sexuality and age all inform, shape and modify definitions of gender. By referring to one male or female sex role, we risk ignoring other factors that shape our identities. In fact, the social constructions of masculinity cannot be dissociated from constructions of femininity, and this makes it difficult to speak of masculinity without implying a binary notion of gender (Petersen, 2003). Active learning involves a commitment of oneself in a particular direction. The learner does not simply absorb what is learnt but engages with it and moves forward in life in a particular direction. Much learning about gender can be seen as gender competence (Connell, 2002; Mac an Ghaill, 1994). As young people learn how to adopt a particular gender identity and produce a certain performance, they also learn how to distance themselves from an alternative gender identity. The sex role theory is expanded on in the next section.

3.3.2 Interdisciplinary Perspectives

The psychoanalytic perspective

Perhaps the most renowned originator of psychoanalysis was Sigmund Freud and his co-workers during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Psychoanalysts focus on concepts of repression and the method that allowed unconscious mental processes to be read through dreams, jokes, fantasies and thoughts. Freud understood that gender and adult sexuality were not fixed by nature, but were constructed through a process of conflict and repression which began in infancy, and were linked to early social relationships, particularly with their parents. He believed that the same pleasure-seeking instincts were present in both infant males and females and argued that what brought characteristically masculine and feminine forms of identity into existence were the ways in which these innate drives were dealt with by the child's parents (Edley and Wetherell, 1996; Connell, 1995). Freud increasingly saw the 'Oedipus complex' - the emotional tangle of middle childhood involving desire for one parent and hatred for the other - as the key to this development. For a boy, the Oedipal crisis resulted from rivalry with his father over the love and attention from his mother, and the fear that his father may castrate him. For this reason, the boy identifies with the father and internalizes values and standards set by his father. While a boy may admire his mother, he may have conflicting feelings of loving and despising her, but above all, he must show that he is different to her. Freud maintained that the frustration of a young boy's sexual desires is translated into aggression (the frustration-aggression hypothesis). The young boy is expected to constantly demonstrate that he has successfully separated from his mother and has transferred his identity to his father - that he has become masculine. Male violence is one way to prove successful masculinity, or it may be an adaptive strategy to avoid becoming the prey themselves (Papalia et al, 2001).

Edley and Wetherell (1996) ask that if being a man means not being emotional and caring (like his mother), what sort of relationship will he enter into with partners, children and friends? And what will men do when they realize that they have emotional needs and desires? Some psychoanalysts believe that they often suppress these feelings or act them out against women, abusing them physically and sexually

and denying their feelings of dependence. Christian (1994) argues that if, as Freudians believe, identification with the father shapes a boy's character, then it is clear, that this is a major process by which male dominance is preserved. Such identification is one of the main mechanisms by which hegemonic masculinity and male chauvinism are reproduced over generations and therefore contributes to maintain male domination and patriarchy.

Chodorow (1989) advanced an alternative model of identification in which she stressed the significance of exclusive mothering by women in the creation of male dominance and the separation of masculine and feminine identities. In many societies, a father's work and social life take place away from home, making him relatively inaccessible to his son. Chodorow (1989) suggests that because women are led toward mothering, paternal absence from childcare means that masculinity was seen as that which was not feminine. A boy, to gain elusive masculine identification, often comes to define this masculinity largely in negative terms, as that which is not feminine or involved with women. The boy may then deny his deep personal identification with his mother by repressing whatever he takes to be feminine inside himself, and importantly, by denigrating and devaluing whatever he considers to be feminine in the outside world. The problem with this model, according to Christian (1994), is that it suggests that women are somehow to blame for their own oppression and depends on a mother performing her maternal function according to the conventional script.

The sex role perspective

As mentioned previously in this chapter, role theory maintains that people behave in socially prescribed ways, whereby appropriate gender roles are learned, referred to by Papalia et al (2001: 287) as "gender-typing." Of relevance here is the claim that aggression and violence are learnt behaviours, based largely on the social cognitive theory of Albert Bandura and Robert Walters. This theory explains human behaviour in terms of "a model of reciprocal determinism in which, behaviour, cognitive and other personal factors, and environmental events all operate as interacting determinants of each other" (Bandura, 1986: 18). This means that continued exposure to violent role models is likely to lead to imitation and acceptance of violent

conduct. Bandura argues that people acquire and perform sex roles, like any other kind of behaviour, through a combination of observation, imitation, indoctrination and conscious learning. This paradigm posits a kind of sex-role container into which all biological males and females are forced to fit, which Pollack (1998) terms "gender straitjacketing."

Connell (1987) argues that sex role theorists portray the process of gender socialization as relatively smooth and harmonious, with boys and girls gradually learning those characteristics associated with their own sex. In this sense, the theory fails to grasp issues of power. As Connell (1995: 27) states: "To explain differences in the situation of men and women by appeal to role differentiation is to play down violence, suppress the issue of coercion by making a broad assumption of consent." The sex role theory is one way of maintaining the male sex role as dominant and denying that people do have the freedom of choice in behaviour. Consistent with Connell's view, Papalia et al (2001) state that although children imitate adults, research findings imply that they don't necessarily imitate the parent of the same sex or even necessarily a parent at all. In fact they report that masculinity and femininity tests are inconclusive regarding children being similar to their own parents.

Pleck (1981) argued that such theory is inadequate to fully understand the complexities of gender as a social institution. He propounds that the male sex role itself is a source of strain, anxiety and male problems, and went as far as proposing the male sex role strain model (MSRS) in which he asserted that sex roles are operationally defined by sex role stereotypes and norms, and that these sex roles are contradictory and inconsistent. Furthermore, actual or imagined violation of sex roles leads individuals to over conform to such roles. In supporting Pleck's model, Connell (1995) stressed that the sex role theory, based on expectations or norms fails to cover issues of power, violence or material inequality, and because it misses the complexity between masculinity and femininity, offers very limited strategies of change. Connell (2002) and Kimmel (1987) emphasize that there is not just one sex role for girls and another for boys; there are multiple patterns of masculinity and femininity in contemporary societies. These result from influences such as class differences, ethnic pluralism of modern societies, and multiple patterns within gender relations. In this sense, growing up and learning about gender cannot be just a

matter of active agencies transmitting role norms to a passive learner (Connell, 2002b; Mac an Ghaill, 1994). The most significant problem with the sex role theory, according to Kimmel (2004:97) is that it 'depoliticizes' gender, making it a set of individual attributes and not an aspect of social structure. It ignores the fact that gender is also situational, that is, meanings of masculinity and femininity vary across cultures, over historical time and among men within a common culture.

The social relations perspective

The social relations perspective proposes that a man's identity takes its shape from the various institutions in which he is located such as the school, work and the family. In other words, masculinity as a personal practice, and individual and collective oppressive gender relations can be better understood if examined within the context of social structures (Hearn, 1998; Totten, 2003). Based on the Gramscian model of social relations, Connell (1995) claimed that in the institutional and interactional struggles of everyday life, masculinities manifest themselves competitively and strategically. Citing the school as an example, Swain (2006: 334) notes that in addition to providing the setting and physical space in which the embodied actions and agencies of students and adults take place, the very structure of the school as an institutional agent produces these "masculinizing practices," a point reiterated by Skelton (2001a) and Epstein and Johnson (1998).

The focus is on how social class, race and gender affect a man's sense of self and his identity, and on how men are positioned within the current mode of economic production (Totten, 2003). Capitalism draws men into a network of social relations that encourage sets of behaviours recognized as typically masculine. Although men dominate women in the workplace as managers and directors, this theory fails to explain why it is mostly men who occupy these powerful positions. Edley and Wetherell (1996) support the explanation that the working lives of men generally influence their private, personal and sexual relationships with women. Working class men, with little or no power in the work environment, are more likely than middle class men to dominate at home, and are also more likely to adopt an aggressive macho identity as a counterbalance to the powerlessness they feel at work. However,

this explanation does not deny the fact that middle class men, while portraying a more egalitarian image, also exploit their partners (Gelles, 1997).

The cultural perspective

Acknowledging that gender is socially constructed means acknowledging that different cultural realities have separate ways of constructing gender (Brittan, 1989). Culture, as defined in Section 2.4.4, refers to the way of life of a society or community, and culture represents a framework through which people conduct and make sense of their lives. Culture is centrally concerned with shared meanings about issues such as language, and power and every culture thus contains its own specific sets of ideas or themes relating to men and masculinity

The very notion of what it is to be a person is cultural and consequently variable (Barker and Galasinski, 2001; Pinker, 2002; Edley and Wetherell, 1996). Different ways of being male arises from different cultural groups (ethnic, class, sexual, and, age) and the connections between them (Skelton, 2001b). This occurs within the broad imbalances of economic, cultural, political, sexual and educational power between males and females and between males and males. When we look at how culture 'constructs' men and masculinity, there is no single consistent image of manhood, but a range of quite different, even contradictory representations. While a culture may contain multiple theories or discourses of masculinity, this does not mean that they happily co-exist. Different facets such as being active, romantic or intellectual may pose competing arguments about how a man should be represented. In other words, manliness is a contested territory (Whitehead, 2001; Connell, 1995; Kimmel, 1987; 2004). For this reason, Walsh and Mitchell (2006) caution against oversimplifying dominant notions of masculinity as being fundamentally oppressive, violent and subjugating to women as this may limit other ideas that co-exist with the dominant idea.

For centuries, manliness has been equated with physical strength, vigorous activity and rationality. In contrast, women were viewed as being physically weaker and emotional. Men were therefore seen to have the sole right and ability to contribute to the pursuit of knowledge. Men have dominated women because they seem to have a

stranglehold on *meaning*, namely, what it means to be a man, what it means to be a woman, what jobs constitute men's work and what jobs constitute women's work. Although men are in privileged positions, the processes by which male dominance is maintained is complex, indirect and subtle (Edley and Wetherell, 1996). One reason for this is that patriarchy presents itself as the only natural and normal way of seeing the world. In patriarchal societies, it follows then that each new generation of young men accepts the culture of patriarchy. However, although men may collectively belong to a dominant group, they may not necessarily *feel* powerful as individuals (Kimmel, 2004; Kaufman, 1994). Although patriarchy naturalizes men's power, the hegemony of a dominant culture is never absolute and men are capable of changing the cultures that define them (Edley and Wetherell, 1996, quoting Gramsci). Taking cognizance of the themes in the research on men and masculinities may provide some insights into how this can be achieved.

3.4 SIGNIFICANT THEMES IN MASCULINITY RESEARCH

Masculinity and femininity

Masculinity (defined in Section 1.9) refers to the many ways of being a man and remains a contested terrain (Morrell et al, 2005a; Pattman, 2005; Frosh et al, 2002; Whitehead and Barrett, 2001; Connell, 2002; 1995). Researching masculinity entails the critical study of men, their behaviours, practices, values and perspectives. As discussed later in this section, different versions of masculinity come to the fore at different times.

As a concept, 'masculinity' is essentially relational, that is, it is meaningful only when it is understood in relation to femininity (Mills, 2001; Connell, 1995). In other words, masculinity is an expression of the current image that men have of themselves in relation to women, and these images may be contradictory and ambivalent (Brittan, 1989). Coates (2003) explains further that normalized 'masculinities' and normalized 'femininities' are constructed through social practices that suggest what normal behaviours are for boys and men and for girls and women. This presents men and women with various legitimated subject positions which construct the existing gender order, which Connell (1987: 98) describes as "a historically constructed pattern of

power relations between men and women and definitions of femininity and masculinity.” Thus the gendered identities of masculinity and femininity can be seen in terms of a mutually defining and mutually exclusive relationship.

In this respect, the relational aspect of gender categories produces and sustains binary opposites which may be invoked in stereotypical ways. Masculinity represents strength, activity, hardness and rationality, while femininity represents weakness, passivity, softness and emotionality (Kehily, 2001). Femininity is associated with the private sphere and with traits that suggest passivity and subordination, while ideas about masculinity are associated with the public sphere, and with authority and dominance. Such dualisms have a direct bearing on sexuality and sexual identity. Young women’s lives are often shaped and lived through the notion of sexual reputation. As revealed in studies by Izugbara (2004), Thorpe (2002) Jewkes et al (2002), and Leclerc-Madlala (1999) sexual availability and sexual experience may cast one as being sexually promiscuous (See Appendix D). Conventional morality therefore demands that young women should be feminine and ever vigilant in the maintenance of their reputations (Kehily, 2001).

The pattern of the gender order operating in most societies is one that favours the interests of males. The term ‘patriarchal gender order’ aptly describes the power relations existing within the gender order present in most western societies, meaning that men assume or are accorded headship or dominance over women who are regarded as subordinate. Despite the entrenchment of male domination, Silberschmidt (2004) notes that male honour is dependent on women’s appropriate behaviour, and that women and female sexuality represent an active and threatening power to male identity and masculinity. In many parts of the world, while masculinity has increasingly been constructed from men’s ability to earn, notions of masculinity are also associated with male virility, sexuality and sexual performance. However, the inverse is true for women. Congruent with the findings of Izugbara (2004), Leach et al (2003) and Jewkes et al (2002), Silberschmidt (2004) notes from her research in Kisii and Dar es Salaam, that while sexual potency gives social potency, value and esteem to men, sexual modesty provides social value to women.

While feminism and feminist theories can be traced back to the eighteenth century, studying masculinity is fairly recent, emerging in the latter half of the twentieth century. De Almeida (1996) claims that it was in fact the surge of women's studies and feminist theory that made possible presenting masculinity as an issue of research. Authors such as Whitehead et al (2001), Mills (2001) and Kaufman (1994) remind us that masculinity is informed by, and locates itself, within feminist theories, with both agendas desiring and working towards what Connell (1995) terms 'gender justice'. Whitehead and Barrett (2001) note that since the 1950s, most research on masculinity has taken place in the US and therefore the bulk of the literature on men and masculinities emanates from there. Subsequently, a surge of interest in men and masculinities has occurred throughout the world.

In South Africa, the influence of colonialism and apartheid on the study of men and masculinity is apparent (Reid and Walker, 2005; Morrell, 2001; Xaba, 2001; Waetjen and Maré, 2001). Bhana (2002) and Morrell (2001) point out that masculine identities have been forged through work such as mining, and entrenched gender systems in the rural areas. In this regard, Reid and Walker (2005) explain that masculinities in South Africa have been profoundly shaped by closed institutions such as compounds, single-sex hostels and prisons, where conditions were humiliating, violent and brutal. Campbell (2003) draws attention to the masculine figure of the mineworker as being a symbol of bravery and fearlessness on one hand, while on the other hand representing the reality of poverty and exploitation. Likewise, soldiers fighting against the apartheid government were also regarded as figures of heroic masculinity. Reid et al (2005) and Xaba (2001) argue that just as colonialism and apartheid shaped the masculinities of the past, the transition to democracy in the 1990s has had the effect of unsettling and unseating entrenched masculinities which were patriarchal, authoritarian and steeped in violence.

As mentioned previously, men's studies have always assumed a particular relationship with women's studies. Although initially following the traditional sex role model of separate gender domains (Brod, 1994), by the mid-1980s this was challenged by more interactive dynamic approaches. With the focus on the social construction of gender and sexualities, the intersection between men's and women's studies has become increasingly clear. One of the crucial tasks in men's studies is to

investigate the interaction between men, how they experience these interactions, and the ways in which patriarchal scholarship have viewed men.

One way to proceed, according to Whitehead and Barrett (2001: 17) is to try to understand the processes by which definitions and discourses reinforce gender inequalities, for example, by positioning men as strong and women as fragile, men as rational and women as emotional, men as disciplined and women as undisciplined, heterosexual men as normal and homosexuals as sick. In Foucauldian terms (see Chapter One), discourses come to provide the way in which individuals come to understand themselves as men and women. Discourse is an important strategy by which power is exercised, and through which male supremacy and power inequalities become legitimized. Expressions such as 'man as hunter' and 'woman as passive' contain social and cultural assumptions which, once taken up by a person, are presented as 'truths' and as ways of being and relating to the world and to others. In this way, discourses suggest strongly what can and cannot be spoken about in a given cultural setting, and what is seen as 'truth' and how individuals should behave in a given setting. Masculinities exist as discourses, that is, dominant and subordinated ways of thinking, talking, and acting as males, and as such provide the very means by which males 'become men'.

Since masculinity is something that one *does* rather than what one *has*, it is appropriate to say that men do masculinity in a variety of ways and in a variety of settings, depending on the resources available to them (Whitehead, 2001). Research by Lindegger and Maxwell (2005) and Frosh et al (2002) demonstrate that boys and young men 'do' masculinity differently depending on who they are with, and they may express their masculinity and attitudes towards woman differently in different contexts. Young men and boys are often constrained in making their own choices or expressing positive views about women when they are in groups with other boys.

Becoming a man

Parallel to the work within girlhood and women's studies on 'becoming a woman' (Christian-Smith, 1990), one of the key issues facing young men is the notion of 'becoming a man'. Manhood never seems to quite arrive at its full and complete

state. Many men find themselves on a lifelong journey of striving to prove their masculinity and in this sense it takes on the features of a bottomless pit of yearning (Kermode and Keil, 2003). Connell (2002b) maintains that the masculine culture does not spontaneously erupt in adulthood; rather, gender role socialization begins at birth. Parental approval for behaviour that conforms to gender norms and disapproval for inappropriate behaviour moulds a child's gender identity. A child's emerging sense of self is determined by peers, teachers and other significant adults who relate to them based on notions of gender (See Chapter Two). Compliance with the norms leads to rewards or positive responses while nonconformity may lead to negative sanctions, ranging from angry voices to being hit. Thus parents and other significant others may become facilitators of behaviour that conform to ideologies based on stifling social norms relating to gender (Sobieraj, 1998). As pointed out in section 2.4.1, young Zulu boys aspire to be strong, powerful and authoritarian like their fathers (Vilakazi, 1962).

From a young age, boys are treated by parents as independent and outgoing leading to a framework where masculinity stresses externally oriented activity like work and sport at the price of a masked emotional dependence on women and resulting in weak skills of emotional communication (Connell, 2002; Pollack, 1998). In lacking competency in the vocabulary of intimacy, many men are unable to speak about their feelings or take responsibility for their own emotions. Toughness, emotional repression and dominance enhancing behaviour are learned traits. In this regard, Vilakazi (1962) draws attention to the Zulu norm which maintains that a boy should not be spared pain and trouble and that he must be hardened into a man who will face difficulties with fortitude. For Ludsin and Vetten (2005), these traditional views of masculinity within a hierarchical, competitive and physical culture, influence some men's socialization towards gender-based violence. While men may find it difficult to express vulnerability, sadness and fear, it may be acceptable and easy for them to express anger. Despite the negative impact that physical and verbal aggression have on their recipients, these actions are often depicted in a value neutral or a disturbingly positive context. This is often encouraged by advertising imagery that equates masculinity with violence.

Barker (2003) observes that from an early age, in many parts of the world, boys tend to spend more time on the streets or outside the home unsupervised than do girls, a

trend observed by Memela (2005) amongst African communities in South Africa. Male peer groups provide the places where boys and young men rehearse macho roles. As noted above, Barker (2003) and Sobieraj (1998) assert that many young boys are socialized to be aggressive, violent and competitive, characteristics considered useful for providers and protectors, whereas girls learn to be non-violent and sometimes passive in accepting male violence and male sexual initiative.

For Pollack (1998), the real problem lies in society's conflicting demands of boys. On the one hand, they are called upon to suppress their loving, sensitive, emotionally expressive sides, and then society complains about the lack of these qualities in adult males, especially in their relationships with women. From his work with young boys in the US, Pollack (1998) observed that some boys questioned the double standard of masculinity that made them feel that they must choose between being tough, competitive, unfeeling and uncommunicative - the characteristics traditionally celebrated as "masculine" - and being the kind of open, expressive, egalitarian man now heralded as ideal by contemporary society. The youth in his study felt that they needed to say that they conformed to society's ideal of 'masculine' self confidence even though inside themselves they may not *feel* confident at all. They expressed profound anxiety about their future as men. What this showed is that boys can have some or all of these qualities; boys can be tough and gentle, vulnerable and courageous, dependent and independent. The news media, teachers, parents and public figures contribute to generating a masculine ideology which dominates how boys and men think about themselves. Young men therefore receive similar notions about how to behave and it is these common understandings of masculinity that constitute dominant cultural norms (Pattman et al, 2005). These norms are frequently enacted through the use of power.

Power

The literature consulted is replete with suggestions that manhood is equated with power: power over women and over other men (Ludsin and Vetten, 2005; Kimmel, 2004; Clare, 2001; Harris, 1995; Brittan, 1989; Connell, 1987). Feminist theories have claimed that masculinity is about this drive for domination, power and conquest, and that this is how women experience masculinity. Whitehead and Barrett (2001)

suggest three ways in which power can be understood. Power can be understood as brute force related to weapons and the complex knowledge associated with them; secondly, as relational and positional in respect of the fact that most positions of power in the public sphere are held by men. A third concept of power draws attention to the power of discourse through which power is exercised and resisted, and male supremacy and power inequalities become legitimized. Drawing on the work of post-structuralists such as Foucault, Whitehead and Barrett (2001) demonstrate that such discourses reinforce gender inequalities, for example, by positioning men as strong and women as fragile, men as rational and women as emotional, and men as disciplined and women as undisciplined. Such studies view power as something which circulates as both a positive and negative force implicated in the process of producing privileged and subordinated discourses and knowledge. This coheres with Seidler's (1994: 105) assertion that within the post-structuralist framework, the notion of "social construction" rejects the idea of power as a "thing like commodity" that some people have over others, implying that the pervasiveness of power means that all identities are articulated within particular discourses of power.

To say that gender is a power relation – the power of men over women and the power of some men or women over other men or women - is among the more controversial arguments of the social constructionist perspective. Yet it is a central theme as all theories of gender explain difference and domination. While other theories describe male domination as a result of sex differences, social constructionism explains differences as a result of such domination (Kimmel, 2004). Brittan (1989) illustrates this point by claiming that men and women are divided by gender and made into sexes by the social requirements of heterosexuality which institutionalize male sexual dominance and female sexual submission. Sexuality, then, as a form of power, is embodied by the notion that gender is socially constructed, making sexuality the key to gender inequality. Brittan (1989) maintains that it is within the nuclear family, as a heterosexual institution, that men acquire their sense of power, their belief in the ubiquity of their desires, and it is here that the penis becomes valorized. While acknowledging that no single organ or sexual act is representative of sexuality, Brittan maintains that the penis, as a sign of difference and domination, locates men in the social relations of gender and thereby legitimizes their view of themselves as having authority over women. In making this assertion,

Brittan clarifies that such a characterization of male sexuality does not imply that heterosexuality is inevitable.

In explaining why feminism has failed to resonate for many men, Kimmel draws an analogy between the structure of gender relations and individual experiences. Women as a group, are not *in* power and nor do they, as individuals, *feel* powerful. Men, on the other hand may be *in* power as a group, but individual men are not *in* power and do not *feel* powerful. They feel equally constrained by a system of stereotypic conventions which negatively affects the quality of their lives. In fact, according to Kimmel (2004: 100), psychologist Warren Farrell called male power a "myth," since men and women have complementary roles and equally defamatory stereotypes of "sex object" and "success object." Like gender, power is not the property of individuals, but a property of group life and social life. Thus Kimmel (2004: 100 -101), quoting Arendt, states that "...When we say of somebody that he is 'in power,' we actually refer to his being empowered by a certain number of people to act in their name." Power is so deeply woven into our lives that that it is most invisible to those who are most empowered.

The point made by Mills (2001), Pollack (1998) and Kaufman (1994) is that while men's social power is the source of individual power and privilege, it is also the source of the individual's experience of pain and alienation. This, according to Silberschmidt (2004), may be due to the fact that while masculinity is power, it is also 'terrifyingly fragile' and it is this combination of power and pain marks men's contradictory experience of power. However, Kaufman (1994) cautions that men's pain cannot be an excuse for acts of violence and oppression. Rather, knowledge of this pain is a means to better understand men and the dominant forms of masculinity. The realization of men's contradictory experiences of power may help to understand how the majority of men can be reached with a message of change. It is therefore useful to reflect on the patterns of masculinity described in the literature.

3.5 PATTERNS OF MASCULINITY

It can be argued that ideals and norms about appropriate male behaviour may serve ultimately to ensure the survival of the masculine culture. However, every country contains many dynamic and diverse concepts of masculinity (Haywood and Mac an Ghaill, 2003; Harris, 1995). Several authors including Pattman (2005), Kimmel (2004), Litosseleti and Sunderland (2001) and Skelton (2001a), stress the need to take seriously the plurality of masculinity to enhance awareness of the range of ways of becoming a male. Hearn and Collinson (1994) maintain that a difficulty with talking about patterns or types of masculinity is the sheer complexity of the very large number of possible permutations and interrelations of types. Uncertainty surrounds the meaning of types of men and masculinities. They may refer to structural or social relations or both and to individual men or to groups of men.

In this section, four main patterns of masculinity identified by Connell (1995) that exist within the gender order are discussed, namely, hegemonic, subordinate, complicit and marginalized.

The origins of **hegemonic masculinity** derive from the work of Antonio Gramsci's analysis of class relations and refers to the cultural dynamic by which a group claims and sustains a leading position in social life (Connell, 1995). By transferring the concept into the area of gender relations, Connell (1995) contributes some valuable insights of how to incorporate power into an analysis of masculinity. Using this framework, Connell (1987; 1995) highlighted how men and women, gay or straight, contest and produce a plurality of masculinities. Drawing on Gramsci's work, Swain (2006) has highlighted that hegemony prefers to work by implicit consent, meaning that the easiest way to exercise power and gain advantage over others is for the dominated to be unaware of and therefore complicit in their subordination. Hegemonic masculinity legitimates patriarchy and guarantees the dominant position of men and the subordination of women. This form of behaviour serves as a high status, idealized form of masculinity by which boys and men can be measured, by themselves and others, to determine the extent of their 'manliness'. Although power over women is perceived to be a 'natural' state of affairs, masculinity is at its peak when it represents male power in the form of the domination of other men. Successful hegemonic masculinity is measured by the dominance, aggression and

intimidation shown towards the gendered 'other,' that is, girls and women or those boys and men who take up less dominant forms of masculinities (Robinson, 2005; Mills, 2001).

For authors such as Haywood and Mac an Ghaill (2003), Whitehead and Barrett (2001), Hearn (1998) and Kaufman (1994), the common feature of the dominant forms of contemporary masculinity is that manhood is associated with having some sort of power which justifies domination of men over women and the valuation of males over females. Kaufman (1994) explains that the acquisition of hegemonic masculinity is a process through which men come to suppress a range of emotions, needs, and possibilities such as empathy and compassion which are experienced as inconsistent with manhood. This power may also be a source of enormous pain because "the images are, ultimately, childhood pictures of omnipotence; they are impossible to obtain." (Kaufman, 1994: 148).

Robinson (2005) observes that hegemonic masculinity becomes a dynamic, socially and historically sanctioned performance that is generally rewarded with power and popularity for young men in schools and in the broader community. The knowledge of what it means to be a boy is based on the multiple discourses of masculinity that are culturally and historically available, which intersect with other sites of identity such as race, ethnicity, class and sexuality. For many young boys in school, the physical performative aspect of masculinity is seen as the most acceptable and desirable way of being a male (Morrell, 2001; Gilbert and Gilbert, 1998). Individual boys who construct their own subjectivities, locate themselves within certain discourses of masculinities, take up these meanings and subjectivities as their own. However, one's subjective positioning is not fixed, but can discursively shift as individuals read their locations within relations of power, claiming or resisting discourse according to what they want to achieve (Hollway, cited in Robinson, 2005; Pattman, 2005; Frosh et al, 2002).

For Robinson (2005), Mills (2001) and Pollack (1998), naturalizing the link between masculinity and violence as 'boys will be boys' behaviour is problematic because it ignores the wider social picture where violence is employed to maintain the existing gender order. These authors suggest that we explore how the naturalization of this

connection has been constructed through dominant discourses that serve to make violence the property of hegemonic masculinity. On the other hand, Bowker (1998) argues that dominance does not have to be coupled with violence to be problematic. Behaviour that is not physically violent, but oppressive, still undermines, hinders or impedes women who struggle for self determination.

Mills (2001) points out that hegemonic masculine behaviour does not always reap benefits for boys. Certain masculine behaviours such as resorting to drugs and alcohol may impress peers and at the same time lead to school failure. Hegemonic masculinities are also contextual constructs in that a particular form of masculinity acquires hegemonic status only in certain situations. Harris (1995) offers a reminder that popular and unpopular notions of masculinity are subject to social change in that hegemonic behaviour for a boy or man will depend on where he is and whom he is with. Mills (2001) identifies common elements of hegemonic masculinities as a man's physical, intellectual strength or strength of character, rationality and supremacy over those 'inferior' to him. These masculinized attributes are demonstrative of a masculinity which normalizes the association of masculinity with violence.

Some limitations of the notion of hegemonic masculinity have been raised by Morrell (2001), Skelton (2001a; b) and Haywood and Mac an Ghaill (1996). These and other authors argue that the legitimacy of hegemonic masculinity is weakened once the multiplicity of masculinities and identities are stressed, and it is unable to reveal the complex patterns of compliance and resistance which constitute everyday social action. Despite these limitations, Swain (2006) sees this categorization as a major analytical device to conceptualize masculine hierarchies.

In highlighting the practice of hegemonic masculinity in the United States, Harris (1995) presents us with male messages that were generated from a diverse sample of 560 men who rated these messages as being influential in their lives. The author argues that, given the power of the US media, the list has universal application and provides a masculine ideology to which men strive to conform, and women expect or accept. These messages included that a man should be: adventurous (brave, courageous and take risks); the breadwinner; in control (of relationships, emotions and jobs); provider of money and status; a playboy (sexually aggressive, attractive

and muscular); tough (not show emotions or cry); and a warrior (take risks to prove himself and identify with war heroes). It is interesting to note the similarity between these perceptions and those suggested by South African studies by Harrison (2002), Selikow et al (2002), Leclerc-Madlala (2001) and Wood et al (2001), as described in Appendix D.

Other messages that transcend classical standards for male behaviour include that men should be faithful, sensitive, put other's needs first, nurturing, and value education. From these messages, Harris (1995) argues that masculinity is not uniform in its expectations in that it does not contain only classical notions of appropriate male behaviour such as unemotional, aggressive, responses to the world. The problem, according to Barker (2005) and Harris (1995) is that the alternative messages are often not celebrated in popular culture.

Subordinate masculinities are those which are dominated by the hegemonic masculinities. Skelton (2001a) argues that the hegemonic form constructs itself in direct relation to subordinate masculinities and has an essential need to create subordinate forms to maintain itself. Boys may be at constant threat from their peers for not displaying sufficiently masculine behaviour. Homophobic discourses may work to position them outside the norms of 'real masculinities'. A clear example is that of homosexual masculinities which are placed at the bottom of a gender hierarchy among men, and gayness is easily assimilated with femininity. Similarly, some heterosexual men and boys may experience oppression on the basis of particular representations of masculinity such as admitting fear or refusing to be aggressive (Mills, 2001; Connell, 1995). The pressure to conform that characterizes peer group cultures means that a boy has only to look and be slightly different from the norm to be accorded inferior status (Swain, 2006).

Complicit masculinities are typified by the majority of boys and men who, while not demonstrating extreme hegemonic behaviour, do little to challenge the patriarchal gender order, thereby enjoying its many rewards. Although these men may be opposed to male violence against women and other men, this does not usually translate into any rejection of the existing gender order. They make take on roles of protecting women from other men.

Marginalized masculinities highlight the interplay of gender with other structures such as class and race which create further relationships between masculinities. For example, massive unemployment and poverty powerfully interact with racism in the shaping of black masculinity. Youth gang violence provides a striking example of the assertion of marginalized masculinities against other men, continuous with the assertion of masculinity in sexual violence against women.

Gadd (2003) observes that men and women negotiate between hegemonic masculinity, emphasized femininity and other competing alternative masculinities and femininities that are subordinated to, marginalized by or complicit with the hegemonic pattern. It is overwhelmingly the dominant gender who hold and use the means of violence to sustain dominance. Within this framework, men's violence is a strategic means of drawing boundaries and making exclusions, and it represents a symbol of injustice of the current social order. Intimidation of women in the form of harassment, physical and verbal abuse, threats and rape may be justified by men exercising a right authorized by an ideology of supremacy (Connell, 1995). While violence is symbolic of a system of domination, it is at the same time a measure of its imperfection.

However, Swain (2006) found some of the theorizing on masculinity insufficient to describe the complexities in each setting. From his study with ten and eleven year old boys from schools in the UK, Swain identified an alternative form which he called "personalized masculinities," that is, those which do not have to be subordinate to or complicit with the dominant forms. These boys negotiated and renegotiated a number of alternative ways of "doing" boy. They had friendship networks, were popular with their peers, were generally egalitarian, and had no clearly defined leader. These boys showed no desire to challenge the sporty boys or to subordinate anyone else. In fact, they co-existed alongside the hegemonic form and regarded themselves as different rather than inferior. For many of these boys, having a good personality (being kind, helpful, lively, exciting and sharing common interests) took precedence over sporting prowess.

Coates (2003) and Pattman et al (2005) agree that it is inevitable that dominant or hegemonic modes of masculinity come into conflict with other alternative masculinities. A range of masculinities exist in any given culture such as those which differ in terms of class, ethnicity and age, and these masculinities intersect in complex ways. In view of the link between gender-based violence and hegemonic masculinity, and the notion that the performance of hegemonic masculinity has its roots in patriarchy in several contexts in southern Africa, this aspect is explored further in the ensuing sections.

3.6 PATRIARCHY: THE FOUNDATION OF HEGEMONIC MASCULINITY

The term 'patriarchy' is used to indicate how relations of power are balanced in favour of men, and plays a powerful role in promoting hegemonic behaviour. This phenomenon is observable internationally (Robinson, 2005; Mills, 2001; Chavez, 1999; Almeida, 1996; Connell, 1995, 2002; Harris, 1995), on the African continent (Ampofo, 2005; Izugbara, 2004; Koenig et al, 2004; Human Rights Watch, 2003; Becker, 2000) and in South Africa (Leclerc-Madlala, 2003a; Selikow et al, 2002; Thorpe, 2002; Wood et al, 1998; Buga et al, 1996). Patriarchy is a specific form of male domination based on the powerful role of a father as head of the household (Morrell, 2005; 2006; Mannathoko, 1992). Castells (2000: 134) provides a more comprehensive definition:

Patriarchalism is a founding structure for all contemporary societies. It is characterized by the institutionally enforced authority of males over females and their children in the family unit. For this authority to be exercised, patriarchalism must permeate the entire organization of society, from production and consumption to politics, law and culture. Interpersonal relationships, and thus personality, are marked, as well by domination and violence originating from the culture and institutions of patriarchalism.

Christian (1994: 189) and Kandiyoti (1991) extend this definition further by drawing attention to the fact that the patriarchal extended family gives the senior man authority over everyone else, including younger men. This two-dimensional view of

patriarchy is an asset because it may enable alliances to be made between feminists, gays and anti-sexist men against what can be perceived as a common enemy. This, according to Whitehead and Barrett (2001) and Kaufman (1994) means rejecting those feminist views which restrict the term 'patriarchy' to gender relations and to exclude the generational aspect. Understanding the generational and gender aspects provides a clearer understanding of some men's anti-sexism and feminism.

Referring to Zulu marriage systems, Krige (1950) explains that under classic patriarchy, girls are given away in marriage into households headed by their husband's father. Both Krige (1950) and Kandiyoti (1991) cite the cyclical nature of women's power in the household. In such a patriarchally extended family, the deprivation and hardship that the woman experiences as a young bride is eventually superceded by the control and authority she will have over her own daughters-in-law. Inheriting and embracing the authority of senior women encourages a thorough internalization of this form of patriarchy by the women themselves. In classic patriarchy, subordination to men is off-set by the control older women attain over younger women.

Vilakazi (1962) explains that amongst the Zulu, historically, there was no compatibility requirement between the spouses relating to personal or intimate relationships. The Zulu attitude was that a woman, considered a minor, must submit meekly to her husband, her sole purpose being to satisfy him and his lineage. This system installed the husband as the boss and the wife as the person to look after him and feed him and generally make him feel comfortable and important. In short, there was no equality. Although physical beauty was admired, greater emphasis was placed on the qualities of a wife as being a good person who "makes herself beautiful by her good works and her ubuntu - her humaneness" (Vilakazi 1962: 60).

In the upbringing of children, the man played a minor role. Working away from home most times, he mostly saw his children over weekends. Even when he was at home, it was not considered proper for him to play with them as this detracted from his *isithunzi* (dignity and personality). However, the father was also responsible for discipline in the home, although the role shifted to the woman as the man was away at work for long periods. As time progressed, traditional customs began to fall away

and with men being away from home, woman began refusing to conform to traditional expectations, causing considerable friction in Zulu families (Vilakazi, 1962).

The forms of control and subordination characteristic of patriarchal practices cut across cultural and religious boundaries, such as those of Hinduism, Christianity and Islam. Patriarchy, the rule of the father, was justified in all spheres of society in terms of biblical texts. Van der Hoven (cited in Dawes et al, 2004) notes that long before the advent of apartheid, power of patriarchy in Afrikaner social life was consolidated and firmly entrenched in gender relations patterns on a conservative religious basis. Even today in conservative Christian and Afrikaans communities, some wives are of the opinion that women should be submissive and assume traditional, passive sex roles. Through the endorsement of the principle of patriarchal authority, Afrikaans churches and schools influenced the majority of Afrikaans men and women to accept patriarchy as natural and normal.

Izugbara (2004) describes some characteristics of a rural African patriarchal community in Nigeria, which resonates with Leclerc-Madlala's (1999) description of patriarchy in an African community in South Africa. The functions of men and women are culturally defined whereby the men are the heads of the households and the women assume subordinate positions. Land owning and land use rights are patriarchal and usually older men, rooted in tradition and culture, head local communities. Men are suspicious of activities that encourage women to go beyond acceptable positions or become very powerful. Male children are valued more than female children. While male children are socialized to see themselves as future heads of households, breadwinners and 'owners' of their wives and children, females are socialized to accept male domination and control and to stay faithful, loving and subservient to their male partners. Women's primary roles are to satisfy their husbands sexually, cook for them and bear children.

In South Africa, patriarchy has been identified as a significant risk factor behind intimate partner violence (Dawes et al, 2004; Jewkes et al, 2002; Abrahams et al, 1999; Wood et al, 1998). In addition to women being located in subordinated positions by both structural discrimination and ideologies, violence is used as a means of control by men over women and children. For Koenig et al (2004) the

positioning of men as heads of households seems to provide some justification for the use of violence. Violence and its threat are understood as attempts to diminish the power and resistance of women to men. Dawes et al (2004) consider that patriarchal beliefs have kept many women in South Africa in a position of powerlessness and subservience, aggravated by their precarious position in the labour force. Sideris (2005) confirms that in South Africa, culture is influential in specifying identity and gender conflicts. She observes that challenges to male domination have been met with community representatives appealing to culture and tradition to re-assert male authority.

Men who rigidly adhere to a patriarchal-authoritarian model of family and gender may be the most likely to use physical and sexual violence to keep women in line (Totten, 2003). However, Richter (2006) brings into focus the changing role of men in the family brought about by urbanization, changing patterns of employment, work by men and women, and attitudinal shifts in gender. A further reality is that in South Africa, and worldwide, female-headed households are increasing. For Lesejane (2006), the image of the father as a respected patriarch no longer has national resonance. He asserts that although in African culture, the father was once respected for his wisdom, good judgment and consideration, the father of today is an object of suspicion brought about by the implication of men in cases of violence and sexual abuse of women and young children.

Walsh (2001: 17) views the term 'patriarchy' as problematic since it implies a monolithic and totalizing system of oppression in which all men dominate all women, thus obscuring the differences between women, as well as differences between men. She argues that the term's original meaning 'the rule of the fathers' carries connotations of paternalism that do not capture the subtle and varied ways in which women continue to experience discrimination in the public domain. However, Bryson (1999) contends that human society is not inevitably patriarchal, based on the notion that gender differences, divisions and oppressions are not fixed by nature. Consistent with this argument, Mannathoko (1992) points out that not all forms of gender stratified systems are based on patriarchy. For example, in Malawi, male power is founded on collective adult maleness as depicted by men's houses, warfare and initiation ceremonies. Although highly oppressive to women, these communities are

not patriarchal. Similarly, in matrilineal societies, women do not necessarily have significant social authority. Patriarchalism is being challenged by the inseparably related processes of the transformation of women's work and the transformation of women's consciousness. Driving forces behind these processes include technological and economic progress, the powerful surge of women's struggles and a multifaceted feminist movement (Cleaver, 2002; Bryson, 1999; Mannathoko, 1992). Noting these changes, Walsh (2001) draws attention to the fact that whereas private patriarchy operated on the basis of exclusionary tactics, denying women access to participation in the public sphere, public forms of masculinist power also have the effect of segregating and subordinating women once they enter the public sphere. In concluding this discussion, Silberschmidt (2004) reminds us that although the patriarchal ideology may be embodied and expressed in the lives of men and women, this does not mean that all men are successful patriarchs or that all women are submissive victims. Linked to patriarchy, the next section discusses hegemonic masculinity among the Zulu.

3.6.1 Hegemonic masculinity within Zulu culture

Constructions of African masculinities have in general been shaped by a range of historical forces reflecting both continuity and change. Because this study focuses on Zulu males, a brief background on the position of Zulu men is provided to enhance understanding of the origins and entrenchment of dominant masculinity amongst the Zulus. It is not my intention to encourage racial or cultural stereotyping as there are vast overlaps in the attributes of Zulu masculinity and the broader context of masculinity described above. Zulu masculinity, like other masculinities takes a variety of forms in addressing issues. As pointed out in Section 3.3.2, when considering culture and the construction of men and masculinity, different and contradictory representations may emerge.

In the 1980s, political violence was rife in Natal and KwaZulu between supporters of the Zulu nationalist Inkatha movement and the then banned African National Congress (ANC). Waetjen and Maré (2001) claim that for Inkatha, formed in 1975, Zulu masculinity was a keystone of its broader mobilization tactics. The founder and leader of the movement, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, promoted an ethnic nationalist

vision to prescribe how Zulu men behaved politically, in the workplace and in the homestead. Inkatha was promoted by the conservative Bantustan ('homeland') elite to secure its claims to power and authority in the region. Waetjen et al (2001: 196) describe how "Zulu-speaking men were recruited through the language of cultural history and tradition, through appeals to their duties as breadwinners and obedient industrial workers, and through definitions of an ideal manhood that were juxtaposed against those attributed to men loyal to Inkatha's political rivals." Inkatha's representations of Zulu masculinity were reinforced by media images of men in traditional garments bearing cultural weapons such as sticks and spears at public gatherings. Inkatha's constituency was largely rural, with active youth and women's brigades. Waentjen and Maré (2001) and Funk (1993) draw attention to the expressions of the gendered nature of political violence. During periods of political unrest, demonstrations of masculinity include collective acts of violence against other men and/or the rape of women who are frequently viewed as belonging to enemy males or as vessels of enemy regeneration.

Shaka, king of the Zulus in the 1820s, was invoked as the ideal model of Zulu manhood. He was a military leader who encouraged ethnic affiliation and promoted the Zulus as a warrior nation. Zulu tradition in the age of Shaka was described as a time when patriarchy merged easily with democratic values. Following the tenets of Shaka, Buthelezi addressed his supporters as workers (disciplined labourers and breadwinners) and warriors (displaying loyalty to cultural traditions and authority, enjoying patriarchal privileges as heads of households, and valour, pride and glory in their nation).

From his observations in the rural Thukela Valley of KwaZulu-Natal, Carton (2001) described Zulu customs that entrench patriarchal rites. He noted that most men supported more than one wife and provided in-laws with bridewealth in the form of cattle. Polygyny ensured seniority and the worship of *amadlozi* (ancestral spirits) and inspired them to be strong husbands in old age. Ancestral spirits were said to enter men and enhance masculine qualities such as wisdom. To act like a man (*ukudoda*) meant to do something worthy of praise. People did their utmost to preserve *ukuhlonipha*, that is, customs of avoidance and deference that reflect gender and generational divisions. *Ukuhlonipha* rituals expressly circumscribe the public conduct

of women and youth. It is common for women and children to greet homestead heads by kneeling, looking downward and speaking in hushed tones. Teenage sons sometimes watching father, learn to emulate the *isithombe sikababa*, that is, the masculine image of the father. Carton observed that the homestead heads spurned the ideas of modern youth which threatened generational privileges. Older men were also concerned about the declining state of *ukuhlonipha* and expressed the need to defend these rituals. These observations highlight the value attached to patriarchal practices which entrench the dominant male and subordinate female positions amongst the Zulus.

The undermining of the Zulu patriarchal order was blamed on colonization and apartheid. Indigenous people were defined as 'other' by colonial settlers and were denied the recognition of their humanity and their sense of belonging (Ramphela, 2002). In terms of the apartheid ideology, the individuality of Black people was submerged and defined by racism and they were treated as a collective threat to be managed by direct and indirect rule. The colonial and apartheid experiences which told Black people that they were inferior, led to a state of learned helplessness (Ramphela, 2002). For many young men both in the past and in present times, a source of confusion was the conflict between the ideals of the patriarchal system which installs the male as provider, protector and decision maker on one hand, and the harsh realities of economic marginalization on the other.

The 1990s brought rapid transformation with the unbanning of the ANC, the release of Nelson Mandela and the subsequent democratic elections in 1994. Legislation saw the scrapping of the homelands' system and with rapid urbanization, interaction and influences among rural and urban areas increased. Urbanization and the ANC were then seen as further undermining the Zulu patriarchal order. Hunter (2005) identifies a trend whereby African men look towards customary law to solidify patriarchal traditions. The control of women and women's sexuality became especially important given the expansion of opportunities for women in towns. Church morals placed enormous pressure on women to act with 'purity' and Christian Africans played a significant role in re-asserting traditions.

While traditional practices are still entrenched in the rural areas and African townships, the blurring of boundaries certainly has implications for the youth today. The masculinity of urban youth is seen by the older generation as volatile and devoid of respect for patriarchal authority. Xaba (2001) notes that compounding this problem for those with traditional values is the fact that the political transition that brought the ANC into government was accompanied by changes in the gender order. The ANC thrust aimed to create new norms of gender behaviour in keeping with a human rights discourse stressing gender equality and women's rights. When the gender norms of a society change, boys who modelled themselves in terms of an earlier struggle version of masculinity may be uncomfortable. For many political activists or 'comrades' as they were known, respect and honour rested on their ability to be dictatorial in their domains. Violation of 'group norms' resulted in violent reprimands. The vigorous enforcement of group codes often led to unnecessary violence in communities. Many of these young people find it difficult to change behaviour and do not possess skills to advance in the new social environment. The new values are totally opposed to former expressions of masculinity, and previously acceptable behaviour has become inappropriate and often, criminal (Xaba, 2001).

Despite the dismantling of the structures of apartheid, Black men are still caught up and support oppressive discourses which apartheid supported. It is therefore crucial to explore how race intersects with other nexuses of power such as gender, class and heterosexual masculinity (Ratele, 2001; Xaba, 2001). Ratele cautions against concentrating on racial oppression while glossing over sex hierarchies as this may lead us to overlook those with less power such as Black women and children. Priority must be given to examining and reworking masculinities and analyzing how hegemonic masculinity and violence is associated with being a real man. This must be seen in light of the assertion made by Edley and Wetherell (1996) in Section 3.3.2 that the hegemony of a dominant culture is never absolute and men are capable of changing the cultures that define them, as evidenced in the studies outlined in Table 3.1 (Section 3.8). In particular, Sideris (2005) notes that in rural areas of South Africa, tradition is significant in mediating struggles around relations of power and authority, and gender struggles are frequently expressed as a struggle between tradition and rights. For the men in her study, the public acknowledgement of domestic violence as a violation of rights resonated with their own experience, and this pointed to some

potential for fostering behaviour change in their homes. Similarly, Hunter (2006) and Reid and Walker (2005) emphasize the fluidity and dynamism of culture and the many ways of being a man.

In the next section I discuss how men are dealing with the challenges accompanying societal transformation globally and locally.

3.7 MASCULINITY IN CRISIS?

A potent discourse underlying the transformation in gender relations is that of a male crisis. Such a crisis has roots in a range of social phenomena including the collapse of traditional men's and women's work, the influence of the feminist movement, and challenges to dominant forms of masculinity (Kermode and Keil, 2003; Frosh et al, 2002; Whitehead 2001; Connell, 1995). Because masculinity and femininity are relational terms, a crisis of masculinity is only a crisis in so far as the relations of gender are perceived and experienced as being problematic by a significant proportion of men today (Brittan, 1989). Changes in normative gender relations mean that boys and young men are having to forge new, more flexible masculine identities.

In many societies worldwide, men derive their identity from being providers and breadwinners and lack ideas or alternative gender scripts to find other meaningful roles in the family in keeping with changing economic environments. For this reason, Cleaver (2002) attributes the crisis partly to the lack of alternative meaningful roles for men. Researchers in the area of gender and identity (Reid and Walker, 2005; Coates, 2003; Kermode and Keil, 2003; Frosh et al, 2002; Cleaver, 2002; Whitehead, 2001; Connell, 1995) draw attention to an apparent 'crisis' in masculinity, marked by uncertainties over men's social role and identity, sexuality, work and personal relationships. In other words, men's dominant position in society is slowly being 'watered down', in contrast to that of women (Silberschmidt, 2004). For Connell (1995), the scale of contemporary violence points to crisis tendencies in the gender order which are symptomatic of the fragile, vulnerable nature of masculinity, something under a constant threat of loss. Crisis tendencies may provoke attempts to restore a dominant masculinity which may find expression in violence and abusive behaviours towards the self and others.

Although the exact nature of this crisis needs greater scrutiny, what is evident is that men are experiencing a degree of uncertainty in the face of major, rapid and disquieting changes in their lives (Chant and Guttman, 2000). These 'changing masculinities', according to Whitehead (2001: 356), are less about men's enlightenment and more about strategic responses to perceived loss of gendered power. Talk about the crisis of masculinity would be meaningless if women had not challenged the power of men in familial, economic and political contexts (Brittan, 1989). The common theme underlying this discourse is that conventional dominant displays of manhood, supported by patriarchy, are now being viewed as inappropriate and self-destructive. It should be noted that despite the multiplicity of modes of masculine expression, traditional masculinities and associated values still prevail in most cultural settings. A disturbing fact is that these performances often go uncriticized or are admired by women and other men (Whitehead, 2001).

In South Africa, the crisis of masculinity and male sexuality has been highlighted by the transition to democracy, accompanied by gender transformation, advocating gender equality and the public discourses of a human rights culture (Walker, 2005). Examples include the recognition of marital rape as a criminal offence, tougher sentencing in cases of domestic violence, and the legalization of abortion. The constitution, while being liberal with regard to gender equality, does not speak to many masculinities of the past. Xaba (2001) reminds us that the heroic masculinity of the 1980s has been delegitimized. Unemployment and lack of political status has resulted in some young men going on a rampage of robbing, killing and raping. Such masculinities, steeped in violence and authoritarianism, are hostile to the gender equality prescribed by the Constitution and the new policies and laws. Within this framework, the ideal South African man is one who is non-violent, a good father and husband, employed, and provides for his family (Walker, 2005). It is ironic that the liberalization of sexuality appears to have been accompanied by an increase in gender violence. Castells (2002) attributes the discrimination, interpersonal violence and psychological abuse of women to individual and collective male anger in losing power. However, Walker (2005) cautions that increased sexual violence cannot be read as a direct response to gender transformation, as these are complex and mediated by a range of social and psychological factors. Despite this, Walker (2005:

166) hastens to add that “increased sexual violence could usefully be understood as one indicator of South Africa’s crisis of sex-post 1994 - more specifically as a barometer of the ‘crisis of masculinity’ and the extent to which masculinities are in disarray.”

Cleaver (2002) views the ‘crisis of masculinity’ as being a consequence of changes in the economy and in social structures. Examples include the low attainment of boys in education as compared to girls (Skelton, 2001a; Epstein, 1998), economic changes dislocating men from their breadwinner and provider roles (Leclerc-Madlala, 2003; Silberschmidt, 2003), increased women’s incorporation into the workforce (Whitehead, 2001; Kaufman, 1994) and the absence of male role models for boys in families (Ramphela, 2002; Pollack, 1998). Silberschmidt (2004), in her study in rural and urban East Africa, demonstrates the complex interrelationship between socio-economic change and male sexual behaviour, noting that in some areas, socio-economic transformation was accompanied by gender antagonism and increased domestic violence. Reid and Walker (2005) point to the relevance of complexities such as these in South Africa where rapid political, social and economic transformation has contributed to the uncertain and changing position of men. Furthermore, shifts in the gender order are embedded in liberal discourses of human rights which puts the onus of claiming rights and meeting responsibilities onto the individual. Failure to fulfill socially and economically constructed masculine ideals may result in a crisis of identity.

Ramphela (2002) draws attention to the fact that large numbers of South African women have taken on care-giver roles as single parents, as heads of households where husbands are unable to or unwilling to assume responsibility, as grandmothers carrying the burden of child rearing and as members of extended family helping to care for children in the absence of parents. Hunter (2006) points to the increasing frustration of many South African men being linked to their disempowerment in economic spheres which prevents them from fulfilling their traditional roles of fatherhood and acting as a provider in the home. The question arises as to how do young men develop the self confidence to relate to women if women dominate the provision of their everyday survival needs? How do young men learn to give as men when men seem to be overwhelmingly recipients of care and not its providers?

Concern has been expressed that the crisis theory somehow blames women for the anxieties of men, the danger being that it may act as catalyst for male bonding and retaining of male privilege (Sideris, 2005). Translating individual or group experiences of confusion, vulnerability and insecurity into a crisis in masculinity de-emphasizes what men do to retain power (Connell, 2000). The focus on psychological distress ignores the political dimensions of gender relations. Reid and Walker (2005) argues that while men may collectively be challenged on some issues, this does not necessarily mean that masculinity is in crisis. In supporting this position, Brittan (1989) adds that it is far too simplistic to assume that all men are in crisis and that all men have the same sense of collective identity. In this sense, he cautions that there is a danger of over-categorizing men.

Walker (2005) states that in South Africa, the transition to democracy and the liberal version of sexuality embodied in the constitution have had a series of very contradictory effects. There is major uncertainty around the nature of masculinity and relationships with women, including sexual relationships. Relating this to adolescents, Pollack (1998: 147-148) asserts that the 'crisis' for young men is that they are faced with the "double standard of masculinity" whereby they try to accept and internalize two diametrically opposed views of manhood. From his research on adolescent boys in the US, Pollack (1998: 148) draws attention to the fact that "many adolescent boys are crumbling under this millstone of our adult ambivalence about masculinity, and that the confusion and uncertainty these boys feel about become men is eroding their self-esteem." To address some of the concerns about gender roles in South Africa, Walker (2005: 162) leaves us with some questions that require further research: "What is the nature of the crisis of masculinity in contemporary South Africa? How do masculine identities constituted in the past resonate with contemporary figures of manhood? How have men reacted to the crisis in masculinity and in what ways are they also victims of it?"

These questions lead us to reflect on those masculinities that have shifted or are shifting towards non-sexism and egalitarianism, and may contribute to non-violent, equitable and more satisfying relationships between men and women.

3.8 DEVELOPING ALTERNATIVE MASCULINITIES AS A STRATEGY TO ADDRESS GENDER- BASED VIOLENCE

The preceding discussion of masculinities provokes questions relating to how to address gender imbalances and the perceived or real crises facing men. There is consensus in the literature (Makhaye, 2005; Silberschmidt, 2005; Hunter, 2005; Morrell, 2005; Pattman, 2005; Lindegger and Maxwell, 2005; Barker, 2003; Whitehead and Barrett, 2001; Pollack, 1998; Christian, 1994) that there are many ways of being a man, referred to as the multiplicity of masculinities. Masculinities co-exist within a given social dynamic. Some men are coping with this dynamic while others are not. A growing number of men have changed their attitudes towards women and gender inequality while there are those who have not made the slightest concession to feminism. For Brittan (1989), it is this macho stereotype that is still in charge of the state, the economy and reproduction. Despite this trend, Foreman (1999b), Chant and Guttman (2000) and Hearn (1998) claim that in fact, men want change. Kaufman (1994) argues that this may be attributable to the fact that the fulcrum between men's power and men's pain has been undergoing a shift.

The theoretical framework guiding this study (the social construction of gender) focuses on the social and historical construction of masculinity, emphasizing that masculinities are not static, and that domination is not inscribed in men's nature. As noted previously, hegemonic masculinities are associated with authoritative, violent, and aggressive behaviour towards women, children and other men who are vulnerable. Building and sustaining healthier relationships, therefore requires a shift towards developing alternative masculinities. While men and women have deep – rooted, often unconscious conventional ideas which cannot easily be reshaped, they do have the potential for creative or innovative action. Silberschmidt (2003) proposes that in order to uncover the various masculinities alluded to previously, it is necessary to enter into a dialogue with men to enable them to redefine desired masculinities. It is important to discuss what masculinity means to them and to underscore that being a responsible partner is masculine, gives status and is in their own interests. In other words, a man who does not take responsibility for his sexual and reproductive behaviour is not a 'real' man. Silberschmidt's (2003) reflection on the concept 'self-efficacy' is useful here. The concept of self efficacy is related to personal and social change, and to the exercise of human agency through people's beliefs in their

capabilities to produce desired effects by their actions (Bandura, 1986). A sense of self-efficacy – a feeling of having control over important aspects of one's life—may be a starting point to addressing feelings of growing fear and powerlessness.

Men, like all human beings, have the capacity to develop the ability to care for others. Pollack's (1998) research with American youth revealed that boys do care, they love, they nourish; they greatly value friendships and do feel genuine empathy. Boys need to hear that these feelings are normal and masculine. Pollack proposes that boys should be allowed to craft this new more flexible code of manhood, stating that boys are not biologically wired to act in one boy-like way. They are not mean spirited and violent and there is not only one single masculine way of being. Some heterosexual men are oppressed by hegemonic masculinities and most men have 'relational interests' with particular women such as daughters, mothers and lovers.

However, while mens' and boys' pain need to be addressed when working with boys and men, feminist concerns about men making this a focus of their work must be taken into account. This is aptly captured by Clare (2000: 221) who boldly asserts that:

... what I want as a man, and what I want for men, is that we become more capable of expressing the vulnerability and the tenderness and the affection we feel, that we place a greater value on love, family and personal relations and less on power, possessions and achievement, and that we continue to place faith in wider social and communal values in so far as they enable and empower us all to live more generous and fulfilling lives. There is no need to create a 'new man' in the image of women. There is need for the 'old man' to re-emerge. Such a man employs his physical, intellectual and moral strength not to control others but to liberate himself, not to dominate but to protect, not to worship achievement but to enlist it in the struggle to find meaning and fulfillment.

While the vested power accorded to men within the patriarchal system has been linked to oppression and domination and violent masculinities, Hunter (2006) argues

that disempowering men especially in the economic sphere could result in men asserting power in other spheres. However, in eliminating patriarchal relations and ending their oppression of women, men have more to gain than lose (Christian, 1994). As explained by Harris (1995: 14), "Male messages have both positive and negative aspects. In order to produce more nurturing individuals who will live in harmony with the life forces on this planet, the positive tendencies that already exist within the male psyche will have to be reinforced." Connell (1995: 220-224) uses the term "exit politics" to describe the action by which men exit from arenas that endorse men's' privileged positioning within existing gendered relations. A possible obstacle to this process in South Africa may be the tendency to view tradition as static and ahistorical rather than dynamic and subject to change (Hunter, 2006; Reid and Walker, 2005; Morrell, 2005).

In a rapidly changing society like South Africa, where established power relations are being challenged, changes in the constructions of masculinity are also anticipated. Gender changes have occurred against the backdrop of globalization and have reflected the legacies of colonialism and apartheid. Class and a racially skewed economy with distinctive gender features remain major factors in society (Morrell, 2005). Men have therefore responded in diverse ways to shifts in gender power, ranging from active involvement in promoting gender equality to confusion and staunch resistance. However, there is increasing recognition that gender transformation will have benefits for men and women and requires the active involvement of both men and women.

The development of alternative masculinities has profound implications for addressing issues such as gender-based violence – physical, sexual, emotional and economic- and HIV/AIDS. Willingness to listen with a view to understanding opens doors for negotiation, not only with regard to sexual relationships, but constructive conflict resolution generally. Baylies and Bujra (2000) view a sense of self worth and an awareness of risk factors in one's own life and relationships, as being a crucial component in addressing HIV/AIDS. Even if women are more vulnerable, men are also at risk. Although power relations within personal relationships drive the epidemic, men and women have a mutual interest in transforming these relations.

As mentioned previously, there is an identifiable gap in the literature detailing studies focusing specifically on men and masculinities, especially in South Africa. A few selected studies that have explored this area, or where alternative masculinities have surfaced, are summarized in Table 3.1. This is followed by a summary of current initiatives to involve men in interventions to address gender inequalities.

TABLE 3.1
STUDIES DEMONSTRATING EMERGING ALTERNATIVE MASCULINITIES

SOURCE	PLACE	DETAILS OF RESEARCH	MAIN FINDINGS
Sideris, 2005	Nkomazi, a rural area in Mpumalanga, South Africa	Interviews were held with 7 men, aged 30-45, who were openly known to reject violence against women; a focus group discussion was with the men; interviews were held with their women partners.	<p>The men, who witnessed violence in their parental homes, saw this as a violation of human rights, were sympathetic towards their mothers, and openly rejected violence.</p> <p>They sought to promote equality in their homes by sharing domestic duties and engaging in joint decision making with partners re: financial and other matters.</p> <p>Their discourse of human rights was regarded as deviant by some family, friends, and community members.</p>
Walker (2005)	Alexandra township, Gauteng, South Africa	Interviews were held with 17 men, aged 22-35, who worked for Men for Change, a non-governmental organization. Additional interviews were held with counselors, social workers and psychologists on counselling experiences with male victims and perpetrators of violence.	<p>Some men felt threatened by women's improved status. They spoke of role confusion and shifting expectations of them as men.</p> <p>Some men expressed guilt and remorse at abusing women. One man apologized to past girlfriends.</p> <p>They expressed desires to have alternative experiences of being a man. For them the costs of male violence outweighed the benefits. All the interviewees rejected the use of violence.</p>
Lindegger and Maxwell (2005)	South Africa	The sample consisted of boys who were in and out of school. Data were collected using focus groups and interviews.	<p>The study found that traditional gender roles were still practiced where men were seen as providers and decision makers, and could have many sexual partners. Women were linked to the spread of STI's</p> <p>The boys felt pressurized to have sex at an early age and to be knowledgeable about sexual matters. Asking advice or information would make them look foolish.</p> <p>For some boys, the abuse of women and children was</p>

			<p>unacceptable and they spoke of the necessity to be caring and loving. They talked of helping with household chores. Some suggested that 'real men' were those who did not drink and who assisted their wives at home.</p>
Adomako Ampofo and Boateng (2005)	Two towns in Ghana (peri-urban with rural farming character)	The sample was made up of first year junior secondary school students. Initially a survey was conducted, followed by interviews with a sample of boys.	<p>Most of the boys viewed household duties as female tasks, while decision-making and the provider roles were attached to the man. A few boys rejected these gendered divisions of labour and talked of equality in the home.</p> <p>Some of the boys felt that it was unfair to beat women and that women should be respected. They spoke of the need for men and women to have better relationships.</p>
Barker (2000)	Brazil	Observation and interactions with 25 young man, aged 15-21, who, according to certain criteria, displayed gender equitable behaviour. Three focus group discussions were held; 15 informal discussion groups with male and female youth and adults in the community; a three-part life history interview with 9 boys; interviews with four family members; 15 key informant interviews in the community.	<p>The majority of the young men witnessed violence in their homes and communities. This led them to reflect on the costs of violence, and they expressed pain and remorse.</p> <p>They saw themselves as different from other men in that they had more positive attitudes towards women.</p> <p>Some boys admired males who were nurturing, loving and caring towards women. They valued alternative peer groups that reinforced a more gender equitable version of masculinity.</p>
Christian (1994)	England	72 interviews were held with 30 men who belonged to anti-sexist groups. Their life – histories were analyzed.	<p>The men viewed hegemonic masculinity as oppressive and destructive to relationships.</p> <p>They spoke of the need for new direction in male behaviour.</p> <p>The men demonstrated empathy towards women and spoke of their (men's) capacity to share, care, understand, feel deeply and to hope.</p>

These studies highlight several significant points in relation to changing gender roles. Sideris (2005) found that patriarchal gender relations in one South African locality was challenged in the wake of the transition to democracy and subsequent legislation which seeks to promote the rights of women. In line with the concept of 'changing masculinities' (Whitehead and Barrett, 2001), the men's discourses demonstrate openness to new ways of thinking and to relating to women in non-oppressive ways. Barker (2000), from his study, draws attention to the fact that no single variable enabled any of the young men to achieve a more gender equitable identity. Instead, a combination of interacting variables over time, plus an individual's subjective meaning given to life experiences and setting, creates a pathway to a more gender-equitable identity. The studies by Lindegger and Maxwell (2005), Walker (2005) and by Christian (1994) indicate that men are different from one another and that social space allows men to vary widely in their attitudes and behaviour. This shift from dominant patterns of gendered behaviour is indicative of the possibility of reconstructing the meaning of masculinity. This is further confirmed by Becker's (2000) observations of youth in Namibia (See Appendix D); while they insisted on male control in their personal relationships, they did not show overt resistance to the national rhetoric of gender equality. Robinson's (2005) study noted that several young men desired to invest in alternative masculinities, and spoke of their fears of being ridiculed and alienated if they engaged in different performances of masculinity. However, while acknowledging this difficulty in some contexts, emerging literature points to increasing space for men to develop alternative masculinities and to advance efforts to support gender equality.

3.9 INVOLVING MEN IN INTERVENTIONS TO PROMOTE GENDER EQUALITY

Internationally and locally, there is growing recognition of the need for men's full participation to end violence against women, achieve gender equality and to mitigate the impact of HIV/AIDS. A brief description of some of these initiatives are mentioned here as a way of demonstrating that men can be, and are in fact, actively involved in challenging the hierarchical gender order, promoting gender equality and adhering to 'different', more constructive models of masculinity. Many men have embraced the emancipation of women as part of their own emancipation from oppressive societal expectations of how men should behave (Peacock and Botha, 2006). The

effectiveness of these projects was measured by feedback from participants and other role-players, and informal evaluations.

In Brazil, Programme H, developed in 1999 and co-ordinated by Instituto Promundo, focuses on engaging young men in the promotion of health and gender equity. This initiative develops and implements interventions to improve attitudes towards gender norms, to promote attitudinal and behavioural change of young men towards women, and to reduce the risk of HIV and sexually transmitted infections (Barker, 2005).

Valuable lessons may be learnt from the Conscientizing Male Adolescents (CMA) programme in Salabar, Nigeria. Barker (2003) and Girard (2003) explain that the main objective of the programme, which targets 14 to 20 year olds, is to increase awareness among adolescents of gender based oppression and to foster participants' skills in critical thinking. The CMA programme started with 25 adolescent boys from 3 secondary schools being trained to lead discussions. The curriculum content operates on 2 levels. Level one includes topics such as sexism, violence against women and the responsibilities of men, the state, traditional authorities, rape, sexual harassment; men's responsibilities in sexual relations, love and marriage, cultural impediments to gender inequality. Level two includes topics such as the logic and method of mathematics, critical and anti-sexist introduction to Nigerian society, democracy and human rights, feminism, and conscientization regarding the future and the role of adolescents in social intervention. The CMA's approach is unusual in that the primary focus is on sexism and critical thought, not on preventing unwanted pregnancy, sexually transmitted infections and HIV. Feedback from the boys, some parents and girls attending the schools, indicated a raised consciousness regarding issues related to women, and more responsibility and respect towards females. The CMA boys also intervene in their communities and with peers when they witness incidents that violate the rights of women and have generally been very effective in promoting positive attitudes and behaviours towards women. This is an ongoing programme which clearly demonstrates the possibility of working with boys on issues of sexism and gender based injustice, even in a context of pronounced inequality.

Over the past decade, several initiatives emerged in South Africa involving men in gender work. A few examples of such initiatives are provided here. The Men as

Partners Network (MAP) uses a human rights framework and principles of adult learning, values about gender roles, gender power dynamics and gender stereotypes to increase awareness of gender inequalities among men, women and youth in communities across South Africa. Evaluations conducted record positive knowledge, attitudinal and behavioural changes among participants (Peacock and Botha, 2006). Similarly, The South African Men's Forum aims to stop gender violence by encouraging men to become involved in advocacy to enable them to challenge the mindset of masculinity centred on male power and privilege. Amongst other projects, 'The Youth Mentorship Project' encourages young boys to challenge destructive gender-related stereotypes and 'The Schools Project' engages boys on what it means to be a man and a father, and the challenges of parenting (Peacock and Botha, 2006). A fast-growing initiative is The Fatherhood Project, which, in collaboration with other partnering organizations, encourages men to play an active role in their children's lives and highlights nurturing roles in relationship to children. Another active project is the Gender Education and Training Network (GETNET) and its 'Men and Masculinities Programme'. Key areas of focus include self reflection, interrogation of culture and religion, deconstruction of power relations, HIV/AIDS and gender-based violence (GETNET, 2003).

The Targeted AIDS Intervention (TAI) is an initiative that reports positive outcomes from 2 of its projects, the Shosholozza Project and the Inkunzi Isematholeni (a big man comes from a little boy). These projects target youth both in and out of school with the aim of reducing HIV risk behaviour. Interventions include examining how the youth see men and masculinity and how they view relationships. A challenge for the programme is that although the boys are choosing to behave in more positive ways towards girls – being respectful, helpful, understanding and sensitive – some boys have expressed that failure to conform to expected traditional masculine behaviours, results in the boys being unsuccessful in their relationships with girls (Makhaye, 2005), pointing to a need to develop further interventions in this area. Similar programmes aimed at youth include DramAidE and Stepping Stones which also target youth for change.

The varying degrees of success of the programmes mentioned suggest that masculinities are changing. There has been increased recognition of the cost of

certain traditional aspects of masculinity such as lack of involvement in their children's lives, and feelings of powerlessness and hopelessness. Men and women are seeing the necessity to work as partners to achieve 'gender justice' (Connell, 1995) as gender equity impacts positively on men and women. Barker (2000: 264) emphasizes the significance of targeting youth in interventions, stating that styles of interaction are 'rehearsed' during adolescence, providing a strong empirical and theoretical basis for working with young men in reproductive health issues, relationship needs and gender equity.

3.10 CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter has attempted to provide an understanding of men and masculinities. The plurality of gender identities was discussed, highlighting multiple masculinities and femininities. Masculinity was discussed in relation to feminism and the main feminist perspectives were outlined, followed by a presentation of the main theoretical perspectives on masculinity. These perspectives provided a basis for understanding the trends in the literature relating to masculinities and feminism. Significant themes in masculinity research were identified and discussed, with an emphasis on power, patriarchy and dominant masculinities to the extent that these factors play a role in contributing to gender-based violence. As this study was located in area inhabited by Zulu people, the development and practice of hegemonic masculinity among the Zulu was described. The question of the transition to democracy in South Africa and changing gender roles resulting in a crisis in masculinity was explored. Support in the literature for the development of alternative masculinities to address gender imbalances is detailed and recent initiatives involving men in gender equality interventions are outlined.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH METHODS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter describes the research methods, the research design and the tasks undertaken in each of the four phases of the research process to achieve the objectives. To accomplish the goals of the study and to adequately answer the research questions, several methods of data collection and data analysis were employed. This is in keeping with the contention of Henning et al (2004) and Durrheim (1999) that the group of methods chosen must be coherent and represent a good fit so as to deliver data and findings that suit the research question. A rationale which integrates theoretical verification and practical application is provided for the research approaches selected and the methods of data analysis employed. Issues relating to dependability of the research instruments and the credibility of the findings are discussed, and this is followed by reference to the ethical issues that were considered and addressed. The chapter concludes with a summary highlighting the main processes outlined.

4.2 THE RESEARCH DESIGN

A research design should be seen as “a strategic framework for action that serves as a bridge between research questions and the execution or implementation of the research” (Durrheim, 1999: 29). As explained in Chapter One, this study employed a descriptive research design which focused on describing the problem. This design allowed me to emphasize in-depth description of individual and group responses and recurring responses within the sample. Within this design, I employed qualitative research methods which are discussed in detail in the next section.

4.2.1 The qualitative research approach

Qualitative research may be described as a “generic approach in social research according to which research takes as its departure point the insider perspective on social action” Babbie and Mouton (2001: 270). This approach focuses on the

importance of listening and is concerned with seeing the world from the perspectives of the research participants (Cohen et al, 2000; Silverman 2000), thus providing a further rationale for choosing this method. To further validate my decision to embark on a qualitative inquiry, I examined some important characteristics of the qualitative approach.

One of the features of qualitative research is that it involves systematic discovery. Its purpose is to generate knowledge of social events and processes by understanding what they mean to people, exploring and documenting how people interact with each other and how they interpret and interact with the world around them. Congruent with the goals of my research, I sought to discover patterns of shared understanding among the participants and to identify variability in those patterns, making it appropriate to explore social and cultural practices and multiple responses to these practices (Ulin et al, 2002).

The qualitative framework served as a guide for me to explore how social experiences were created and given meaning. This means asking the “what, how, and why” questions, with the awareness that *what* is talked about can't be separated from *how* it is talked about. In keeping with the social constructionist perspective on gender, this approach supposes that the natural context of peoples' lives and the interpersonal and socio-cultural fabric influences their perspectives, experiences and actions.

Qualitative research data is usually in the form of words, images and descriptions, and language, verbal and non-verbal, has symbolic meaning (Henning et al, 2004; Taylor, 2001a). In striving for rigour, qualitative research honours a variety of perspectives. For this reason, I paid careful attention to language as participants shared their perspectives and experiences and versions of subjectivity, for example, describing forced sex from various subjects' viewpoints (Ulin et al, 2002).

Qualitative inquiry is particularly orientated toward exploration, discovery and inductive logic (Patton, 2002: 55-56) The strategy of inductive design is to allow the important dimensions to emerge from patterns of analyses found in the cases under study, without presupposing in advance what the important dimensions will be. I

wanted to understand behaviour from the participants' own frame of reference. Qualitative design is holistic in that the process of collecting and examining different aspects of the data, the researcher attempts to construct a full picture. In doing so and in keeping with the aims of the research, I strove to obtain a depth of understanding of human behaviour rather than quantity, as well as a thick, rich and deep interpretation and description of behaviour as related by the participants. (Henning et al, 2004).

To achieve the above, the qualitative research process must be flexible, emergent and iterative (Taylor, 2001b). This means that there is constant interplay between the study design and discovery. These criteria cohere with Babbie and Mouton's (2001) contention that the research process is not necessarily a neat progression through the various steps in the process, but rather movement back and forth. As suggested by Ulin et al (2002) and Durrheim (1999), I was involved in the research process, obtaining regular feedback on participants' responses examining the data for fresh insights which could lead to adjustments to the process and technique, modifying or clarifying questions and exploring new leads to ensure saturation of the data.

Reflexivity, that is, the researcher's self awareness and self examination, documented with other observations in the fieldnotes – was part of the iterative process of interpretation and revision that moved the data collection towards its goal (Patton, 2002; Ulin et al, 2002). Although qualitative researchers may offer different descriptions, the common thread is that interpretation is influenced by perspectives of experience and personal knowledge. Qualitative research, as opposed to traditional quantitative research, is not based on the assumption that there is a single objective reality, but that there are multiple realities (Terreblanche and Durrheim, 1999). The focus is on understanding given social settings, not necessarily making predictions about those settings. Given the breadth of the research topic of my study, namely, gender-based violence and masculinity, an approach that allowed for the emergence and exploration of multiple realities was essential.

To ensure the relevance of the design, Denzin and Lincoln (2000), Patton (2002) and Terreblanche and Durrheim (1999) suggest three interconnected generic activities involved in the qualitative research process. *Ontology* specifies the nature of reality

that is to be studied, that is, debating the possibility of a single verifiable reality and truth versus the inevitability of socially constructed multiple realities. Researchers working in this tradition assume that peoples' subjective experiences are real and should be taken seriously. *Epistemology* asks how we know what we know and focuses on issues such as objectivity, subjectivity, causality and generalizability. The assumption is that we can understand others' experiences by listening to them and by interacting with them. *Methodology* involves the examining or studying of what the researcher believes can be known. This process requires decisions about what kinds of data and design to emphasize, collecting empirical materials relevant to the questions, analyzing them and writing about them.

The net that contains the researcher's epistemological, ontological and methodological premises is termed a paradigm. Denzin and Lincoln (2000) describe a paradigm as an interpretive framework, that is, a basic set of beliefs that guides action. In this sense, paradigms are human constructions and are central to the research design because they impact on the nature of the research question, namely, what is to be studied, and the manner in which the question is to be studied. Different paradigms and perspectives employ varying sets of methodological commitments. For example, positivism claims that science provides the clearest possible ideal of knowledge, with facts deemed to be context-free. Data collection is pre-structured, measurement is controlled and clinical trials are usually required (Ulin et al, 2002). In rejecting the viewpoint of the detached objective observer, anti-positivist social scientists adopt a subjective rather than an objective stance in dealing with the direct experience of people in specific contexts. It is clear from the reasons cited above that the positivist paradigm was not suited to the present study. The interpretive paradigm discussed below provided an appropriate model to build my understanding of issues involved and to achieve the goals of the study.

4.2.2 The interpretive paradigm

As explained in Chapter One, within the qualitative approach, this research utilized the hermeneutic, interpretive framework which sees the world as constructed, interpreted and experienced by people in their interactions with each other and with wider social systems. Based on the early work of the German philosopher Wilhelm

Dilthey (1833-1911) on interpretation, Patton (2002) and Terreblanche and Kelly (1999) suggest a strong affinity between textual interpretation and the epistemology of the social sciences. A method of understanding termed 'verstehen' (understanding) is shared by social researchers and interpreters of texts. Likewise, hermeneutics focuses on interaction and language – it seeks to understand situations through the eyes of the participants, echoing the 'verstehen' approach and premised on the view that reality is socially constructed (Cohen et al, 2000). Of relevance to the present study is Patton's (2002: 115) contention that hermeneutists "are much clearer about the fact that they are *constructing* the 'reality' on the basis of their interpretations of data with the help of the participants who provided the data in the study." I followed the process characterized by a hermeneutical circle or spiral as suggested by Kvale (cited by Patton, 2002) whereby the understanding of a text took place through a process where the meaning of the separate parts was determined in relation to the global meaning of the text. This process is congruent with Edley's (2001) notion that when people talk about things, they invariably do so in terms already provided for them by history. While in principle, this process may be infinite, in practice it ended when a coherent understanding is reached.

Researchers such as Henning et al (2004), Babbie and Mouton (2001) and Neuman (1997) agree on the importance of discovering the real meaning of an event or practice by placing it within a specific social context. Similarly, Friedl et al (2002: 435) emphasize that "people's behaviour becomes meaningful and understandable when placed in the context of their lives and the lives of those around them," again highlighting the social construction of behaviour. Since this study took place amongst youth in a rural area in South Africa, it was crucial to bear in mind the context throughout the study. Kelly (2002: 402) reminds us that as interpretive researchers, we attempt to understand the world from the "inside out" and from the "outside in". Pike (in Kelly, 2002) describes the approach to understanding from within a cultural system as 'emic.' This process involves suspending one's own framework and letting the data talk for itself. The term 'etic' is used to refer to outside perspectives, specifically the use of theory, in understanding phenomena. I attempted to include information from both emic and etic approaches. The main features of the interpretive paradigm are summarized in Table 4.1.

TABLE 4.1
THE INTERPRETIVE PARADIGM

Criteria	Features of the interpretive paradigm
Basic assumptions	The social world is constructed of symbolic meaning observable in human acts, interactions and language. Single events are open to multiple interpretations (Potter and Wetherell, 2002; Cohen et al, 2000; Terreblanche and Durrheim, 1999). Reality is multi-layered and complex (Hall, 2001; Babbie and Mouton, 2001; Friedl et al, 2002)
Sources of evidence	Meanings are derived from perceptions, experiences and actions in relation to social contexts (Friedl et al, 2002; Crossley, 2002). Many events are not reducible to simplistic interpretation; hence thick descriptions are essential rather than reductionism (Patton, 2002; Cohen, 2000.)
Methods	Semi-structured, open questions and observation enable participants to express thoughts and action in natural ways. Data collection methods include in-depth interviews and focus group discussions (Patton, 2002).
Research intention	To seek understanding and insight into the circumstances of human behaviour. Events and individuals are unique and largely non-generalizable.
Level of participation	Participants are active partners in data collection and respond spontaneously to semi-structured questions.
Impact on study participants	Participants are aware of their engagement in the research process. They may gain insight into their own perspectives and behaviours, as well as the topic of the research.

(Adapted from Ulin et al, 2002: 28-29)

4.2.3 Critique of ideology

This ideology, according to Habermas (cited by Cohen, 2000), embodies a process whereby the exerting of power by systems, groups and individuals relies on disempowering other groups. Ideology, that is, the values and practices emanating from particular dominant groups, is the means by which powerful groups legitimate their sectoral interests at the expense of disempowered groups. Institutions and individuals are under pressure to create ideas, explanations and belief systems that among other things, show that they are right and that justify their position, power and activities – in other words, to create an ideology. Often this ideology is at odds with social reality and this tension provides a basis for the critique of both social reality and ideology (Bentz and Shapiro, 1998). A critique of the ideology seeks to uncover unconscious or subliminal, vested interests revealing to participants how they contribute to perpetuating a system which keeps them either empowered or disempowered. Deeper meanings are explored rather than taking for granted explanations that participants might offer or accept. The following stages outlined by Habermas (in Cohen et al, 2000) provided guidelines for this study:

1. A description and interpretation of the existing situation (a hermeneutic exercise using the 'verstehen' approach of the interpretive paradigm) was undertaken.
2. The reasons for the situation were explored: what does it mean?
3. A confrontation with the situation investigated how it came to be like this.
4. Reconstruction was considered as to how things can be accomplished differently so as to move towards a more egalitarian society.

The first three stages were explored during both the focus group discussions and in-depth interviews, while the fourth stage was explored during the in-depth interviews.

Feminist research rejects the positivist paradigm insofar as it empowers the male-dominated research community at the expense of other groups (Cohen et al, 2000). It emphasizes that the research agenda must include issues of empowerment, voice, emancipation, equality and representation for oppressed groups and the

foregrounding of issues such as power, silencing, voicing and ideology critique. Although this study did not include female participants, the topic related to male perspectives on issues directly facing women such as physical and sexual violence. Gender shapes this research agenda, the choice of topic, the focus of the research, and the data collection techniques. Cohen et al (2000) identify several methodological principles underlying research on gender which is applicable to this study. They advocate that research must be qualitative, interpretive, and reflexive within an ideology-critical paradigm. This study investigated beliefs and practices of male youth (a dominant group) in relation to women (a disempowered group), particularly relating to gender-based violence. The need to change the status quo is seen as the starting point for social research. Exploring youths' perceptions of gender-based violence was seen as a starting point to creating an awareness of the unequal power relations and the negative effects of dominant masculinity on relationships. This study highlights significant areas for interventions to create attitudinal and behavioural change, and to promote equality between men and women. As suggested by Cohen et al (2000), I employed different methods of data collection, namely focus groups and individual in-depth interviews, and I utilised linguistic techniques, namely, content analysis and discourse analysis.

4.3 THE RESEARCH PROCESS

The research team comprised myself as the primary researcher, an overall research co-ordinator (consultant), a research assistant (isiZulu male) who conducted all the focus group interviews and individual in-depth interviews, a research assistant (isiZulu male) who was a non-participant observer for the focus groups, and an additional member (isiZulu female) who was part of the team working in schools in the Ugu District. She contributed to discussions relating to the research instruments, the context and interpreting youth responses.

This section discusses the phases and the tasks of the research process in the current study. These are summarized in Table 4.2, followed by a detailed discussion of the implementation of the outlined tasks.

TABLE 4.2
PHASES IN THE RESEARCH PROCESS

PHASES	TASKS
One Preparation and planning	<p>Selection of the study area based on my interest in exploring the issue of gender violence with rural youth. Identification of three schools where I had participated in previous research and had conducted life skills programs.</p> <p>Selection of sample one: Using stratified sampling, 10 male youth from each of three grade eleven classes were selected, resulting in a sample of 30 youth. Their ages ranged from 15 to 24.</p> <p>Obtained written informed consent from participants, parents, permission from the Department of Education and ethical clearance from the University of KwaZulu-Natal (Appendices A and B).</p>
Two Data collection: focus groups	<p>Compiled the questioning route in consultation with the research team (See Appendix C). Translated into isiZulu. Re-translated into English.</p> <p>Trained research assistants in focus group moderation and observation (two four-hour sessions and one two-hour session).</p> <p>Piloted the questioning route and adapted the research instrument.</p> <p>Conducted three focus group interviews each with 10 participants held weekly for three weeks at three schools. An additional session was held at one school, resulting in a total of ten focus group interviews. Each group-session lasted approximately 80 minutes. All focus group interviews were audio-taped.</p> <p>During this period, I held four meetings with the research team to obtain feedback and to discuss questions used as probes.</p> <p>Transcription and translation of the data were undertaken by the groups' moderator.</p>
Three Data collection: individual in-depth interviews	<p>Selection of sample two: from each focus group, four youth were invited to participate in interviews. The sample comprised 12 youth.</p> <p>Compiled the interview schedule in consultation with the research team.</p> <p>Trained the research assistant in interviewing techniques. Two 2-hour sessions were held (See Appendix C).</p> <p>12 interviews, each lasting between 60 and 90 minutes, were conducted over a four week period. All interviews were audio-taped.</p> <p>Held 3 meetings (weekly) with the research assistant (interviewer) to obtain feedback on interviews.</p> <p>Transcription and translation of the data were undertaken by the interviewer.</p>
Four Data analysis	<p>Analysis and synthesis of data collected from the focus groups and the personal interviews, using content analysis and discourse analysis.</p>

4.3.1 Phase one: preparation and planning

This section describes the first phase of this study. The geographical context is briefly mentioned, followed by a description of the three participating schools. The process used in selecting the first sample is outlined, and the steps taken to address the ethical issues are discussed.

Selection of the study area, schools and sampling

As discussed in Section 1.6, this study was conducted in Ugu District, a rural area in southern KwaZulu-Natal. I decided to conduct my research in this area as I was already familiar with it, having conducted programmes at some of the schools and with women's groups. This area was selected as similar to other predominantly rural areas in KwaZulu-Natal. This is a historically disadvantaged area characterized by poor health, education and welfare facilities. The area has no recreational facilities for young people. The only sporting facilities are soccer grounds. When not at school, the male youth typically spend their time talking in groups around the local shops, meeting girlfriends or visiting the shebeens (drinking houses).

The schools

The research was conducted at three secondary schools in the Ugu District, referred to by the pseudonyms Hlonipha, Qhubeka and Ulwazi. As I had previously conducted workshops for teachers at these schools on conflict resolution and team-building, I was reasonably familiar with the context. In the three years preceding this research, I supervised social work students who undertook fieldwork placements at these and other schools in the area. This entailed my visiting the schools, having discussions with teachers, reading student reports and having meetings with them. This gave me a reasonable sense of issues of concern, one of them being male attitudes and behaviour towards females. The information on the schools that participated in the research was obtained from discussions with the school principal, a few teachers and from observations by myself and members of the research team. Although the schools have been desegregated since 1994, many rural schools continue to have

only African learners. All the research participants were first language isiZulu speakers.

Hlonipha Secondary School had a student population of 1146 in 2004. The staff comprised 34 teachers, of whom 11 were males and 23 were females. The school is situated on a fairly busy road in the area, close to homes and shops and along the route to other schools. About 80% to 90% of the students walk to school and taxis are available from the gate of the school for those who travel longer distances. The school uses water tanks on the premises. There are no proper toilets and pit latrines are used. The school has access to electricity. The school has a Life Orientation teacher who is responsible for life skills activities which are offered up to Grade 10.

Qhubeka School had a total of 408 learners. Of the 16 teachers, 13 were females and 3 were males. The school uses water tanks to collect and store water, and like the surrounding community, has pit latrines. Only the administration block has electricity. Most of the learners walk to school. According to the principal, many parents work in the sugar cane fields, and some work in the city. Life Orientation programmes are offered by a teacher from the school up to grade 10.

At Ulwazi School, there were 550 learners. The school has 18 teachers, 8 of whom are females and 10 are males. The school is located close to other secondary and primary schools. There are homes close to the school and most of the learners (75% to 80%) are from the area and walk to school. As compared to the other two schools, this school has electricity, water taps and flush toilets. The school principal stated that about 60% of the students' parents are unemployed and don't have an income, and approximately 20% of the learners are orphans. About 20% of the parents engage in casual labour such as gardening and domestic work. In the school there is a Life Orientation teacher who is responsible for the teaching of life skills to students, which is offered to students up to grade 10. The deputy principal has started an agricultural project that seeks to assist students that are orphans. The students grow vegetables themselves within the school premises and once these are ready, the students take them home.

The schools were standard single-storey buildings with classrooms but few other facilities. Only Ulwazi School had a library and none of the schools had computers. All three schools have School Governing Bodies (SGB)¹ which provide a channel for parent involvement in the schools. These bodies meet about once a month, although they may meet more regularly depending on school needs and issues that arise. Ulwazi School had an active SGB which concentrated on structural improvements and the well-being of students. At all the schools, it was reported that when parent meetings were held, only about 40% of the parents attended. As noted above, at all these schools, besides the limited life Orientation programmes offered by teachers, no other life-skills programmes were conducted.

Sampling

This study required information-rich data from a sample selected for its ability to speak to the research issue. In seeking depth rather than breadth, insight rather than generalization and the illumination of human behaviour, Ulin et al (2002) outline two basic approaches to sample selection – theoretical sampling and a priori sampling. Theoretical sampling is appropriate when the researcher wants to generate substantive theory. It is a continuous process guided by data collection, analysis and interpretation as the theory is built. In the a priori sampling approach, the researcher defines in advance of data collection the characteristics and structure of the sample. This was appropriate for the present study, with participants selected from a group of male adolescents whose opinions on gender violence and whose observations and experiences were expected to provide special insights into the area of inquiry. Ulin et al (2002) and Morgan (1998) suggest homogeneous samples based largely on similar backgrounds and demographic characteristics. An advantage to having participants who are fundamentally similar is that they spend less time explaining themselves to each other and more time focusing on the issues at hand. Bloor et al (2001) point to a further advantage of recruiting participants from pre-existing social

¹ The South African Schools Act (1996) required that schools establish School Governing Bodies (SGBs) to be composed of parents, teachers, students (in secondary schools) and members of the school support staff. The primary role of these bodies is to establish school policy around relevant areas and to ensure that the school managers carried out this policy. Although it was envisaged that this would contribute to realising the vision of democracy in schools, this is difficult to achieve in rural areas where people generally do not have the time or resources to participate in school governance. Therefore, in many African schools, SGBs continue to be dominated by principals or teachers (Nelson Mandela Foundation, 2005).

groups, namely, that it is more likely to maximize attendance and participants familiar with one another may feel more at ease to engage in disclosure.

This study used non-probability sampling. In a probability sample, every member of the wider population has an equal chance of being included in the sample. In a non-probability sample, some members of the wider population are excluded and others included. Through purposive sampling, I deliberately selected a particular section of the wider population to be included in the sample. The schools were chosen on the basis of their being representative of schools in the area. As explained, the three schools were known to the research team which had a relationship with the schools through life skills programmes conducted during the preceding years. This familiarity facilitated acceptance for the research to be conducted at these schools.

Bloor et al (2001) caution that because focus groups generate a high volume of data, the number of groups need to be kept to the minimum consistent with covering the range of the study population. The sample therefore comprised three groups of rural male youth, each consisting of ten participants selected from grade eleven classes at each of the three schools. The classes were selected using availability/convenience sampling, that is, they were allocated by educators based on the time available for the groups. Following the process suggested by Patton (2002), Bloor et al (2001) and Morgan (1998), ten participants were selected from the group of males in the class, using systematic sampling, with every *n*th person being included in the sample. The focus group sample therefore consisted of three focus groups, each made up of ten grade eleven male participants.

Ethical issues

The ethical issues were attended to during this phase and are discussed in Section 4.5.

4.3.2 Phase two: data collection through focus groups

In keeping with the interpretive paradigm which emphasizes rich experiential data and depth of understanding of issues (Section 4.2.2), the primary forms of data

collection in this study were focus group interviews and individual in-depth interviews. This section provides a rationale for using focus groups, followed by a description of the research instrument, namely, the focus group questioning route. The process of training the research assistants is then discussed and details of how the focus groups were conducted are explained.

Why focus groups?

A defining feature of using focus groups for research is the use of interaction between research participants to generate data. Qualitative data is gathered from a focused discussion to enhance understanding of the topic of interest (Krueger & Casey, 2000, Kitzenger and Farquahar, 1999)). Expanding this definition, Waterton and Wayne (in Crossley, 2002: 1481) characterize focus groups as vehicles for providing insight into the 'relational construction of beliefs', that is, the way in which stances, values and identities are developed and negotiated in relation to the responses of others. The focus group presents a more natural environment than that of an individual interview in that participants are influencing and being influenced by others – just as they are in real life. The multiple lines of communication in the group created a conducive environment for the participants to share ideas, beliefs and attitudes with others from similar socio-economic, ethnic and gender backgrounds.

Of particular relevance to this study is Kitzenger and Farquahar's (2001) demonstration of the use of focus groups to unpack the social construction of sensitive issues, uncover layers of discourse, uncover group taboos and the routine silencing of certain views and experiences. As highlighted by Bloor et al (2001), because focus group discussions use everyday language, the researcher had privileged access to in-group conversations which contained indigenous terms and categories. In fact, Morgan (1998) argues that some studies on focus groups show that group participants find the experience more gratifying and stimulating than individual interviews. Adding weight to this argument, Hyde et al (2005) and Crossley (2002) state that what distinguishes group interviews from individual interviews is their capacity to capture the dynamics of group interactions. These interactive processes include spontaneous responses from the members of the group that ease their involvement and participation in the discussion. Such interactions may

accentuate empathy and commonality of experiences and may foster self-disclosure and self-validation (Madriz, 2000), thus providing valuable data on group perceptions of issues. In focus groups, more attention is given to the participants' opinions and interactions, thus decreasing the influence of the moderator over the group interview process (Madriz, 2000). Focus group discussions therefore are able to generate substantial information about a topic as a result of group interaction.

In choosing focus groups as a data collection method, I took cognizance of the limitations mentioned by some researchers. Focus groups have the disadvantage of sometimes taking place outside of the settings where social action typically occurs. Therefore there is some uncertainty regarding the extent to which the groups can be described as 'natural' groups. However, in this study, all group members attended the same schools and were fairly well known to one another which provided for comfortable interaction amongst members. As in other group interviews, the range of behavioural information gathered is therefore limited to verbal communication, body language and self-report data. Michell (1999) also argues that the presence of the moderator may influence the behaviour and responses of the group members, although the group situation may reduce the influence of the moderator by tilting the balance of power towards the group. As to subject matter, some participants may feel restrained in discussing issues such as sexual violence; however, because focus groups emphasize the collective rather than the individual, they can foster free expression of ideas and encourage members to speak, even on sensitive issues (Madriz, 2000; Kitzenger and Farquhar, 2001). A further consideration is that the public nature of focus groups may elicit responses that are performances for effect rather than honest feelings and experiences (Madriz, 2000). The climate of a focus group such as whether the group is co-operative or disruptive, is also likely to influence the content and the nature of discussions. The emerging group culture may interfere with individual expression and the group may be dominated by one or a few members. This may result in "groupthink" being a possible outcome (Fontana and Frey, 2000). To address the above issues, to ensure confidentiality and to validate the data obtained from the focus groups, individual in-depth interviews were held with a sample of the youth who participated in the focus groups. This is elaborated in Section 4.3.3.

Developing the questioning route for the focus groups

Data were gathered using a focus group questioning route which I developed based on the literature and in consultation with the research team. Because they shared a common cultural affinity with the participants, the team was able to provide valuable guidance in developing the questioning route in a way that was likely to enhance participants' comfort and elicit honest responses (Morgan, 1998). The questions were carefully constructed and were mostly open-ended. Aspects covered in the focus group included the nature of relationships between young men and women, attitudes and behaviours that constitute violence against women, forced sex including rape, and the influences on youth attitudes and behaviours towards women. The questioning route was designed to provide triggers for discussion rather than for use as a prescriptive structure for the interviews (Hyde et al, 2005).

In developing the instrument, I paid particular attention to phrasing the set of questions in a manner that made them easy to understand and logical to the participants (Appendix C). The characteristics of an effective questioning route identified by Krueger and Casey (2000) were taken into account, namely, ensuring that it had an easy beginning, was sequenced, moved from the general to the specific and attempted to use the time available wisely. In designing the research instrument, I followed the suggestion by Ulin et al (2002) to include main questions, follow up questions and probes. The probes were included to invite deeper discussion with or without specific reference to the topic.

Krueger and Casey (2000) and Morgan (1998) suggest pilot testing the instrument with research team members, experts and potential participants. The instruments were piloted at another school in the area which did not participate in the current study. However, the research team and I were familiar with the school as it forms part of our broader project work in the area. This made it possible to select a group of eight boys from grade eleven and to conduct a session with them. The moderator used in this study also conducted the pilot group. The focus was on the willingness of the group members to engage on the topic and to gauge from their responses whether they understood the questions. Emphasis was placed on the logical and sequential flow of questions and on the extent to which questions and probes were

likely to elicit the desired information. After the pilot focus group interview, the research team reflected on the wording, sequencing, the moderator's role and the focus group process. Some minor adjustments were made but there were no major changes.

Training the research assistants

To avoid the possibility of different moderation styles influencing group responses, a single moderator conducted all of the focus group sessions. Likewise, a single observer observed the all of the group sessions. The moderator was carefully chosen for his group facilitation experience and skills and for his ease in discussing topics such as gender, sexuality and sexually transmitted diseases with young people. To a lesser extent, the observer also had some experience with group facilitation. Despite their experience, I provided additional training and information for the moderator and the observer specific to focus group interviewing (Appendix C). The training sessions were attended by all members of the research team. As mentioned in Table 4.2, two 4-hour sessions and one 2-hour session were conducted. Issues covered included the goals of the research, the nature of adolescence, the context, clarification of the questioning route, moderating skills, possible probes and anticipated challenges.

The roles of the moderator and observer were clarified. The moderator was responsible for describing the goals of the discussion, creating a comfortable climate for open exchange, encouraging participation and guiding the discussion. Guided by the questioning route, it was the role of the moderator to steer discussions and to re-focus when discussions wandered off track (Ulin, 2002; Morgan, 1998). It was also essential to encourage recalcitrant members to participate and to obtain responses from the entire group to ensure the fullest coverage of the topic (Fontana and Frey, 2000). The importance of a non-judgmental stance was emphasized along with the need to moderate dominant group members (Hyde et al, 2005). This was emphasized in view of the participants being adolescents with a possible tendency to engage in masculine performance to impress peers. This may have affected group interaction and the responses of the less-dominant members. The moderator and observer were also given clear instructions not to respond to the discussion in any way that would influence responses of the youth. This was essential as responses

such as disapproval, surprise, shock or a strong challenge from a moderator might have hindered or stifled honest responses.

The observer did not participate in the actual focus groups but monitored the tape recorder and independently noted eye movements, facial expressions, bodily movements, language, behaviour and group dynamics. Krueger (1988) cautions that relying only on transcripts can lead the researcher to overlook significant non-verbal cues and patterns in communication. Being detached and non-interventionist, the challenge for observers is to watch and listen without interrupting the natural flow of activity (Ulin et al, 2002; Cohen et al, 2000). The observer's notes supplemented and enriched the transcripts with nonverbal messages that had a bearing on the verbal contributions.

Conducting the focus groups

Ideally, as the researcher, I would have conducted the focus groups and interviews or at least been present at them. However, this was not appropriate for several reasons; First, discussions with my supervisor and other experienced researchers indicated strongly that to elicit the required information, the focus groups and interviews had to be carried out in isiZulu by an African who understood the language, its terminology and subtleties. Second, it is unlikely that the male youth would have been open and honest in their responses on a sensitive issue like gender violence with me, an Indian female. It was felt that my presence, even as an observer, at either the focus groups or interviews, would have hindered the free flow of information.

For the reasons cited above, the study was conducted using African isiZulu speakers as research assistants. As mentioned in Table 4.2, they underwent considerable training to equip them with skills to competently elicit, observe and record the required data. Their cultural knowledge and affinity allowed them to understand the language and nuances of the participants and to draw more meaningfully from the knowledge and experiences of the participants (Henning, 2004; Ulin et al, 2002). The moderator and the observer, who were in their late twenties, were assistant researchers at the School of Public Health, Nelson R Mandela School of Medicine. As pointed out by Silverman (2001), attributes such as gender, age and social class

are extremely important in fieldwork. These assistant researchers were no strangers to the schools; they already had a presence due to their ongoing involvement in research and training at these schools. It was felt that this established familiarity would help the youth to feel more comfortable to communicate about the sensitive research topic. Before commencing, the moderator emphasized the importance of confidentiality in the group, and the need to respect what others said, and this was emphasized on each occasion that the group met.

All interviews and focus groups were audio-taped. For Silverman (2000) and Cameron (2001), the simple reason for working with tapes is that researchers cannot rely on their recollections of conversations. Researchers may be able to summarize what people say, but a summary will not provide the accuracy, detail, and depth of description required in a study of this nature. Using an audio-tape enabled the noting, for example, of pauses, overlaps, sighs and laughter. For these reasons, all focus group discussions and individual in-depth interviews were audio-taped and subsequently transcribed and translated. The transcripts were stored in a locked filing cabinet.

The three focus group interviews were held with each group once weekly for three consecutive weeks. Due to the contributions of the participants and the nature of the discussions, an additional session was conducted in one of the schools, resulting in a total of ten focus group discussions. The groups were conducted in empty classrooms at the respective schools during the Life Orientation periods. The questioning route was used as a guide to focus the discussions. The length of the sessions varied depending on the nature of the discussions. On average, each session lasted approximately eighty minutes. Although allowance was made for additional group discussions, this was not necessary as the content was covered during the allocated time. It was noted that there was full attendance for most of the sessions. On rare occasions, the odd participant asked to be excused on account of either illness or some compulsory school activity which was confirmed by the school principal.

Although Bloor et al (2001) propose that participants be allocated codes or labels to enable the researcher to trace responses of individual participants, it is often

impossible to identify a speaker from the transcripts due to similarities in voice tones and accents (Hyde et al, 2005). Particular interactions among the youth that were noted in the transcripts were selected to highlight significant content, processes, challenges and debates. These interactions were discussed and clarified during regular meetings with the moderator/transcriber and the observer, and are reflected in the analysis.

In addition to being a means for producing data, the moderator and observer were also sources of data (Ulin et al, 2002; Silverman, 2001; Morgan, 1998). Weekly debriefing sessions, each lasting about an hour, were held with the moderator and the observer after the group sessions during which they shared their experiences and observations of the sessions. In addition to my jotting down field-notes regarding salient points during these discussions, the observer submitted a weekly report on his observations of each focus group held. These reports were discussed and clarified during our joint meetings. Data from my fieldnotes and the observer's reports supplemented the data obtained from the transcripts. Challenges such as dominant group members, difficulty in focusing discussions, as well as logistical issues relating to times and venues were considered during these meetings. Issues that needed to be addressed included noises and disturbances from the nearby classes, and the postponement of some sessions due to other activities at the schools such as school inspections, sports days and other school programmes. At one school, because the session was held during the last school period, the attention span of some participants began to wane as they focused on going home. A further issue for the moderator was to keep discussions focused. The nature of the topic (heterosexual relationships) sometimes stimulated participants to discuss matters unrelated to what was required. I provided continuous guidance and support with regard to approaches and techniques in eliciting specific information, sustaining group interest, emphasized sensitivity in facilitation, encouraged probing, time-keeping, pacing of sessions and note-taking.

Researchers such as Babbie and Mouton (2001) and Neuman (1997) stress the need to protect participants from physical harm, psychological abuse, stress and legal jeopardy. Ulin et al (2001) caution that this is particularly relevant in culturally sensitive studies of sexual and reproductive health, which may deal with delicate

material such as secret experiences, wishes, fears, or confessions. In an effort to deal with stress that may have arisen from recounting past or current experiences of involvement, perpetration or observations of violence, I, as an experienced social worker, was available to provide the relevant support to participants, or to make an appropriate referral if necessary. The research assistants were sensitized to these concerns and to the availability of professional assistance. I was also aware that the research assistants were engaged for long periods on a sensitive topic and may also have required supportive counselling. I undertook to arrange for such services for them should the need arise. However, there were no instances where either of these services were requested.

4.3.3 Phase three: data collection using in-depth individual interviews

Following the focus group discussions, in-depth individual interviews were held with a sample of twelve male youth who participated in the discussions. The interviews commenced a week after the completion of the focus group discussions and three interviews per week were held. The twelve interviews took four weeks to complete. This section provides a rationale for the use of individual interviews, outlines the selection of the interviewees, describes the development of the interview guide, explains the training of interviewer, and discusses how the interviews were conducted.

Why in-depth individual interviews?

This combination of methods of data collection has been strongly suggested by Henning et al (2004), Bloor et al (2002) and Michell (1999) who argue that while focus groups are a highly effective method of obtaining data, interviews allow for in-depth exploration of attitudes, behaviour and experiences, and the identification of underlying contributory factors. The combination of methods also allowed me to compare data collected from the focus groups with that revealed during interviews. Although the importance of confidentiality was emphasized, information disclosed during focus groups and heard by their peers, may be repeated outside the group. This perception may have constrained participants' disclosures, perhaps sharpening the distinction between the privacy of an interview and the public nature of the focus

group. This was a crucial consideration in this study, in view of the issue of gender violence having a strong cultural component.

In deciding to use individual in-depth interviews as a data-collection method, I took into account the views of various researchers who clarified the nature and purpose of interviews. Patton (2002) explains that because we cannot observe feelings, thoughts, intentions, and the meanings that people attach to what goes on in the world, we have to ask people questions about such matters. The purpose of interviewing, therefore, is to gain entry into another person's perspective and assumes that the perspective of others is meaningful, knowable and able to be made explicit. Patton (2002) and Babbie and Mouton (2001) describe a depth interview as a process focusing not only on the content, but rather on the process by which the content of the interview has come into being. To Cohen et al (2000) interviews are a principal means of gathering information about what a person knows (knowledge), what a person likes or dislikes (values and preferences) and what a person thinks (attitudes and beliefs). The goal of an interview is to understand the way in which another person's frame of meaning is constructed. The in-depth interview thus focuses on understanding the experience of people and the meaning they have made of such experience and is used to determine perceptions, facts and provides a channel to explore reactions to initial findings. The aforementioned characteristics of interviews seemed to fit with the goals of this study which attempted to explore how meaning and experiences shaped the attitudes and behaviour of the sample of rural male youth.

For Greef (2002), a challenge in interviewing is that of maintaining a balance between flexibility and consistency in data collection. In the present study, while flexibility was essential to elicit the participant's story, consistency was necessary with regard to the types of questions asked, the depth and detail and the extent of exploration in order to allow for comparison between and among participants. Qualitative knowledge expressed in normal language was sought with no attempt at quantification. The interview attempted to obtain open nuanced descriptions of different aspects of the participants' life worlds. While focusing on particular themes, the interview was neither strictly structured with standardized questions, nor was it completely non-directive.

While on one hand, interviews allow for greater depth of data collection, they could be prone to subjectivity and bias on the part of the interviewer (Cohen et al, 2000; Fontana and Frey, 2000). Interviewer flexibility in sequencing and wording questions can result in substantially different responses and reduce the comparability of responses. To address these concerns, I discussed these issues at great length during training sessions with the interviewer. Regular meetings with the interviewer to discuss the interviews allowed for possible gaps in the data to be anticipated.

Developing the guide for individual interviews

The interview guide approach proposed by Patton (2002), Ulin et al (2002) and Greef (2002) was used in conducting the interviews. The purpose of the interview guide was to ensure that the same basic lines of inquiry were pursued with each person interviewed. In wording the questions, I aimed to establish a conversational style. As with the focus group questioning route, the interview guide was developed in consultation with the research team. A one-to-one interview schedule consisting of primarily open-ended questions was drawn up to gain a detailed picture of the participant's beliefs, perspectives and experiences (Appendix C). The interview was more than a data collection exercise - it was intended to be a social interpersonal encounter with the advantage being that the researcher was able to follow up any particular interesting avenues that emerged in the interview, and the participant was able to provide a fuller picture (Greef, 2002).

The starting point in constructing the interview guide was to focus on the research questions I specifically wanted answered and the depth of information required. I bore in mind the participants' level of education and the kind of information they might be expected to have. Open-ended questions allowed for probes and depth, encouraged co-operation and enabled the interviewer to establish rapport and explore what the participant really believed. I heeded Fontana and Frey's (2000: 660) reminder that in framing interviews, it is important to create a "sharedness of meanings" in which both interviewer and interviewee understand the contextual nature of specific concepts. The questions were arranged from simple to complex and from broad to specific to allow the participants to adjust to the pattern of the

interview guide (Greef, 2002; Ulin et al, 2002; Patton, 2002). As with the focus groups, probes were included to allow for in-depth exploration of issues that were mentioned. Cohen et al (2000) caution that interviewer flexibility in sequencing and wording questions can result in substantially different responses. To address this, the same interview schedule was used, and additional topics were then explored with individual participants. Drawing on the categories of questions advanced by Ulin et al (2002) and Cohen et al (2000), the pattern of questioning included questions on demography, background, knowledge, behaviour, experience, feelings, opinions and sources of information and learning.

The interview guide was piloted with two members from the pilot focus group. As with the focus group questioning route, the pilot interviews focused on the sequencing of the questions and the extent to which interviewees engaged with the interviewer and felt comfortable to share feelings and experiences. After discussion with the research team, minor adjustments were made to the interview guide.

Training the interviewer

I conducted two 2-hour training sessions with the interviewer to ensure that the interviews were conducted in a competent, sensitive and skilled manner (Appendix C). Aspects covered in these sessions included conversational competence, showing understanding, keeping the purpose of the interview in mind, obtaining facts and basic descriptions, timing, sensitivity in asking difficult questions and being aware of the need to tone down the emotional level of the interview (Ulin et al, 2002). During training, I highlighted the position of the participants - they were expected to share accounts of their relationships with families, peers and girlfriends and to relate experiences of their own perpetration of violence against females, including sexual violence, and attitudes relating to their own sexuality and HIV/AIDS. In this regard, I stressed the need for the interviewer to be non-judgemental, to show genuine interest, to display empathy when required, and to respect confidentiality and trust.

The interviewer was alerted to Henning's (2004: 53) reminder that in guiding the interview, he should not ask leading questions, should prevent "contamination" of the data, and should not force a speaker into "confessional mode" if he is not ready for it.

However, the interviewer's comments and appropriate probes were used to explore the participants' meanings, attitudes and actions, bearing in mind that that insufficient probing could suggest boredom but that aggressive probing might be intrusive (Ulin et al, 2002). Keeping the interview at a pace that was comfortable for the interviewee was also emphasized.

In view of the interviewer being a young African male, I alerted him to the possibility of his "getting trapped" into answering personal questions or questions relating to his opinions that may be posed by the participants (Fontana and Frey, 2000). We considered possible ways of handling this such as re-directing the question to the participant and highlighting that *his* (the participant's) opinion was what counted. Depending on the question, the interviewer could also feign ignorance, saying that he was not in a position to answer, for example, on certain issues concerning rape and HIV/AIDS.

The interviewer was also required to note the non-verbal behaviour (expressions, body movements, and posture) of the participants during the interviews.

Selection of the second sample

Participants from each of the focus groups were invited to volunteer to be interviewed after the purpose and nature of the interviews were clearly explained. They were told that the interviews would be a follow-up to the focus groups and that they would be invited to discuss their attitudes and behaviours and share their personal experiences of relationships. Five participants volunteered from Hlonipha School, three from Qhubeka School and four from Ulwazi School. These twelve youth, from the thirty participants in the focus groups, made up the second sample in the study. This approach was preferred as it was felt that selecting a sample might have resulted in the youth feeling pressurized to participate, and may have violated the principle of voluntary consent.

Conducting the interviews

Provision was made at the respective schools for the interviews between the interviewer and interviewee to be held in a private space. This was successfully accomplished, with interviews being held in vacant classrooms. Although the interviewer had a set of pre-determined questions, the interview was guided by rather than dictated by it. A single interview was conducted with each participant, with the length of the interviews varying between 60 and 90 minutes. Henning's (2004) view that the single interview methodology is advantageous as it is extremely difficult to gain the same ambience in subsequent interviews, was found to be correct. Provision was made for possible follow-up interviews but this was not necessary as the interview content was sufficiently covered within the allocated time. All face to face interviews were audio-taped with the permission of the participants, subsequently transcribed and translated from isiZulu into English.

As with the focus groups, in weekly discussions with the interviewer, I obtained feedback on progress with the interviews and provided guidance and support on issues of concern. It was also necessary to constantly refer to interview content in relation to the interview guide to ensure that information relevant to the study was elicited. During this phase of the study, no specific problems were identified and the interviewer reported that he obtained the full co-operation and engagement of the interview participants.

A brief profile of each of the twelve participants who were interviewed is provided in Table 4.3, based on information obtained by the interviewer during the initial part of each interview.

TABLE 4. 3
THE INTERVIEW PARTICIPANTS

NAME	AGE IN YEARS	FAMILY CIRCUMSTANCES
Themba (Hlonipha School)	19	He lives with his parents. His father who is employed by a bus company, rents in Umlazi and returns home on weekends. His mother does not work. Themba's three siblings are deceased. One was ill, one shot and one killed in an accident. His father consumes alcohol which causes some tension at times when he gets drunk and shouts at people. He has a good relationship with both parents, but felt that his mother was more understanding, as his father has a tendency to lose his temper. He is the only child left at home
Moses (Hlonipha School)	18	Both parents are deceased. Prior to their death, his parents lived separately and he stayed with his mother. He is an only child and now lives with a maternal aunt and her children. He is happy with the family. He has integrated well with them and feels that his needs are adequately met.
Nkosi (Hlonipha School)	17	He lives with his mother and did not mention his father. He has three older sisters and 'some nephews,' and they all live together. He described his sisters as intelligent as they have a tertiary education. He expressed admiration for his mother, but felt that she was strict with him because he was the youngest at home.
Dumisane (Hlonipha School)	17	His parents are separated 'because of minor problems' and he lives with his father. In keeping with Zulu custom, his father paid his mother so that Dumisane could live with him. He has two step-brothers, each born of his father's relationships with different women. They all live with his father. He described his father as being stubborn and not open to correction. However, they have a good relationship. He visits his mother regularly.
S'bu (Hlonipha School)	18	His father died in 1995. S'bu claimed that his father was bewitched by other people and subsequently passed away. He lives with his mother and is the youngest of four children. He has two older sisters and a brother. His mother and sister undertake casual employment to support the family. He is very religious and is involved in several church activities.
Bongani (Qhubeka School)	21	He lives with parents. Although his father is of retirement age, he is still in employment, is responsible and provides for the family. The parents and the family have good relationships. Although his father consumes alcohol, this is not a problem as he is not abusive. Of three sisters, one is deceased. His sisters are employed and supplement the family income. Bongani expressed fondness and respect for his family.
Simon (Qhubeka School)	20	His father is deceased. His father's younger brother married his mother and lives with the family. Family relationships are generally good and the step-father treats the family well. He has two sisters. In addition, one child was born of his mother's second marriage. His stepfather is in employment and his mother is a traditional healer. Simon described his parents as being very responsible and loving. He previously associated with a gang and engaged in benzene and glue-sniffing, but this has now stopped. Simon has already paid <i>ilobolo</i> for a girl with whom he sometimes stays.

Khetha (Qhubeka School)	21	Parents are separated and Khetha lives with his mother and two school-going brothers. His mother is a pensioner, as is his grandmother who lives with the family. He expressed admiration for his mother and grandmother who he described as being loving and supportive. He has a child from a girlfriend. He visits them regularly and sometimes gives her money for the child. He is able to do this from casual jobs that he takes on.
Vusi (Ulwazi School)	17	His parents are deceased, and he has been brought up by his two older sisters with whom he lives. An older brother who lives away from home, is in employment and supports the family. He spoke of his family with great pride and appeared to be very close to them.
Nelson (Ulwazi School)	24	He lives with his parents and two sisters. His father is employed and supports the family, and his mother stays at home. Parents have a good relationship and they relate well to the children. His father is very much in control of the household and makes most decisions. Nelson wants to be the head of the household and command respect like his father does. He attends church regularly and is involved in the church activities.
Jacob (Ulwazi School)	18	His father is deceased. He has one brother and an older sister who is married and lives independently. He and his brother stay with his mother. An aunt lives with the family. After his father's death, he stayed with a paternal aunt in an urban township, Umlazi. He worked as a taxi-conductor and had friends there who had a negative influence on his behaviour: he was reckless, stole things, was involved in fights and beat girls. Due to these problems, he was brought back home. He stated that he 'grew up being cruel.' He carries a knife to school. He stated that he was not happy at home as he clashes with his family because of his behaviour.
Thabo (Ulwazi School)	16	He lives with his parents, two sisters and one brother. Both parents are in employment and they have a good relationship. His parents are religious, but he does not go to church. Although his parents 'treat each other equally', his father is very much the head of the household and makes most decisions.

The family circumstances of the males in the sample varied. In summary, four participants lived with both parents and five with their mothers only (fathers were deceased or parents were separated). In two cases, where both parents were deceased, the participants lived with older siblings or aunts who cared for them. One young man, whose parents were separated, lived with his father and sometimes visited his mother. In most instances, family income was derived from employment by the father and/or the mother. Where there were no parents, the participants were supported by family members who were in employment or received state pensions.

4.3.4 Phase four: data analysis

Terreblanche and Kelly (1999) remind us that the purpose of interpretive analysis is to provide a thorough description of the characteristics, processes, transactions and

contexts of the phenomena being studied. In keeping with the qualitative approach, my goal was not to produce a standardized set of results but a coherent and in-depth description and perspective of the participants. For Patton (2002: 503), one of the major challenges facing qualitative researchers in the process of data analysis and reduction, is deciding what to omit and what to include since "description and quotation provide the foundation of qualitative reporting." Qualitative analysis is grounded in 'thick description' which makes possible 'thick interpretation'. Thick description presents detail, context and emotion, and the voices, feelings and meanings of interacting individuals are heard.

Kelly (1999) clarifies that insightful accounts represent both insider and outsider perspectives, that is, we need not only to understand but to actively interpret the voices of respondents. Interpretation therefore, is layered in and dependent on other interpretations (Patton, 2002; Cohen et al, 2000). As mentioned previously, in keeping with the interpretive paradigm, this study utilized the qualitative analytical process referred to as the "hermeneutic circle". Hermeneutics seeks to understand situations through the eyes of the participants echoing the 'verstehen' approaches mentioned by Terreblanche (1999) and is premised on the view that reality is socially constructed. The 'verstehen' tradition focuses on the meaning of human behaviour, the context of social interaction, empathic understanding and, and the connections between mental states and behaviour (Patton, 2002). A principle applicable to the present study, and mentioned by Bentz and Shapiro (1998) is that although hermeneutic work is sometimes done in a context in which the participants cannot validate the interpretations, it is oriented toward understanding the meaning intended by research participants, even when the researcher lacks direct interpersonal contact with them. As the researcher, this process involved familiarizing myself with the data and attempting to recover, recapture and reconstruct the meanings and intentions of the participants. In this regard, Kelly (1999: 406) explains that

the idea of the hermeneutic circle prescribes that, in the interpretation of text, the meaning of the parts should be considered in relation to the meaning of the whole, which itself can only be understood in respect of its constituent parts. This is usually conceived of as a circular movement between part and whole.

Hence, qualitative analysis is often referred to as a process of deconstruction, interpretation and re-contextualization. Of relevance to the present study is Silverman's (2000) emphasis that even if our aim is to search for supposedly "external" realities like gender and power, our raw material is inevitably the words written in documents or spoken by interview respondents. Although talk may be viewed as trivial, it has become increasingly recognized as the primary medium through which social interaction takes place.

Steps in data analysis

In organizing and analyzing the data, I gained insights from researchers such as Henning (2004), Silverman (2000), De Vos (2002), Ulin et al (2002), Terreblanche and Durrheim (1999) and Neuman (1997). These authors suggest several distinct steps in the process of analyzing the data which were followed and are outlined below.

Step one: managing the data

This was the first step in data analysis away from the site. As mentioned previously, all the data were transcribed and translated by the research assistant who moderated the focus groups and conducted the individual interviews. These transcripts, as well as additional notes from the moderator, observer, and research team meetings were organized into file folders, and identifying details were noted on index cards attached to the folders. Using markers and number coding, I converted the organized files to appropriate text units such as a word, a sentence or an entire story. The transcriptions, combined with the literature review and preliminary knowledge and data, became a useful part of data analysis (De Vos, 2002). This method enabled me to organize the data in a way that made them easily retrievable and manipulable. The data were analysed manually.

Step two: familiarization

To familiarize myself with the data, I engaged in a careful line by line reading through all the relevant transcripts several times. This entailed making notes, drawing diagrams and performing minor editing necessary to make the transcripts retrievable and manageable (Ryan and Bernard, 2000). This phase entailed my immersing myself in the details in order to understand the content of the data, and developing a sense of the participants' characteristic language usage (Henning, 2004; De Vos, 2002; Kelly, 1999). This step was necessary before any formal meaning was attributed to a single unit.

Step three: themes and the inductive process

The process of coding is viewed as the heart and soul of text analysis (Taylor, 2001b; Ryan and Bernard, 2000). Coding entailed labelling units of meaning within the data, thus forcing the researcher to make judgments about blocks of text. This was done by coding a phrase, a line, a sentence or a paragraph, using different colours and numbers. The content of the text referred to a discrete idea, an event, or an activity (Henning et al, 2004; Terreblanche, 1999). A variety of words and phrases were used and the researcher needed to determine the degree of similarity between these responses. For example, I had to determine and then categorize the participants' meanings of the terms coercive sex and forced sex. Similarly, I had to determine what the word 'rape' meant to the participants and then categorize accordingly. The search for similarities, differences, categories, themes, concepts and ideas was a continuous process. Kelly (1999: 407) reminds us that in interpretive research, we ought to give "looking for differences" the same priority as "looking for commonalities". This enables us to understand what is distinctive about individual cases, contexts or of events within a context. Following coding, using an inductive approach, categories of meaning or themes emerged from the data (Silverman, 2000; De Vos, 2002; Krueger, 1988). I examined these categories and searched for those that had internal convergence and external divergence; that is, while the categories were internally consistent, they were distinct from one another. I did not look for exhaustive and mutually exclusive categories, but instead sought to identify the salient categories grounded in the meaning held by participants in the setting.

Silverman's (2000: 344) approach of identifying "push" factors (factors that push a person in a particular direction) and "pull" factors (those influences that are appealing and pull a person in a certain direction) enabled me to correlate the influential factors with background characteristics of the participants. For the data to be meaningful, it was essential to search for "subjective" meanings and relate these meanings to "objective" structures. For example, the meaning of the word "love" to the participants was viewed in the context of contradictory responses: "beating to demonstrate love" and "co-operating to demonstrate love".

De Vos (2002) and Ryan and Bernard (2000) suggest identifying five or six general themes which in turn, may have sub-themes. The intention is to reduce the data into small and manageable sets of themes that facilitate interpretation and writing up the final narrative. The process of data reduction entailed distilling the information to make visible the most essential concepts and relationships, and in some way separating the essential from the non-essential (Ulin et al (2002). By the time the process of inductive coding and identifying and refining themes was complete, considerable interpretive analysis had already been done (Ryan and Bernard, 2000). However, it was necessary to heed Silverman's (2000) concern that during coding and categorizing, one may overlook uncategorized activities. To address this, I engaged in close, repeated readings of the transcripts which sometimes revealed previously unnoticed recurring features of the organization of talk. In this way, all data were thoroughly examined, reflected upon and noted.

Step four: elaboration

Terreblanche and Durrheim (1999) suggest that themes be explored more closely to capture the finer nuances of meaning not captured by the researcher's original coding system. This phase allowed me to compare sections of text that appeared to belong together and provided the opportunity to revise the coding system. I was able to achieve this by continuous coding, elaborating and re-coding until no further significant insights emerged, a process termed data saturation. This step was particularly useful in identifying the discourses relating to the alternative masculinities. Although these counter narratives were vaguely apparent to me, it was only with continuous reading that I identified commonalities across the transcripts.

Step five: interpretation

Interpretation involved identifying ways in which emerging themes and sub-themes, connections and contradictions fitted together. Henning et al (2004) suggest that during this phase, each theme that emerged during the preceding steps can be used as a basis for an argument in a discussion around them. The authors caution that "processed data do not have the status of findings until the themes have been discussed and argued to make a point, and the point that is to be made comes from the research questions" (Henning et al, 2004:107). For De Vos (2002), this entails critically searching for other plausible explanations for the data and the linkages among them, and finally demonstrating how and why the explanation offered is the most plausible.

While I used the aforementioned framework as a guide, I incorporated several specific considerations in analyzing the focus groups which were highlighted by several authors and that bore relevance to this study.

Words: The researcher considered the participants' actual words and the meanings of those words. Buzz words, catch phrases, expressions, and exclamations of rural youth, common to their age group and culture had to be unpacked, especially those words that were unfamiliar to me. I was able to do this with the assistance of the research team. I was reminded of Crossley's (2002) caution against the tendency to focus almost exclusively on the content rather than the process of interaction as this approach frequently results in an over simplistic presentation of complex discussions. Similarly, Kitzenger and Farquahar (1999) reiterate the importance of focusing on group dynamics in analysis and suggest looking closely at forms of interaction such as arguments, mutual reinforcement, jokes and story-telling. In the groups, I noted the laughter, the ways in which participants addressed one another, expressions, teasing, challenges and support among the members and, with the moderator and the observer, tried to ascertain the meanings underlying these interactions. The focus on group dynamics highlighted for me the negotiation and construction of realities and identities during the course of talk and interaction (Hyde et al, 2005; Bloor et al, 2001; Barbour and Kitzenger, 1999).

The context: Participant responses are triggered by a stimulus, namely, the moderator's question or another participant's comment. As advocated by Kitzenberger and Farquahar (1999) attempts were made to find the triggering stimulus and to interpret responses within the context. My observation from the transcripts was that depending on the topic, the stimulus triggered either a supportive or a contesting response. The supportive responses were usually preceded by terms such as 'yah, sure', and 'of course', which were accompanied by 'yah' and the nodding of heads of others. The contesting responses were preceded by 'wait, no, I don't agree', and 'in my opinion'. Extreme stimuli in the form of strong statements, for example, to the effect that women are attracted to men who beat them, elicited immediate resistance from several participants.

Internal consistency: Unlike an individual interview where there is no interaction from other participants, focus group participants may change or reverse their positions after interaction with others. Crossley (2002) notes that people's thoughts and attitudes are re-conceptualized and emerge during processes of social interaction, argument, debate and negotiation. This point was particularly significant in working with young men who were vulnerable to being influenced by their peers. When this was evident in the data, I attempted to trace the flow of conversation that might explain this change. Discussions with the moderator and the observer and a close scrutiny of transcripts and observer notes facilitated this process.

Specificity of responses: Responses that are specific and based on experiences should be given more weight than those that are vague and impersonal. This could be gauged by the degree to which the participants provided details when asked a follow-up probe (Krueger, 1988). Such responses were noted in the discussions on the positions of men and women in the home, where some participants went to great lengths to explain their support for conventional hierarchies (*The man is always the head*), while others just as strongly spoke in favour of gender equality in the home (*The mother can also be the head*). During group interaction, in addition to reflecting on their thoughts, the participants performed social actions like allocating blame (*girls misbehave and ask to be beaten*), making excuses (*violence demonstrates love*), and accepting responsibility (*Having many girlfriends interferes with schoolwork*) These

dimensions of social interaction threw light on the complexity and ambivalence of their thoughts and attitudes in relation to particular areas (Crossley, 2002).

Finally, Crossley (2002) argues that many discussions are left hanging in 'mid-air,' highlighting the fact that the very notion of a final coherent position may not do justice to open-endedness and the interactive constitution of attitudes. Crossley (2002) observes that in her experience with focus groups, closing 'placatory' comments or jokes were frequently used to end a topic when it became clear that a final resolution was unlikely to be achieved. In examining the data, I was cognizant of the possibility of a similar pattern emerging.

Methods of data analysis

Triangulation

Triangulation refers to the use of a variety of data collection methods and different approaches to analyzing the data. (Henning et al, 2004; De Vos, 2002; Kelly, 1999). The rationale was that a mixed methodology method which called for observation from different angles or viewpoints allowed for a more meaningful inquiry into the research questions. The use of multiple methods strengthened the study's validity as data from the different methods enabled me to engage in cross-data credibility checks.

Patton (2002) and Ulin et al (2002) note the common misunderstanding that the aim of triangulation is to demonstrate that that different data sources or inquiry approaches yield essentially the same result. The point is really to *test* for such consistency. Different data collection tools reveal a variety of perspectives, considering that people conceptualize and evaluate situations differently. Therefore, understanding inconsistencies in findings across different kinds of data can be enlightening and can offer deeper insight into the relationship between the inquiry approach and the phenomenon under study. Taking cognizance of the above points, this study used *data triangulation*, that is, it used different data collection methods – focus group interviews and in-depth individual interviews - in pursuit of a given objective. The comparison of data derived from different methods enabled me to

refine categories, define conceptual similarities and to discover salient themes and patterns.

The study also employed *methodological triangulation*, that is, the use of multiple methods to analyse the problem. Cohen et al (2000) draw attention to the fact that because social scientists are concerned with the individuals and groups, it makes good sense to adopt different levels of analysis and, where possible, to combine several methods of analysis. Guided by the views of the various authors mentioned, I approached data analysis from different angles, namely, content analysis and discourse analysis. This enabled me to verify meanings in “working the data” (Henning et al, 2004: 103). The methods were utilized at different points depending on the nature of the data collected. Because audio-tapes also record sequences of responses, I was able to work back and forth through the transcripts to enhance my understanding of the data.

This approach permitted a strongly inductive approach to the analysis, whereby I looked for patterns in the data without being certain about what these will look like or of their significance. As outlined in Section 4.2.1, the qualitative analyst seeks to understand the multiple interrelationships among dimensions that emerge from the data without making prior assumptions about the linear or correlative relationships among narrowly defined variables (Patton, 2002). The inductive refining of themes and categories drawn from the data enabled me to generate certain theories, termed grounded theory. This approach, originally conceived by Glaser and Strauss, refers to the theory that emerges from systematic comparative analysis and is grounded in data so as to explain what has been observed (Henning et al 2004, Patton, 2002; De Vos, 2002). It must be emphasized that grounded theory focuses on the process of generating theory rather than a particular theoretical content. Ultimately, this theory integrates and connects categories in a theoretical framework as conceived by the researcher through the analysis process, and includes causes, conditions and consequences of the studied processes and other phenomena. The processes used in examining the data are detailed in the next section.

The process of analysis using content analysis and discourse analysis

I did not view the two methods of data analysis used as being mutually exclusive, but rather complementary in bringing important nuances to the fore in the context of interpretive analysis. Content analysis enabled me to highlight the context and to identify the range of issues, concerns and actions of the participants.

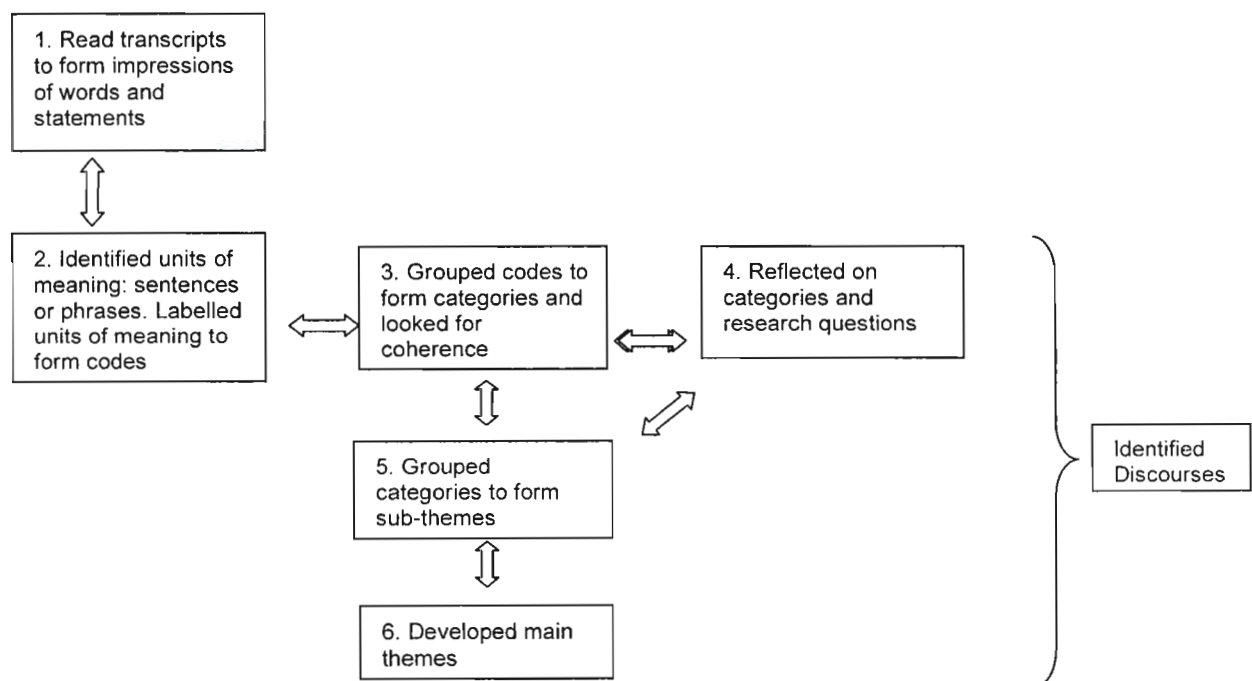
Content analysis embraces all those methods of text analysis that approach texts by means of categories and may be applied to virtually any form of communication (Babbie and Mouton, 2001). In addition to the communicative content of texts, attention is also given to their linguistic form. Titscher et al (2000: 57) quote Holsti's (1968: 601) definition: "Content analysis is any research technique for making inferences by systematically and objectively identifying specified characteristics of messages." Building on Holsti's definition, Neuman (1997: 272) adds that "Content refers to words, meanings, pictures, symbols, ideas themes or any message that can be communicated. The text is anything visual, written or spoken that serves as a medium for communication."

Content analysis essentially involves coding the data. Babbie and Mouton (2001) make the distinction between coding the manifest content – the visible, surface content - and coding the latent content - its underlying meaning. Herein lies the intersection between content analysis and discourse analysis. Focusing on the latent content, I used discourse analysis to tap for underlying meaning and to interpret and explain issues, concerns and actions and thus gain a deeper understanding of the messages conveyed by the participants.

Henning et al (2004) alert us to the fact that that this method may lead to superficial or naively realistic findings because it captures what is presumed to be the real world for the research participants in a straightforward, direct and often formulaic way. The assumption is that the researcher arrives at a set of valid findings due largely to the stringent application of coding and categorizing. However, this method lent itself to ensuring greater reliability as it allowed me to revise the coding after repeated readings of the transcripts. Despite its possible limitations, Neuman (1997) and Henning (1994) acknowledge the great potential of this method for studying beliefs, organizations, attitudes and human relations. This method was therefore considered

to be suitable for this study as it allowed me to obtain data relevant to answering the research questions. Categorizing the data and synthesizing the categories again to create a new whole was also a valuable tool for identifying themes during discourse analysis. The two methods of analysis complemented each other in that while content analysis focused on themes in terms of the frequency of words and ideas expressed, discourse analysis concentrated on patterns in the language and explored the multiple meanings attached to the statements (Henning et al, 2004). This approach helped me to reveal messages, themes, biases or characteristics in the text that may have been difficult to see with casual observation. In analyzing the texts, I paid particular attention to the issue of dependability, especially the trustworthiness of the coding, and to validity through frequency of word use. In keeping with the theoretical framework guiding this study that gender is socially constructed, a combined method of analysis told me more about the social context and of factors stressed or ignored as well as influences on behaviour. Figure 1 illustrates the combined use of the methods of analysis applied in this study.

FIGURE 1
METHODOLOGICAL TRIANGULATION: COMBINING CONTENT ANALYSIS AND DISCOURSE ANALYSIS



Adapted from Henning et al (2004: 104-106).

In identifying and analysing the discourses, I drew on guidelines offered by several authors. Heeding Van Dijk's (1997b) reminder that data should not be edited, but studied 'as is', all data in this research were studied as they appeared in the original text. I started by searching the data for signs of language that indicated the way in which the participants tried to make sense of their reality. In the second reading of the data, I highlighted the discourse markers, that is, the words or phrases exemplifying the discourse and checked whether this was a recurrent pattern or whether the examples were isolated instances. Identifying recurrent terms, phrases and metaphors lent particular meaning to the events or objects spoken about in the text. Terreblanche and Durrheim (1999) suggest some questions for consideration: Who speaks and who receives the said discourses? What subjects are implied but not mentioned? Whose voices are silenced? In addition to engaging in detailed reading of pieces of the text, I read many different texts to explore patterns of variation and consistency in discourse. To do this, I needed to consider the context. What are the broader economic, political, social and cultural contexts of the discourses related to gender-based violence? What interests and power constellations emerge? This helped me to determine dominant and marginal discourses and to identify the subject positions of the participants.

If a definite pattern in the language used by the youth emerged (Taylor, 2001a), I gave it a name in order to conceptualize it from a specific discourse position. Closely linked to discourses, Edley's suggestion to identify "interpretative repertoires," was particularly helpful here. This refers to:

the range of linguistic resources that can be drawn upon and utilized in the course of everyday social interaction. Interpretative repertoires are part and parcel of any community's common sense, providing a basis for social understanding. They can be usefully thought of as books on the shelves of a public library, permanently available for borrowing. Indeed this metaphor captures the point made earlier, that when people talk (or think) about things, they invariably do so in terms already provided for them by history (2001: 198)

What this means is that conversations are usually made up of a patchwork of 'quotations' from various interpretative repertoires. Identifying interpretative repertoires is facilitated by repeated readings of the transcripts. It was noted that in the individual and group interviews, people adopted similar lines or made similar arguments at different points in different interviews. Gradually, I was able to recognize patterns across different participant's talk, particular images, metaphors or figures of speech. This enabled me to construct broad discursive themes from the text and to explore dominant, multiple and contradictory discourses. Through this process of analysis, I gained an understanding of what the dominant discourses were relating to gender based violence, and I was able to reflect on how the user made meaning within the discourse.

The details or characteristics of the discourse were then worked out according to examples drawn from the data. At this stage, I was aware of contradictions in the text (Potter and Wetherell, 2002), implicit or indirect meanings (Wodak 2001), and the sequence and structure of the discourses (Wodak, 2001; Van Dijk, 1997b). It was also essential to provide a rationale for the manner in which data were coded and categorized. Once a distinct pattern of language action emerged, a unit of discursive meaning was labelled. Additional sources of supplementary data were also referred to, namely, data from the focus group moderator who was also the interviewer, and the focus group observer. This entire process was conducted with a specific emphasis on the research questions relating to gender-based violence.

4.4 DEPENDABILITY AND CREDIBILITY

Although some researchers refer to issues of reliability and validity, there is increasing recognition that these terms apply more to quantitative studies where data are facts isolated from the personal or subjective values of the researcher. Qualitative researchers, on the other hand, are open to multiple interpretations of situations and therefore defend subjectivity in research. I therefore used dependability, credibility, confirmability and transferability as essential criteria to ensure quality in my research (Ulin et al, 2002).

Dependability, the methodological parallel to reliability, refers to whether the results are dependable and that the research process is consistent and carried out according to qualitative methodological principles (Ulin et al, 2002). To ensure consistency in data gathering, a single moderator and observer were present at all the focus group interviews. This avoided the problem of different facilitation styles and approaches influencing the type of information elicited. To enhance dependability, the focus group moderator, who was already familiar with the participants and the sensitive nature of the research, also conducted the in-depth interviews. This allowed for continuity, relevant questioning and appropriate probing to obtain the required information. In the focus groups and individual interviews, questions were explained in detail and clarified to prevent misinterpretation by participants.

While validity focuses on correct operational measures for the concepts being studied, in qualitative research, credibility focuses on confidence in the truth of the findings, including an accurate understanding of the context. Knowledge produced by research, particularly qualitative research, is inevitably partial. Truth is unattainable because reality itself is not single or static and is influenced by the processes through which a researcher investigates and represents it. We cannot have absolute confidence concerning credibility, mainly because constructs are abstract ideas (Neuman, 1997). However, Golafshani (2003) and Ulin et al (2002) suggest that we should ensure that the findings are consistent in terms of the explanations they support. In this study, the findings in this study are grounded in and substantiated by the narrative data which I found to be rich, detailed and adequate to support my findings. In applying the concept of reflexivity, I was aware of my own biases and reactions in interpreting the data. In order to enhance the validity of the results, I made every effort to separate my personal values from those of the participants. These aspects were also highlighted in the training sessions with the moderator/interviewer.

A related issue is that of transferability. Knowledge produced by research is assumed to be situated, meaning that claims made can refer only to the specific circumstances of place, time and participants in which the research was conducted. This limits generalisation and the transferability of the findings Neuman (1997). Since context is

a key influence, in qualitative research, the researcher must account for contextual factors when transferring data from one situation to another. Therefore repeating the study in another population with similar conclusions would lend credibility to the results and will specify circumstances under which these findings will occur.

The research was located in the context of previously published academic work and I have built on or challenged the claims of other academics. I tried to ensure that the analysis process was rigorous, systematic and rich in detail, and that the arguments were coherent, focusing on persuasiveness of the argument rather than on emotional impact. In the analysis, I have also focused on inconsistency and variations in the data which is a general feature of natural talk. In analyzing interpretive repertoires (Edley, 2001) inconsistencies can signal the 'boundaries' of different repertoires, thus serving as another form of credibility of the analysis by the participants themselves. A concern when engaging in discourse analysis is the quality or detail of transcription. I was able to clarify the content of the transcripts with the focus group moderator/ interviewer and the observer as well as gain some idea of how the participants oriented to one another. The use of the triangulation method which encompassed various methods of data gathering and analysis, allowed for cross-checks between the data gathered using different instruments, thus enhancing the credibility of the findings.

4.5 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Ethics in research relates to moral standards. Where research involves human subjects, ethical considerations are the responsibility of the researcher. The sensitive nature of the subject of gender violence makes ethical issues especially pertinent to this study. In designing the study, I carefully considered research ethics and addressed ethical issues from various angles.

All human research should begin with the informed consent of participants (Ulin et al, 2002; Strydom, 2002; Babbie and Mouton, 2001). This is necessary because social research requires that people reveal personal information about themselves which may be disseminated to strangers, including professionals. The nature of the research was explained in detail to the participants. Aspects discussed included the

voluntary nature of participation, the purpose of the research, selection of the sample, data collection procedures and an invitation to approach the facilitators with concerns at any point during the research. They were also informed that they had the option to withdraw at any stage. Each participant was then asked to sign a consent form in which the conditions for voluntary participation, confidentiality and anonymity were stipulated and further clarified (Appendix B). Participants were also informed that all information given would be tape-recorded. An undertaking was given to participants that their identities would not be revealed either during or after the research. In this thesis, those participants that were interviewed were given pseudonyms. To further protect participants, the names of the schools were also replaced with pseudonyms

In terms of the Child Care Act 74 of 1983, as the majority of the participants are legally considered to be “minors”, that is they are under the age of twenty one, the consent of parents must be sought. The written informed consent for the study was obtained from at least one parent/guardian of each research participant (Appendix B). Permission was also obtained from the KwaZulu-Natal Department of Education (Appendix B) and from principals of the participating schools. This process was facilitated by the fact that the researcher and the research team were known to the schools due to previous research and intervention programmes implemented at these schools.

I was aware that in a study of this nature, it is essential to protect participants from physical harm and psychological abuse. In an effort to deal with stress that may have arisen from recounting past or current experiences of involvement, perpetration or observations of violence, I, as an experienced social worker, was available to provide the relevant support to participants and to make an appropriate referral if necessary. However, there were no instances where these services were required.

Strydom (2002) and Durrheim (1999) draw attention to the issue of competence of the researcher and team members to undertake the proposed study. In this study, the research team were trained and skilled in group facilitation and in conducting individual interviews. This meant that they were aware of the need to refrain from making value judgements about the points of view and actions of participants, even if they conflicted directly with those of the interviewer. In addition, no value judgements were to be made about the cultural practices or beliefs of individuals or communities.

Academic freedom is integral to good research. Scientists have an obligation to report their research findings resulting from public funding in a full, open and timely fashion to the scientific community (Babbie and Mouton, 2001; Neuman, 1997). Findings of the study will be disseminated in journals, books, conferences and via the media. Strydom (2002) adds that limitations must be acknowledged and that findings should be conveyed clearly and unambiguously so as to encourage utilization by others, as this is the ultimate goal of any research project. The findings of this study will be shared with the research participants and the relevant schools. Participation in a research project is a learning experience, not only for the researcher, but for participants as well.

Prior to commencing the research, based on evidence that the study had complied with ethical principles, The University of KwaZulu-Natal Research Ethics Committee granted written approval for the study (Appendix A).

4.6 CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter has explained in detail the research methods employed in an effort to achieve the aims of this study and to adequately answer the research questions. A rationale for using the qualitative research method and the interpretive paradigm was discussed. A critique of ideology as it relates to research on gender was outlined as it foregrounds issues of power, silencing and voicing which are directly applicable to this study. The four phases of the research process were explained, namely, preparation and planning, data collection through focus group interviews, data collection through individual in-depth interviews, and analysis of the data using content analysis and discourse analysis. A rationale was offered for the choice of data collection methods and methods of analysis used, as well as specific considerations at each phase of the research. The advantages of the methods chosen for the study and the limitations thereof were explored. Issues relating to dependability and credibility were outlined, as were ethical considerations in conducting the research.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS: GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE AND MASCULINITY

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents and discusses the findings of the study under nine broad themes and their related sub-themes which emanated from the participants' accounts of their beliefs, experiences, and practices relating to gender-based violence. The themes relate to the entrenchment of patriarchy in the home and in the community; the acceptability of relationship violence; the centrality of sex to relationships; fidelity; forced sex in relationships; rape; HIV and AIDS; the participants' understanding of the factors that influenced their attitudes and behaviour towards women; and the counter-discourses or alternative masculinities that emerged from the data.

Working with themes enabled me to present the data clearly by combining sections of the data that 'tied together.' Some overlaps are apparent throughout the presentation but the nature of the questions and the discussions make these unavoidable. Therefore certain arguments and information may have been repeated at different points during the focus groups and interviews. Where appropriate, the data are presented in tables which reflect the broad discursive themes and sub-themes that emerged, followed by a discussion in which the interplay between dominant, multiple and contradictory discourses are explored. In the discussions, my reference to alternative responses relates to alternative masculinities as emphasized in the literature, that is, alternative to patriarchal, hegemonic or dominant discourses. These are integrated into the discussions across the various themes, which appropriately reflect the context in which these discourses emerged. The findings arising from the different data collection methods and from the different methods of analysis are drawn together and compared to enhance the credibility of the findings.

In the analysis, the focus group responses from the three schools were combined to ascertain an overall picture of the participants' perspectives on the areas explored. Where an individual or a group from a particular school displayed specific characteristics or raised relevant issues, these are highlighted separately. For ethical

reasons, the schools were given pseudonyms and are referred to by the names Hlonipha, Qhubeka, and Ulwazi. Where necessary, when focus group participants are quoted directly, the name of the group appears after the quote. In the extracts of the focus group interactions at specific schools, participant responses are labelled using letters of the alphabet. However, the letters A, B, C and so on, are not attached to specific participants. Rather, they are randomly allocated to illustrate the interaction between participants. For purposes of anonymity, individual participants who were interviewed are referred to by pseudonyms when indicating their responses during the interviews. Direct quotes from the participants appear in italics.

Before reporting on the findings I wish to emphasize the point made in Chapter Four by Potter and Wetherell (2001) and Wodak (in Barker and Galasinski, 2001: 64) that analysis is interpretive. Any account of a social phenomenon reflect the researcher's interpretation and understanding of that situation, including the researcher's attitudes, beliefs and assumptions so that, ultimately, there is no 'correct' interpretation of texts. Interpretations are open, dynamic and subject to change, making it difficult for researchers to assume that they have arrived at final truths. However, following Taylor's (2001b) suggestion, I attempted to reduce the arbitrariness of the interpretations by focusing on the discourse *form* itself and by concentrating on the regulation and patterning of the words (Barker and Galasinski, 2001). I therefore tried to stabilize the apparent uncertainty of meaning in the narratives by identifying recurring themes across the different data collection methods.

5.2 THEME ONE: THE ENTRENCHMENT OF THE PATRIARCHAL SYSTEM

The focus groups commenced with a general discussion of the position of women in the home and in the community. This broad approach was used to obtain a perspective on the home contexts and family relations of the participants, and also to create some familiarity and comfort to proceed to discussing other more intimate topics. This aspect was explored further in the interviews, where participants described the relationships and interaction within their individual families. Table 5.1 provides a summary of participant responses.

TABLE 5.1
THE POSITION OF WOMEN IN THE HOME AND COMMUNITY

Theme	Sub-themes	Categories
Theme one: The entrenchment of the patriarchal system	"The rights are there, but the man comes first"	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The man, as breadwinner, is the head of the household • Final decision-making rests with men • Men make rigid rules. Women are not given a chance to make 'rules' • Women are not taken seriously and are looked down upon • Men are given leadership positions
	In their upbringing, boys and girls are treated differently	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Boys have more privileges than girls and go out freely • Girls are restricted and expected to be at home • Boys and girls engage in household chores, but boys are appreciated more.
	Parents are justified in using corporal punishment on children	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • "I gain by being beaten" • "I would realize that I was wrong" • "I did not listen"
	Violence against women: a community feature.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Girls are beaten by boyfriends, fathers and brothers, and to a lesser extent, by mothers – generally for "behaving loosely with boys" • Women are beaten for being unfaithful or for allowing daughters to be 'loose' • Violence is necessary because of the bad conduct of girls • Family violence is not talked about

Contrary to Lesejane's (2006) contention that the role of the father as the patriarch is rapidly declining in South African society, the discussions with the young men in this study indicated that the patriarchal system, with relations of power in favour of men, operated in their homes and in the community. As noted previously in Table 4.3, seven of the participants interviewed had absent fathers. However, they commented on their experiences and observations of family structure generally. In keeping with the hierarchy consistent with the patriarchal system, the participants reported that

fathers headed the households and commanded more power, control and respect than mothers. Heading the household entailed making rigid rules, making decisions, controlling household activities and providing materially for the family. Generally, the breadwinner role was equated with leading the family, a finding consistent with those of Hunter (2006), Izugbara (2004), Morrell (2006), Richter (2006) and Silberschmidt (2004; 2005). This was, however, challenged by a couple of participants in the focus groups who emphasized that nowadays, many mothers are also breadwinners and therefore deserve to be regarded as heads. Others were quick to resist, stating that the man's headship was entrenched, whether he worked or not. Under the broad theme of patriarchy, the issues that the participants raised such as the rights of men and women, headship of the home, parental attitudes towards male and female children, corporal punishment, and the position of women in the broader community, are discussed hereunder.

5.2.1 "The rights are there, but the man comes first"

Although many participants spoke of equal rights in the home, they still subscribed to the notion that males must be dominant as illustrated in the following comments:

"The rights are there, but a man comes first. The wife must give respect to the man at home" (Hlonipha School)

"If we look into this closely, the mother can take a decision; she can take a decision, but not a final one" (Quebeka School)

"It must be clear who is the man here in the house. It can't be that I (as a man) would say something and you (a woman) do not agree with it. How come?" (Ulwazi School)

Such "lived ideologies", according to Edley (2001: 203), reflect the beliefs, values and practices of a given society or culture. They typify a regulated way of speaking that governs the way topics are talked about and practices conducted (Foucault, in Barker et al, 2001). The rhetorical question of the Ulwazi participant, *"How come?"* conveys his perception of the absurdity of a woman not agreeing with a man. These beliefs and practices become a way of life and what social theorists understand by the term

'culture.' In this case, some of the youth were reluctant to part with the ideology of male headship, agreeing that a woman should be given certain 'degrees' of equality, but that this should be firmly under the overarching authority of the male head. These patriarchal discourses seemed to be informed by the binary positions man/woman, differentiating masculinities and femininities, and entrenching the power relations contained within these positions.

The responses indicated that the father as patriarch was acknowledged with great respect. The hierarchical nature of communication within the family is illustrated by one participant's explanation that *"if we want something, we ask through her"* denoting two points; first, there was a feeling of comfort and safety to approach the mother, and second, there was respect and perhaps fear to approach the father directly. Perhaps the more relaxed relationship with the mother enables her to vet the request before the father is approached. The type of relationship with the father described by Vilakazi (1962: 37) over forty years ago seems to still be applicable today: "The father is still the ideal but he must now be admired at a distance. "

Bhana (2002) observed similar patterns in her research at a rural primary school in KwaZulu-Natal. She noted that gender power relations were reproduced through dominant cultural definitions of femininity (fearfulness of men) and masculinity (male cultural entitlement). Within families, the father as patriarch was considered to have unchanging and uncontestable power. However, as pointed out by Coates (2003) and Edley (2001), opposing positions may arise which point to different interpretive repertoires relating to same subject as illustrated in the following focus group interaction at Hlonipha School:

A: *"I disagree with what is said by the brothers when they say the head of the household can be the mother. The man is always the head of the household, all the time. If he has said something, no one can disagree with what he has said "*
(Some nodding of heads and "yahs" from others)

B: *"If you look back at our conversation, ...let's not continue to say the father is the head, is the head, is the head, It's alright he is the head, but the mother can be the head also. This does not mean the father should be oppressed you see, just*

because he does not have money and doesn't do anything. But they must be equal."

C: "In other words, it means that everyone agrees that there must be one person that is in control and the other one should submit to. The other one submitting to the other but sharing their minds so that everything goes well at the end."

D: "How come there is a head, because they are equal?"

A: "But brother, although we say they are equal, she must understand the man will always be above the woman, even if the rights are there."

Two distinctive interpretive repertoires are evident here. In one, male headship is strongly advocated as the desired family model by A. In the other, this is just as strongly contested by B, who advocates a more egalitarian model, emphasizing that the father should not be oppressed. The use of the word 'oppressed' here may indicate the existing equation of headship with oppression arising from his observations and experiences of the way things are in his home or community. C's interpretation of the discussion thus far indicates entrenchment of the notions of control and submission. His choice of language "*the other one submitting to the other,*" although stated euphemistically, clearly refers to the woman submitting to the man with some common ground (sharing their minds) to ensure a smooth outcome. Although D challenges the hierarchy, the discussion rounds off with A explaining that *his* understanding of equality translates to "*man always being above the woman,*" reinforcing support for conservative normative gender roles and social and cultural values. These traditional notions of inequality between the sexes, of course, persist in many parts of the world, for example in Tanzania (Rweyemamu, 1999); Mexico (Chavez, 1999); Botswana (Mannothoko, 1992); Zambia (Human Rights Watch, 2003); Haiti, India and Harlem (Farmer, 1997); and Zimbabwe, Ghana and Malawi (Leach et al, 2003).

In the interviews, although a few youth mentioned that their fathers consumed alcohol and were loud and domineering, they did not give the impression that they disliked their fathers or felt that their fathers were unreasonable. In fact, most of the youth

stated that their parents had good relationships and consulted each other on important issues, giving credence to Morrell's (2005) contention that many African men and women face the challenges of daily life together, making collaboration, negotiation and compromise key features of African life.

The general opinion in the focus groups was that although women generally made better decisions, they were not usually included in decision making. A few participants at Quebeka School articulated that "*women are cleverer than men*," but if a man's decision is not accepted by a woman, "*he may resort to the stick*," (a euphemism for beating discussed in Section 5.3). The social construction of women as the 'other' works to repress or silence them, a point that is taken up in work of theorists such as Derrida, as pointed out by MacNaughton (2005). These statements imply that even if the woman is right, she feels compelled to agree with the man in the face of the risk of being beaten, an observation noted in African communities in South Africa by Dawes et al (2004), Jewkes et al (2001), and Wood et al (2001). Simon, in his interview, resisted this positioning of women:

"You see, a woman sometimes tells herself that she is a woman and therefore has to give a man preference to say the decision. That I don't like because she must also be respected by the kids".

The woman 'telling herself' is very likely due to her socialization into a culture which dictates that ultimately, a man's decision is what counts. In keeping with the patriarchal structure enforcing the authority of males over females, the participants pointed out that *indunas* (headmen in the community) and chiefs were always male, as were most school principals and managers in the workplace. Reference was made to the fact that important community positions were, in fact, reserved for men. However, in the home women made some decisions for girls, for example, whether to have an abortion, and men for the boys, for example, with regard to going out late at night.

The general construction of women in positions of powerlessness and subservience is encapsulated in focus group statements conveying similar messages at all three schools that "*women are taken lightly*", "*men don't want to listen*" and "*she is always looked down upon*." These comments suggest that some participants were

sympathetic to the cause of women, implying that men should listen to women and take them seriously. However, Thabo, in his interview, indicated that working women may be viewed differently. He explained:

“Nowadays, people consult one another. Now both of us (man and woman) are working and she is able to say something as she is bringing something home. If she was not going to work, it was easy to put her aside. ”

As stated previously, several of the youth linked the father's role as head of the household to his role as economic provider, confirming Bhana's (2002) contention that in rural areas, children learn at an early age that gender is intimately connected to cultural and economic realities. Implicit in Thabo's statement is the idea that the person who does not work can easily be marginalized in the home and not given a voice. At the same time, the role of women contributing to the economy of the household has implications for men and their positions as heads. In South Africa, rapid social, political and economic transformation has led to the blurring of boundaries of gender roles and has contributed to the uncertain and changing position of men. Ramphela (2002) draws attention to the fact that increasingly women are taking on care-giver roles as single parents and as heads of households where husbands are unable or unwilling to assume responsibility. Such failure to fulfil socially and economically constructed masculine ideals may result in a crisis of identity, referred to in the literature as a 'crisis of masculinity' linked to threatened patriarchal privilege (Cleaver, 2002; Coates, 2003; Kermode and Keil, 2003; Reid and Walker, 2005; Silberschmidt, 2004; Whitehead and Barrett, 2001). This crisis of identity may occur when the two identities of masculinity that co-occur, namely, 'being a man' and 'being a breadwinner' do not correspond to a man's lived experience (Sunderland and Litosseliti, 2002: 8).

One Hlonipha School participant explained the power shift thus:

“It's just that men have this mentality that a man is always on top. It comes from the old days when there were wars. A woman did not have the strength to go and fight in wars.... Now nowadays when you look at these things of power, they are getting

lesser, and lesser, and lesser. What we are going to live on is using our minds. It is the mind that is mostly working now. The issue of power is decreasing now".

This response is indicative of how sets of meanings that maintain oppression are under contest and in flux within the changing socio-political context in South Africa (Burman et al, 1997). This is evident in the notion that physical strength, deemed to be a male attribute and aligned to war, an event marked by aggression and violence (Waetjen and Mare, 2001), has now been overshadowed by a need for what some participants termed "*brainpower*" and "*mindpower*." Phrased differently, this may mean that hegemony based on physical strength is insufficient for successful manhood and this may constitute a possible crisis for Zulu men (Xaba, 2001)

The diminished significance of conventional displays of power as a control strategy was further illustrated by an Ulwazi group participant who, in describing his admiration for women, offered the view that

"I am stronger than a woman, but the way she does things is much nicer than mine. She does not show being strong, but she does things much nicer even though she is not strong because she is a woman. When she does something, she does it well not using power".

What is implied in this extract is the notion of strong (man) versus weak (woman), and the stereotypical emphasis that she is not strong *because* she is a woman. However, the awareness that she is "*doing it well not using power*" provides a noteworthy similarity to a characteristic of alternative masculinities. Although not articulated, inherent in the speaker's message is that to do things well, we need not use power. Likewise, in the study by Frosh et al (2002) with school-going boys in the UK, several participants agreed that women usually made better decisions than men as they were clever, and that men had a tendency to be rigid and insensitive. Perhaps the most significant point in this part of the focus group discussions and in the individual interviews was the considerable agreement that ideally, man and women should make decisions jointly.

5.2.2 In their upbringing, boys and girls are treated differently

The data confirmed Vilakazi's (1962) observation that Zulu mother-daughter relationships were more intimate and cordial than father-son relationships, which tended to be more distant. For Themba, this pattern was attributed to the fact that *"my mother takes time to explain things and she does it in a way that is clear, unlike my father who speaks in such a way that he wants you to get angry."* This distance was echoed by Bongani: *"My relationship with my father is very good, even though he has never come straight to me, but he often speaks in such a way that even I would end up hearing his advice."* The overarching perception that the superiority of men must be respected impacts directly on the patterns of upbringing of girls and boys as described by focus group participant from Hlonipha School:

"You find that in many homes, boys are above girls...boys are the ones that are on top. If the father of the house is not there, then the head of the house is not there. This makes boys to be treated better."

Across all three schools, the youth alluded to the fact that boys were given preferential treatment at home. They were listened to more and given the freedom to do whatever they wanted, including going out with friends. Some participants viewed a girl's place as being at home, with one suggestion that girls who came home late at night gave parents reason to beat them. These responses reflected the femininity/masculinity oppositions where being female meant an internal focus on the home and being male involved an external focus on the outside world.

The agreement in the focus groups that, although girls are *"enslaved,"* meaning that they do much of the hard work at home, boys are nowadays also expected to perform household tasks, such as sweeping and wiping floors, and washing dishes. This was confirmed by several youth in their interviews who explained that they cooked and helped with a range of household tasks. Ramphele's (2002) assertion that boys sometimes resent doing what is considered women's work was not expressed by the youth in this study. On the contrary, they expressed pride in their domestic contributions and were aware that boys were praised for whatever little they did, while

girls did more but were taken for granted. Themba explained with pride: *"My mother often tells me to cook. Yah, that happens, because I can cook very well."*

Resisting hierarchical positioning, Vusi was quite clear in his interview that *"there is no difference between boys and girls. We all do things in the same way."* He advocated that boys and girls should be treated equally in the home. A commonly expressed view by many participants was that girls are the stronger sex as they are more successful, more goal-directed, more understanding, and more intelligent, namely, *"strong in brain power,"* and were able to think about things that boys might miss completely. These views resonate with findings of Almeida (1996) who found that Portuguese men admitted that women were smarter and more intelligent than men. Likewise research at schools in the UK by Epstein and Johnson (1998) and Skelton (2001a) revealed a pattern whereby girls were found to be academically stronger than boys. However, Skelton (2001b) and Gilbert and Gilbert (1998) caution against drawing conclusions about boys' under achievement irrespective of factors such as ethnicity and social class. Likewise, Gilbert and Gilbert (1998) argue that boys are disadvantaged by society and the educational system which encourages certain types of maleness. Educational deficiencies may result from their dependency for self esteem on traditional exhibitions of masculinity such as sporting or fighting skills and superiority over females. Bearing in mind the diverse contexts in South Africa, this may be an area for research.

5.2.3 Corporal punishment: "I gain by being beaten"

Similar to the findings of Dawes et al (2004) into corporal punishment by South African parents, this study found that such punishment in the home by one or both parents was a common feature in the upbringing of ten of the twelve youth interviewed individually. Beating usually occurred with a stick, and ranged from a slight beating to a thorough beating depending on the extent of the 'offence.' For Themba, *"Once you twisted (stepped out of line), you would get it (be beaten)."* Simon understood clearly that he was beaten as a child *"to stop me doing that which they told me not to."* In most cases the youth justified the beatings:

Nelson: *"When you look deep into the matter, you would understand and see the reasons why you were punished."*

Thabo: *"I realized I was wrong and needed to be disciplined; I gain by being beaten;... they had to punish me because I did not listen".*

These findings complement those of the Nelson Mandela Foundation (2005) that many parents in rural areas in South Africa see corporal punishment as a normal and acceptable way to discipline children, and pain as punishment, for instance by father to son was seen as character-building. Unlike the findings of Pretorius (2004) where the youth felt that physical punishment meted out to them by parents was unwarranted, most of the youth in the present study felt that corporal punishment was justified and, in fact, beneficial. The purpose of corporal punishment was clearly to instil discipline. Implementing corporal punishment was initially the domain of the father; in the absence of the father, the mother may have taken on this role (Vilakazi, 1962). This practice reflects an exercise of parental power over their children who are in less powerful positions. It is possible that this pattern of exercising power over those viewed as having less power could also be replicated by the youth in their interactions with others, including females. Despite these responses, it is notable that all, but one of the boys, interviewed stated that they would not like to use the same form of problem solving or disciplining with their own families, but would prefer to talk and offer advice to their children. Thabo's rationale was that *"nowadays people consult one another and that is how I would like it to be at home where we talk about things"*. Similarly, Moses stated: *"I ultimately saw talking as the right way to follow rather than being beaten all the time."* Some inconsistency is noted here: while the participants justified the use of corporal punishment by parents, the majority said that they would not use it as a form of discipline. There may be some realisation that talking to children may facilitate building better relationships so that corporal punishment may not be necessary. This must also be viewed within a generational context where parents, especially fathers, are known to be distant. Given socio-economic, political and educational changes, shifts in disciplinary measures are likely to occur.

5.2.4 Violence against women: a community feature

Violence by young men against their girlfriends cannot be understood without a recognition of broader attitudes towards violence in the community (Walsh and Mitchell, 2006; Wood et al, 2001). The issue of whether relationship violence is a feature of the community was addressed in the focus groups. Amidst considerable chatter, the youth agreed that women in the community were frequently beaten by their husbands or boyfriends, although as Jewkes et al (2002) confirm, the topic was not openly spoken about. Women may be beaten for a variety of reasons ranging from failing to complete household chores, smoking and consuming alcohol to being unfaithful in a relationship. A common pattern, according to the participants, was that girls are beaten for behaving loosely, while their mothers may be blamed for their daughters' behaviour and be beaten by their husbands. These explanations can be viewed against findings of a study at schools in the Ugu District which included the schools participating in this study. Of a sample of 289 learners, 22,6% agreed that parents argued frequently, while 11% of the sample stated that their fathers hit their mothers (Taylor et al, 2005), confirming that violence is indeed a practice in this community.

The assertion by one Qhubeka School participant that *"people beat what belongs to them"* reinforces earlier discourses relating to prevailing patriarchal ideas about male entitlement to women and the importance of men asserting authority in their relationships with women. Some of the boys spoke of the discomfort that they felt *"when you know that they are beating someone there."* Even in conveying his message, the speaker uses distant words like *"they"* and *"someone"* instead of 'a man' and 'a woman', somehow softening the harshness of the reality. These responses suggest the public nature of domestic violence in South Africa where the notion of closed doors does not exist in the same way for many communities in the developed world due to particular socio-economic circumstances. Homes are poorly built, very small, or built very closely together, thus enabling neighbours to be aware of the intimate dealings of families close by. Frequently, parents, siblings and other extended family members live in the same house and are aware of beatings and sexual abuse (Bassadien and Hochfeld, 2005).

The responses of a few participants exemplify the surfacing of the following counter discourses contesting the dominant hegemonic ideology of violence against women:

"In issues you can talk about them, you don't really need to hit her; it doesn't look good to hit a girl." (Hlonipha School)

"In everything we must talk." (Qhubeka School)

"It is no longer attractive to beat a woman these days. I think it is childish to beat a woman." (Ulwazi School)

"Yah it is not right because your family even loses dignity, because you are failing to live without beating." (Ulwazi School)

This topic generated much discussion and diverse responses in the group from Ulwazi school. The viewpoint *"It is no longer attractive to beat a woman these days"*, while acknowledging the existence of traditional societal practices, suggests a shift to more equitable gender practices. The clear message in this discourse is that beating places respect and dignity at risk, echoing Barker's (2005) observation that in many parts of the world, men and women have recognized the negative consequences for men and boys of the traditional construction of manhood. The issue of relationship violence is explored in detail in the next section.

5.3 THEME TWO: RELATIONSHIP VIOLENCE IS ACCEPTABLE: "IT'S BETTER TO BEAT HER"

A recurring theme through the focus groups and the interviews was that violence in relationships was a norm, although this runs counter to participant assertions in the previous section that beating a woman was not right. The justifications for violence by the youth included the need for males to be in control in a relationship, to demonstrate love, to punish a woman for being unfaithful, for refusing to allow a boy home (presumably, to have sex), smoking and consuming alcohol. As proposed by Hearn (1998), violence is often seen as a justifiable intervention to correct behaviour or to punish a woman, even if that action is unlikely to change the situation, thus making violence an element in the doing of masculinities. This form of dominance may be enacted and reproduced by subtle, everyday forms of text and talk that appear natural and acceptable (Van Dijk, 2001a). Table 5.2 outlines the participants' beliefs about relationship violence.

TABLE 5.2
PARTICIPANT PERSPECTIVES OF VIOLENCE IN RELATIONSHIPS

Theme	Sub-themes	Categories
Theme Two: Relationship violence is acceptable: "it's better to beat her."	Violence has many forms	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Physical violence: hitting, beating, shooting, punching, kicking, stabbing Verbal abuse: hurtful words, abusive words, shouting, insulting, threats Sexual harassment: stalking, unwanted touching, and pinching Sexual violence: coercive sex and rape
	Violence: a strategy for control.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Violence ensures that a boy has control in a relationship Hitting ensures respect Hitting is a tool for disciplining a girl to prevent misbehaviour
	Violence demonstrates love	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> If a girl leaves a boy, he would hit her because he loves her He is "<i>putting her back on line</i>" because he really loves her Hitting is not abusive, but shows love
	Girls expect to be beaten	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> By 'misbehaving', girls 'ask' to be beaten Girls know that they are "<i>food for the stick</i>" Girls accept violence; it makes them feel important

The sub-themes that emerged relating to the acceptability of violence in relationships are discussed below.

5.3.1 Violence has many forms

Arising from the previous discussion on gender-based violence in the community, the moderator probed the participants' notions of what constitutes relationship violence. Their understanding of violence is briefly mentioned in this section, as the use of violence is extensively covered in the sections that follow. As outlined in Table 5.2, The participants acknowledged all the forms of violence contained in the definition of violence in the Domestic Violence Act, 116 of 1998 (Government of South Africa, 1998) (see Chapter One), except economic violence, although this was alluded to in the discussions on sexual violence. The overall perception was that violence was a violation of a person's rights. Rights, for the youth, included the right to feel safe and the right to bodily integrity. Violence was primarily described as being physical, verbal and sexual. From the transcripts and subsequent discussions with the moderator, it emerged that while the participants were forthcoming with their notions of physical violence, some probing was required to obtain clarity on their perceptions of verbal abuse and sexual abuse as forms of violence.

The youth mentioned acts of violence as being responses to *"violent words which pierce"* by women which usually evoke a *"hitting response."* For the participants, women were largely seen to be the perpetrators of verbal abuse against men which included using words that were hurtful and abusive, shouting, insulting and issuing threats. Some comments were made on the common practice of women provoking men by shouting or insulting them, especially within the earshot of others. Such an offence provoked *"a severe beating of the woman to clear up his image."* Several comments were made on the necessity to retaliate with physical violence in conflict situations in order to save face. Physical violence, for the participants, included hitting, beating, shooting, punching, kicking and stabbing. Beating a woman was described as a physical, but necessary, act of violence, with the participants acknowledging that females feel powerless and cannot fight back. One focus group participant declared: *"Beating a woman is war. If negotiation does not work, then beat."* Inherent in this analogy of beating and war lies the participant's unspoken acknowledgement that in this 'war', the power is vested in one party, the man. *If negotiation does not work (for whom?), then beat (who beats who?).* In some sense, victory is already assured for the beater. Threats were considered to be violent

because they conveyed fearlessness on the part of the perpetrator and instilled fear in the victim. Sexual harassment (stalking, unwanted touching and pinching) and forced sex (rape) were mentioned as being acts of violence (Forced sex within dating relationships and within marriage are discussed in detail in Section 5.6). Although a few participants spoke of violence as an immature act, most of the young men, in their interviews, agreed that the use of threats and violence was acceptable to convey to a girl that she had done something wrong, confirming Hearn's (1998) contention that although men may acknowledge the negative aspects of violence, some claim 'good reasons' for resorting to the use of violence. As mentioned above, although these young men, with prompting, mentioned different forms of violence, their perceptions of what constitutes violence was primarily confined to physical acts of violence and sexual violence; this is confirmed in the discussions in subsequent sections.

5.3.2 Violence: a strategy for control

Consistent with the findings of South African studies by Buga et al (1996), Human Rights Watch (2001), Thorpe (2002) and Wood and Jewkes (2001) where females reported that violence was characteristic of intimate relationships (see Appendix D), the youth in this study were spontaneous in their responses that males largely controlled relationships by hitting females to assert power over them. Control was seen mainly in terms of decision making, placing restrictions on the girls' movements, and sexual behaviour. It was felt that males had a role in disciplining females, for example, with regard to talking to other boys, accepting lifts, dressing in a certain way and consuming alcohol. Although not acknowledged by the youth in this study, Hearn (1998) views this form of control as an indirect form of physical violence as it produces a physical violation of the woman. Disciplining may well be a euphemism for controlling, and men positioning themselves in this role is consistent with observations of Harrison (2002), Harris (2005) and Pretorius (2004) that for many men, power is defined by their ability to control the actions of women, and it is this power that establishes their identity as a man (Edley, 2001).

The general view among the participants was that the use of violence served specific purposes as is evident from the following interaction at Hlonipha School:

E: *"Now if a girl knows that you can hit her, she gives you respect."*

F: *"Now but don't use that you can hit a girl, and then hit her.....she would leave you."*

G: *"Yah, that is the truth, because if a girl knows that you can hit her, there are slim chances of her misbehaving".*

H: *"And there is that when a person is left by a girl because he hit her, he would hit her for that now that she is leaving him. This is because he really loves her."*

In this interaction, the repetition of the words 'hit her' by all four speakers, which were accompanied by gestures mimicking a hitting action, may function primarily to signal solidarity among the youth (Coates, 1997). Saying the same thing symbolises the connection felt among the participants, as evidenced by their tones of emphasis on 'hit'. These statements bring to the fore the centrality of power in the social construction of masculinity (Edley, 2001; Rweyemamu, 1999) as the youth discuss and justify the 'power of hitting' as a technique to exert control over women. The notion of 'beating' was a recurring theme at different points throughout the texts, drawing from interpretive repertoires demonstrating the interconnectedness of power with cultural constructions of maleness in the construction of hegemonic masculinities (Bhana, 2002).

Taking cognizance of the observations of Terreblanche and Durrheim (1999) Barker and Galasinski (2001) and Potter and Wetherell (2001) that the human life world is fundamentally constituted in language, I sought to make meaning of the forms of violence meted out to young women as articulated by the youth in the sample. The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines beating as "to hit repeatedly, especially with a stick; to strike persistently; to shape or flatten by blows." For the participants, common forms of beating involved slapping, hitting, punching, shoving and kicking. The dominant discourse lies with the power of the man to "shape and flatten." Although the participants were aware of assaults using objects such as sticks, rods or stones,

there was no mention that they actually used any of these objects. Of the twelve youth interviewed, five stated that they had, at some point, beaten their girlfriends.

For the participants hitting served several purposes, namely, gaining respect, “controlling” her behaviour, and punishment for leaving the male. In this group interaction, by building on each other’s contributions, these young men jointly constructed the dominant masculinity and simultaneously expressed solidarity with each other (Coates, 1997). The perception seemed to be that engaging in this violent act brought certain rewards: respect, good behaviour and the knowledge that the man is in control. These responses are in direct contradiction to other statements where gender-based violence in the community was talked about as being disrespectful and undignified (Section 5.2.4). These contradictions point to the boys “doing masculinity” differently in different contexts (Connell, 2002b; Mac an Ghaill, 1994). While they are critical of the violence in homes in their community, they see a place for it in their own relationships.

What is implied but not articulated is men’s dependence on women. Because he “loves” her, he is desperate to keep her. The dependence may not be based on the “love” per se, but more on the need to save face and to have a dominant image among peers and others. These responses may also be viewed against the backdrop of the traditional Zulu notion of *umenze umuntu*, meaning that by a girl accepting a young man as a lover, he is given status by being recognized as an adult and a total human being (Vilakazi, 1962). Rejection by a young woman is therefore taken seriously as it means a loss of status and leaves one feeling insecure. This desperation may play itself out in the act of beating her if she threatened to leave him. The underlying discourse of fear of being dumped may be linked to a fear of the masculine image being threatened, pointing to the fragility of masculinity articulated by Silberschmidt (2004).

Again, the ‘no-win’ situation for women is evident. Whether the woman loves him or leaves him, the likelihood of being beaten remains. If anything, Hautzinger’s (2003: 93) research into men’s violence against women in Brazil revealed that in many cases while women were dominated victims, in just as many cases violence was sparked

precisely because women confronted authoritarian male partners and refused to become subordinated, pointing to the notion of “threatened masculinity.”

Ketha, in his interview, reported multiple purposes for the use of violence:

“I just do (hit) a little bit, then I stop so she can pay attention [purpose one], you see. ...It is just a way to take a relationship forward [purpose two]. It is a way to make you feel accepted [purpose three].”

The choice to ‘hit a little bit’ serves to minimize or reduce the severity of the act and reinforces the control that he has on how much to hit (Hearn, 1998). In the aforementioned quotes, beating girls was described as part of a gender order that did not condemn violence. Violating girls was considered to be normal and a means of gaining and maintaining respect. This response is consistent with Totten’s (2003) findings amongst Canadian youth, where beating girlfriends was considered righteous and in defence of a higher moral ground. Consistent with the present study, boys in his study considered it a direct affront to their masculinity that girls did not keep within their traditional roles. Another significant purpose of violence was to demonstrate love as described below.

5.3.3 Violence demonstrates love

In the current study, exerting power and control over women was seen as one way of demonstrating love, as is illustrated in the following quote from a focus group participant at Hlonipha School:

“Yah, what I can say is that when girls are hit by boys, it seems like they are being abused. You see, when a boy hits a girl, it is when he really loves that girl. Because he is putting her back on line. It is these bad things that she is doing, you see. That is why I say that when we boys hit our girlfriends, it is not that we don’t love them. We really love them “ (Emphasis added by author)

This comment illustrates several pertinent issues. “Seems like they are being abused” conveys the message that hitting is not synonymous with abuse. The

participant then goes on to clarify this 'myth' by explaining the link between hitting and love "*Putting her back on line*" positions boys in dominant masculine roles, with power to control a girl's actions and to shape her behaviour. The relations of power inherent in the 'good girl/ bad boy' binary points to the privileged term (boy) deriving its position from a suppression of its opposite or 'other' (girl) (MacNaughton, 2005). The point being made was that the violent action is justified and it is not easy for a girl to argue against being controlled. This justification of the male actions, according to Edley (2001), can be interpreted as a claim to masculinity and may be seen as an attempt to elevate an opinion or belief to a fact, namely, that a boy is meant to be in a controlling position. In addition, the hitting has a two-fold purpose: to constrain her and to demonstrate love, and these are commonly held views among the youth.

The use of the term "we" in this quote is what Houghton in Cameron (2001: 177) refers to as a discourse of "collectivism", that is, the self is defined in relation to others within a larger collectivity as opposed to individualism whereby the self is defined as unique and independent of any collectivity. The boy talk (*we boys hit our girlfriends*) emphasized their collective shared experiences and their solidarity with one another, while highlighting a common identity and also friendship. This view resonates with Lemke's assertion (in Cameron, 2001) that even when we talk in our own words, we speak with the voices of our communities, that is, what people say is often drawn from the community's repertoire of beliefs. These interpretive repertoires provide a basis for shared social understanding and practices that may have become so familiar that men and women "mistake history for nature" (Edley, 2001: 195). Frequently expressed notions of the need to discipline women, punish them for misbehaviour and bring them into line seem to fit into a "little girl" discourse where females have to be chastised and taught proper conduct. As suggested by Vilakazi (1962), in Zulu society, the role of the father as a disciplinarian evoked respect from his family, and young Zulu men use the same methods to gain respect from a person (a woman) considered to be a 'subordinate.' For Whitehead and Barrett (2001), the aforementioned discourses are examples of the processes which reinforce gender inequalities. Implicit in these discourses is the positioning of men as strong and disciplined and women as fragile and undisciplined. Such discourse is a strategy to exercise power and to legitimize male supremacy and power inequalities.

In the focus groups, some animated and chaotic discussion ensued on responses to a girl who betrays a boy after he has done a lot for her, like giving her money, buying clothing and improving her image. Most of the boys agreed that hitting was definitely justifiable in such a circumstance. As one participant stated, *"a babe does stop what she is doing when you hit her"* (Qhubeka School). In this regard, Edley (2001) reminds us that the historical production of certain forms of masculinity is not so much a matter of doing what comes naturally as doing what works best. An extreme view offered was that it may be appropriate to kill a girl if a boy felt very disappointed and betrayed.

One can assume that the "love hurts" experience voiced by female youth in the Nelson Mandela Metropole Pretorius (2004) is also applicable to the male youth in this study. We need to question the levels of comfort for boys in relationships who constantly feel that their masculinity is threatened and are engulfed by feelings of suspicion, fragility, embarrassment, and insecurity. For some boys, relationships may be very painful experiences. Themba, although he admitted to beating a girl, stated: *"I don't think it is right to beat a girl. If you can see that a person is overpowering you in terms of intelligence, it is better to leave her like that and move on."* This statement reflects an admission made in the focus groups (Section 5.2.2) that girls are more goal directed and intelligent. Themba's response to this 'threat' or feeling of powerlessness is to walk away rather than resort to violence in an effort to assert oneself.

5.3.4 "Girls expect to be beaten"

One might look at the following focus group responses as indicative of attempts made by men to distance themselves from any negativity attached to the act of beating as they position themselves as succumbing to what women want:

"She will tell herself she is food for the stick, Sometimes when you beat her, you are just encouraging her in what she is doing - she knows what she is doing and that she is definitely going to be beaten." (Qhubeka School)

"She wants to be beaten as she is looking for a reason to leave you." (Qhubeka School)

"While some don't like to be beaten, another one loves being beaten, because she can see that you are moulding her on the things that she is doing." (Ulwazi School)

A question which arises here is that if girls 'normally' expect to be beaten, does this mean that they will be disappointed if they are not? The 'othering' of 'she', mentioned several times, depicts the unbalanced nature of gendered power relations, acknowledging the 'normal' hegemonic male patterning of authority, aggression, revenge and control over females. Consistent with Walker's (2005) findings amongst young men in Alexandra, this study found the beating of girls being described as part of a gender order that did not condemn violence. In these quotes, the implication is that women literally 'feed into' or encourage the actions of men. The metaphor "*food for the stick*" raises the question that if the female is the food and the man uses the stick, who ultimately emerges satisfied or fulfilled? Is the woman (having been 'eaten') satisfied or is it the man (having 'eaten')? In the interview, Thabo explained: *There are girls who have accepted that they live by a stick in their relationship*. 'Living by the stick' implies mutual fulfilment: while they (girls) serve as food for the stick, the stick also provides food (life) for them. These statements may confirm instances of hegemony working by implicit consent, whereby it is easier to exercise power and gain advantage over others when the dominated are complicit in their subordination (Bryson, 1999; Hollway, 2001).

'*Moulding*' confirms the perception that women are pliable, which raises the question of whether women in fact want to be moulded into the forms desired by men. It is these discursive strategies exemplified in the aforementioned texts that legitimate control and promote relations of inequality. The five youth who admitted that they had beaten girlfriends gave reasons ranging from the girls not giving them enough attention, to infidelity. The stories related by the youth indicated clearly that a girl who cheated deserved to be beaten, even though a few participants said that in principle, they did not like to beat a person. This supports the notion of shifting responsibility for the beating to women, along with a positioning of men as helpless which was

explained during the focus group discussions. Participants from different focus groups rationalized their use of violence:

"We had the bad luck of growing in the time where the girls are a bit loose...some of them don't behave themselves... because it is the girls that lead us to do these things. Sometimes you find yourself beating her" (Qhubeka School)

"If one's girlfriend is seen with someone else, "You are forced to beat her" When I come to your house and you are not there. No! You have to beat there." (Ulwazi School)

Implicit in these discourses is the positioning of men as victims of women's misbehaviour, described as *"bad luck"*. From this position of helplessness they are forced at times (against their will?) to beat a girl. The use of the collective 'we' is again noted, reinforcing the dominant societal ideology concerning gender roles, and reaffirming conservative normative social and cultural values (Holmes, 1997). The denial of personal responsibility is further justified by the terms 'forced to beat', again implying that it was not done out of choice. Assertions such as these are disputed by Abrahams et al (1999) and Hearn (1998) who, from their studies with South African and British men respectively, found violence to be a social choice with a clear intention to do harm. In this sense, violence is rational and not something that is 'out of control'. For Paechter (2001), such exaggerated performance of gender is the easiest way in which young people avoid the humiliation of mistaken gender attributions from others. On the other hand, because such violence has become part of the "thinking as usual" pattern suggested by Paechter (2001: 47), we may safely assume that 'boys expect to beat.'

The participants in this research may well constitute a 'community of practice,' a concept developed by social learning theorists Lave and Wenger (1991, in Walsh, 2001: 3). This refers to an aggregate of people united by a common enterprise, developing and sharing beliefs, values and ways of doing things. The emphasis on 'practice' is important since it means that interest extends beyond language to a whole range of discursive actions and competencies by which members construct their individual and collective identities, including their gender identities.

Dumisane related how performing violent masculinity worked for him when his girlfriend cheated on him:

Interviewer: How did you feel after this (beating his girlfriend)?

Dumisane: *"After beating her, I felt right because what she said was she wanted me to beat her..."* (It is unclear as to how Dumisane's girlfriend conveyed to him that she wanted him to beat her or in what context this was said since they subsequently terminated their relationship because he had beaten her).

Interviewer: "How do you think she felt about the whole situation?"

Dumisane: *"The way she acted, she acted as a person who is feeling alright because she was happy that we had ended our affair because that was what she wanted and I would not beat her again."* He went on to state that some girls are crooks and cannot be trusted.

Interviewer: Do you think that beating a girl is the right way to maintain a relationship?

Dumisane: (immediate response) *"It is not the right method. It is not the right method but in the end, one finds himself using it. It is not the right method because there is no person who listens through being beaten. A person uses ears for listening. Anything wronged by speech is corrected by talking. A stick is used because we believe that a person needs to feel pain in order to stop doing something. I do not see a reason of using a stick."*

Later in the interview, however, he stated: *"There are girls who get a message through being beaten."*

What is noted here is the contradiction between what Dumisane says he believes (beating is not the right method) and his behaviour (*"After beating her, I felt right"*). Potter and Wetherell (2001) state that this pattern of inconsistency and incoherence is to be expected in individual discourses, and suggest that rather than take for granted

that accounts reflect underlying attitudes or dispositions, we should focus on the discourse itself, and what it is doing in a particular instance. Silverman (2001) suggests viewing participant responses as cultural stories, drawn from narratives of that culture and used to make their actions explainable and understandable. In this case, Dumisane may be trying to convey that he engaged in normative behaviour which satisfied him, although, on an individual level, he does not think the behaviour is correct, pointing to the complexity and fluidity of the subjective positioning of masculinity.

Following Crossley's (2002) suggestion to consider the social interactions and dynamics within focus group interviews, the following interaction at Ulwazi School about beating girlfriends provides an example of competing discourses of masculinity, whereby peer group pressure worked to silence those who tried to voice alternative views (Mills, 2001; Coates, 2003).

I: "You mean that if you were my girlfriend it can happen that I beat you"

J: "Yah"

I: "No it is not right brother"

K: "No, that is not right. If she knew that she was to be beaten, she would not have agreed to be your girlfriend..."

L: "To beat a girl is not right."

J: "It is better to beat her. ... you are showing her that you love her.....because you won't have time to go and beat someone knowing very well that you don't love her"

M: "You also get back respect if you sometimes wake her up."

N: "As you are no longer beaten at home, it means you are no longer important. If you are beaten, there is something good that they desire for you".

M: "That is when they are building me up, when they beat me."

In this extract, conventional dominant masculine behaviour is presented as a challenge to the alternative positioning. First, the young men are saying that it is a demonstration of love; second, the male gets back respect; and third, the girl also gains as he is doing her good by building her up. These responses cohere with the earlier responses of the youth (Section 5.2.3) where several participants highlighted the benefits of corporal punishment in the home. The use of the phrase *"they desire*

for you” clearly portrays dominance, as what the other person desires for you is perceived as correct, thus leading to one’s own choices being repressed. Beating is considered to be beneficial as implied in the phrase *“building me up.”* Likewise, there is a need to *“wake her up”* as if she was ‘asleep’ to his needs and needed to be alerted. These strong assertions, made from a “claimed, assumed or asserted position of authority” (Yates, 2001: 130) within the group setting, served to silence I, K and L who presented counter discourses. It was noted by the moderator that this discussion tailed off with no further discussion, confirming Fairclough’s (2001) contention that power in discourse allows more powerful participants to control and constrain the contributions of less powerful participants.

In some discussions, contradictions in the responses arose where a participant advanced one view (*“It is not good to hit”*) but was persuaded to adopt an opposite view (*“Yes, in those instances you can hit her”*). Such contradictions highlight the power of interactive talk in the construction or co-construction of the self. It also confirms how performance is continually affected by the reception of others, and how identities emerge not only from actions, but also from the way in which others position us by what is said to and about us (Cameron, 2001). These may have important implications when considering techniques for interventions.

Coates (2003) argues that while men may be constrained by prevailing hegemonic discourses, they may simultaneously be enabled by the competing discourses which potentially allow them to construct alternative, counter-hegemonic identities for themselves. The following focus group interaction at Ulwazi School provides a further example of the youth contesting violent behaviour towards women.

N: *“There is nothing you can do by being violent...”*

O: *“Yes, if you are a person that beats a lot, you end up not being wanted and loved.”*

P: *“Wait brothers,...I believe that many would love and want me because they have the results that came out after beating her. Many people believe that you must beat a girl sometimes so that she becomes right.”*

O: *“If you are known to be beating your girlfriends, do you think you can have another girlfriend?”*

Q: *“No one would want to be with you even by mistake.”*

P: *"There are babes in other places"*

Q: *"Okay, you mean that if you have a girlfriend in that area and you are known to be beating her, you would go to another area."*

P: *"Let me say, I would look for them in another area."*

R: *"You see, this might be laughed at, but I have experience of this. You see brother, by beating a girl you lose. Just because you had beaten a girl, few people would love you."*

This extract is one of many examples where the focus group sheds light on issues that might not be accessible without the kind of interaction found in the group (Krueger and Casey, 2000; Morgan, 1998). P enters this discussion with a request, "wait," putting a halt to further collaborative construction of alternative masculinities. He addresses the group as 'brothers', denoting a sense of familiarity and confidently declares his belief relating to his success after beating a girl. In "doing gender," P constructs himself as being knowledgeable, self directed and in control. He perseveres with his notion of conventional masculinity within a discourse of power and control, despite the discourses of resistance from his peers. Paechter (2001) sees this as a demonstration of extreme gender stereotyped behaviour which is not just for those that we encounter, but to reinforce our own gender identity for ourselves. Pursuing masculinity is seen as an exposure to vulnerability in the sense that it is constructed in front of and for other men and against femininity, because men want to show that they are not feminine (Silberschmidt, 2003). Q responds to this 'performance' with a note of ridicule and irritation. R cautiously attempts to help the parties reconcile their different opinions by pointing out that a negative consequence of beating a girl is that the boy loses love. These alternative discourses are signs that some young men are strongly opposed to aggressive masculinities and are moving towards non-violence as a way to secure love, confirming Bhana's (2005) observation that despite the hegemonic patterns of conduct and the violence that it engenders, alternative patterns of conduct do exist. These are captured in further examples of resistance to violence in the following individual interview responses:

Vusi: *"A boy that beats a girl is a coward. I don't think it is right."*

Nkosi: "You see, beating and me don't go hand in hand. Even the boys that I hang around with used to say 'You see you are stupid because you don't beat girls.' But in my opinion it is not good to beat a girl, because it is not easy for her to fight back. I have never beaten a girl, not even once."

Moses: "I believe in discussion only. That I can end up beating her is what I cannot believe I can do because I really love her."

As with the hegemonic positioning, these participants also provided a rationale for the alternative positioning, which again points to the existence of several types of masculinities. While some men may use violence to control women, many men do not. These young men distance themselves from and in fact, reject hegemonic displays of masculinity inherent in acts of violence against women. Beating is a cowardly act; the girl is not able to fight back; he would be hurting her; and besides, he really loves her. Nkosi's resistance to peer pressure seems to emanate from a coherent sense of self: he does not 'partner with beating'. Hitting to demonstrate love articulated in the focus group discussions, is disputed by Moses, who believes that love and hitting are not compatible, thus choosing to be different from the current dominant pattern of being a boy.

An interesting issue raised by one participant was that because refusal to do something was somehow a woman's prerogative, women could thus control relationships. Further discussion centred on the fact that a woman who has a disease may refuse to have sex, and in this way protect the man. This power to either protect or infect gives her a degree of control in the relationship. However, one young man explained that if a woman controlled a relationship, she may articulate it as: "*this one (the man) is dancing to my (the woman's) guitar*". This metaphor is an interesting one, implying that the girl pulls the strings and the boy moves with ease, enjoying being controlled by her, a situation that is generally not desirable to boys. Barker and Galasinski (2001) link this construction to the fear of being controlled or being seen as being controlled. In fact Rweyemanu's (1999: 67) research with men in Tanzania revealed that the opposite was the norm: "A woman is there to serve and dance to the tune of her husband, full stop."

The youth acknowledged the advantage that boys have over girls in that girls are not able to hit boys, even if boys hurt their feelings by misbehaving and having other relationships at the same time. Although in fact girls are indeed able to hit boys, they are socialized into thinking that such behaviour is unacceptable and will have negative connotations for them. This thinking fits into Selikow et al (2002) and Mills' (2001) suggestions that both males and females are responsible for engaging in normative or gender-appropriate behaviour. Males and females thus keep the domination-submission pattern alive for, as West and Zimmerman (1991) suggest, "doing gender" is unavoidable as all behaviour is constantly subject to gender assessment.

5.4 THEME THREE: SEX IS CENTRAL TO RELATIONSHIPS

In the focus groups and to a lesser extent in the interviews, the topic of sexuality emerged spontaneously without any prompting from the moderator/interviewer, even when sex and sexuality were not being discussed. When discussing relationships with parents, peers, and issues relating to their general behaviour, the discussions somehow took a sexual turn. This pattern is congruent with the observation of Mills (2001), Pattman (2005), Pattman et al (2005) and Jewkes et al (2002) that sex is a key theme in the lives of young people and is significant as a discursive medium through which boys and girls construct their gendered identities. Male and female identities are substantially constructed in terms of success in sexual relationships, and this is often deployed in struggles for position and status within peer groups (Wood et al, 1998). The table below provides a summary of participant views of sexuality in relationships.

TABLE 5.3
SEXUALITY IN RELATIONSHIPS

Theme	Sub-themes	Categories
Theme three: Sex is central to relationships	"First show her your manhood through sex and then through other ways, maybe love"	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sex is one of the main ways in which a boy shows that he is a man • A man must 'perform well' to satisfy a woman
	Sex equals love.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A woman must prove love to a man by having sex with him • If a woman refuses to have sex with a man, it means that she does not love him
	"Sex: It is important that she provides."	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A woman must entertain a man's body • She must provide sex whenever he wants it • A male has an insatiable sexual appetite • If a girl does not "provide", a man will look for others
	Sexual initiation is the domain of men.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A woman that initiates sex is cheap and undignified • It is not right that a woman asks for sex • A girl "asking for sex" may give a boy reason to hit her
	Sexual harassment: "it's okay to touch lightly"	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Girls sometimes welcome sexual advances from boys • Some girls also "make a move" on boys

Under the broad theme regarding the centrality of sex in relationships, several sub-themes became apparent.

5.4.1 "First show her your manhood through sex and then through other ways, maybe love."

An examination of the data confirmed that, for the youth, sex formed a vital part of relationships. For example, on whether having sex is the only way a man can show

that he is a man, the following response is representative of the views of a majority of the participants:

"Yah, it is a sign of showing your manhood. You first show her through sex and then your manhood through other ways, maybe love." (Hlonipha School)

Notably, love comes chronologically after sex, a view consistent with the findings by Wood and Jewkes (2001) amongst youth in Umtata, by Selikow et al (2002) amongst youth in Alexandra, and by Harrison (2002) amongst youth in Hlabisa. As articulated by Leclerc-Madlala (1999: 45), sex in a relationship does not have to be discussed: "The expectation is that a relationship is, by its very nature, sexual". In the current study, sex was viewed as a primary way of asserting one's manhood: *"boys must show that they are men"*, which illustrates how closely masculinity is linked to sexuality. One participant emphasized that having sex with a girl was a way of showing her how powerful you are, drawing attention to the fact that heterosexual masculinity hinges on demonstrable sexual orientation and distancing from perceived femininity. These responses may be viewed against the traditional perceptions amongst the Zulus that to fail to win a woman as a lover is to be a social failure (*isishimane*) and to carry a social stigma. Ultimately, this means that he has failed to get confirmation of his manhood from women (Vilakazi, 1962). Similarly, performance failure by not satisfying a girl sexually can challenge the essence of masculinity and confront men with the possibility that they are not "real men" (Kimmel, 1987: 19). A few voices ventured to argue in favour of other ways of demonstrating love and manhood, such as giving a girl gifts, buying her things that she needs and loving her. The discussion rounded off with the claim *"but sex comes first."*

5.4.2 Sex equals love

In discussing the nature of relationships, the word 'love' was talked about frequently and it was apparent that many of the youth did not view love in terms of a deeper emotional commitment or in relation to closeness, sharing and romance. Consistent with the findings of the study by Buga et al (1996), where men generally equated love with sex, one participant explained:

"It can't be that a woman just happens to really love you and she is not prepared to have sex. You have a clash there." (Hlonipha School)

"It can't be" (denoting that it's not even a possibility) blocks off any consideration of an alternative idea or course of action. This coheres with Epstein and Johnson's (2001) reference to the discourse of love shading into the discourse of desire, making it difficult to differentiate one from the other. The love and no sex stance brought an immediate challenge from another participant:

"No, you can't have a clash there. You are going to be patient in the hope that one day she will be mistaken." (Some laughter in the group) (Hlonipha School).

What 'she' may be mistaken about is not clear, but seems to refer to her refusal to have sex. The question arises then as to why it will be *her* and not *him* that will be mistaken. Inherent in this statement is the idea that the girl will somehow realize her folly and submit to the man. The moderator and observer confirmed that the laughter denoted general agreement amongst other participants. It was noted that in the privacy of the interviews, the boys spoke with a deeper sense of commitment to girls, reflected in Simon's statement: *"love is love and you don't need sex to prove it."*

Coates (2003) alludes to men collaboratively contributing to construct dominant masculinities. Following on from the discussion on love and sex, the moderator explored more deeply the meaning of a love relationship. The following interaction (Qhubeka School) illustrates the collaborative construction of alternative masculinities.

Moderator: "What does it mean to be in a love relationship?"

S: *To co-operate with each other ...When I was wrong, she was able to lead me to the right thing that that I also did not think of. Also, when she is wrong, you tell her. There we are building a relationship that is good. If you are wrong, you are wrong, and you were wrong there and there."*

T: *"Yah: That means you are co-operating with each other. When problems come up, you are able to solve them."*

U: *"I would say as the brother has said. Love is love....Patience is needed....It is easy if we are co-operating with each other."*

In this interaction, there was no mention of violence or sex to demonstrate love. What emerged were 'softer' versions of masculinity relating to elements of love, co-operation and understanding as significant elements in a relationship, as opposed to 'rugged' versions of masculinity such as threats and violence to demonstrate love, as mentioned in Section 5.3.3. The failure to mention sex as a significant element in a love relationship is inconsistent with earlier statements in this group that sex is a crucial element in relationships. Barker and Galasinki (2001) and Mills (2001) view these inconsistencies as indicative of shifting identities in accordance with changing contexts of the discussions. Within the discussions on sex and violence, they 'performed' accordingly, but when it came to discussions on love, alternative aspects such as patience, co-operation, respect and trust surfaced, confirming Barker and Galasinki's contention that "we are a verbal weave constituted as multiple and contradictory identities which cross-cut or dislocate each other" (2001: 121).

Further evidence of this pattern is found in S's emphasis that he could be wrong. This could be interpreted as a resistance to the general norm that surfaced at different points in the interactions that men are always right. The other participants supported him and the words "*co-operation with each other*," mentioned by all three speakers replaced previous interactions which placed emphasis on the girl being co-operative. While highlighting the multiple and diverse nature of people's identities, responses such as these suggest opportunities for creating more equitable relationships.

5.4.3 Sub-theme: "Sex: It is important that she provides."

In the focus groups, there was a resounding "yes" from the majority of the youth to the question of whether females had an obligation to engage in sex. A conflicting message was that while a girl who asks for sex must be viewed with suspicion (this aspect is discussed below), she must bear in mind that if she does not provide sex for a guy, he will turn to others because of his strong sexual needs. In the focus groups, this topic aroused considerable response, with the boys spontaneously agreeing with

one another and supporting each other's statements. Examples are found in the following extracts from the focus groups relating to the 'natural sexual appetites' of men and the perceived role of women in meeting these:

Moderator: "Is it a woman's duty to provide sex to a man?"

"Yah, that I can say it is true, because I don't remember a male having had enough (sex). You see, he can get today, but tomorrow, he will still want." (Qhubeka School)

"Then you want to have sex now and she does not want. You see, it is important that she provides." (Hlonipha School)

"Yah, it is her duty to provide, because when he wants to have sex and she doesn't provide, then he could go out and look for those that will provide, you see." (Hlonipha School)

Not only do the boys position themselves as being entitled to girls' bodies, but girls are meant to understand and submit to such entitlement. This common understanding amongst the boys may be reflective of their social context where men and women submit to ascribed gender roles, norms and expectations. These hegemonic constructions of masculinity (being a man) are thus made possible in relation to the subordinate constructions of femininity (being a woman). Such responses give credence to Funk's assertion (1993: 60) that when sex is not forthcoming, some men may respond by attempting to "take it - directly, manipulatively or suggestively." For Funk, what must be challenged is men's attitudes of entitlement. We need to deconstruct why men are supposed to get sexual release every time they become aroused and why sexual release becomes the responsibility of the person that they are with. Alexis (2003) offers a possible explanation, bringing into focus the integration of power and pleasure where power may be sought after and achieved through pleasure.

Some challenging of this 'sex on demand' positioning of women is demonstrated in the following interaction at Hlonipha School which followed the above discussion:

V: *"No, it can't be that every time an outy when wanting to have sex, she would say yes."*

W: *"I say that it is not a must that whenever you want to have sex she must provide because if she doesn't use contraceptive pills, she will have a lot of babies.....At the end, you leave her like that."*

X: *"A girl that is disciplined should not just give you because you have asked. You should wait until the time has come, and then she can give or provide you as you have agreed."*

A similar response was noted at Qhubeka School: *"If she does not want, it is her right. There is nothing you can do, because if you grab her, you can go to jail"*.

The resistance to assertions of power in sexual relations with women comes from the boys themselves. Their collective responses indicate a range of reasons for their stance: it (sex) should not always be expected; she could fall pregnant; one should wait until the woman agrees to have sex; it is her right (to refuse); if he forces her, a man can go to jail. We may assume then, despite the contextual and cultural construction of men's dominance, they do in fact make decisions about their behaviour, and at least, potentially have the capacity to translate those decisions into action (Bujra, 2002).

Noting the multiple, fragmented and contradictory nature of masculinity, the following quotes from the focus groups arose in discussions on expectations of a woman as a casual or serious partner and is representative of the responses across all three groups:

"A woman is expected that maybe she sees to it that you are satisfied." (Ulwazi School)

"When you approach a girl...she knows that you are coming to her because you want to satisfy yourself with her." (Hlonipha School).

"If you come to a girl, you don't just tell her that you love her without a reason. She can tell you that she loves you now, but sure, sure, you don't have to care about her future. You just want what you need, you see."(Qhubeka School)

"Yah, it is really her duty to do that (have sex)...In order for him to enjoy, she must be there." (Ulwazi School)

In analyzing this part of the text, I utilize Wendy Hollway's (2001) 'male sex drive discourse.' The key tenet, according to this discourse, is that men's sexuality is directly produced by a biological drive, the function of which is to ensure reproduction of the species. The above discourse confirms Hollway's contention that it is natural for men to be seen as sexually incontinent and out of control. The subject positions of men are that they have a somewhat insatiable sexual urge – *"you want to satisfy yourself with her"* and *"you just want what you need"* bear testimony to this. The woman is expected to 'deliver on demand'; she is the service provider who is charged with the duty to ensure that the customer "enjoys and is satisfied." In these discourses, the hegemonic positioning of the male is clear in relation to the silent providers, the females. Hollway (2001) points out that the male sexual drive discourse also constructs women's sexuality as static and male sexuality as unrestrainable, as illustrated in the following quote from a Qhubeka School participant: *"Aii, just having a girls thighs near you... makes you want it now."* Here the woman is positioned as an object that precipitates men's natural sexual urges. Such positioning is also reported in Rweyemanu's (1999) Tanzanian study, where one man offered the view that because it is God's plan for men to dominate women, no woman is allowed to decide when to have sex. In fact, God created a woman primarily to service a man. Therefore, having sex with a wife that was not ready was not construed as rape.

For Willig (1999), the problem with Hollway's 'discourse of male sexual drive' is that the only subject position available to men is that of the instinct-driven sexual predator. Although a male desire to be wooed and seduced still informs many heterosexual relationships, this is not accommodated by the discourse of male sexual drive. While acknowledging that men also need to be romanced, evidence from this research and other studies (Koenig et al, 2004; Leach, 2003; Vandule et al, 2001; Becker, 2000)

point to the frequent positioning of men within this discourse, and the acceptance of women of their roles and responsibilities to satisfy the sexual appetites of men (Jewkes et al, 2001; De Almeida, 1996).

"It is her duty" negates the possible enjoyment for the female as well as from a spontaneous intimate activity. *"For him to enjoy, she must be there"* aligns the female to the status of an inanimate object - a hearty meal, a strong drink - which one enjoys, and then walks away with satisfaction. The following description conjures up an image of such a satisfied customer:

"When you are not with her, you don't love her. It comes back to what was said that you wanted her body, because they say that you must ejaculate or have sex (uchithe). When you have ejaculated, maybe let's say the girl is clumsy (isithangamu) or is ugly also, then it is okay to leave her." (The observer noted laughter, smiles and nodding in the group, which appeared to confirm the viewpoint) (Ulwazi School)

The group dynamics were indicative of familiarity and support for the suggestion made. The outrageous talk and laughter is perhaps a vehicle for the boys to forge a common identity as powerful, witty, and hedonistic males. Considerable discussion followed on boys wanting a girl's body and sex. These observations are congruent with those of Pattman (2005) who found that in groups, some boys perform their masculinity by talking outrageously about girls as objects or as things that they opened and threw away. The construction of man as the subject (the absolute, powerful) and woman as the object (the 'other', submissive) occurs within social and cultural constructions of gender where the 'other' is often repressed or silenced (Brittan, 1989).

A further issue raised was that if the boy was giving the girl money, she certainly *"owed him sex."* The discourse of *"owing sex"* is directly related to the phrase *"paid money"* which frequently arose in the discussions. This discourse may have its roots in the *ilobolo* system whereby compensation for the bride is given to the bride's family, and the transactional nature of this system may have influenced the thinking of young people. Certainly, some participants viewed the paying of money, treating or giving a gift to a girl as a business deal to secure sex rather than conveying love or

making a person feel special. On the other hand, Themba's story reveals how the paying of money may be used as a form of punishment. In an individual interview he related how a girl told her mother that he had forced her into having sex. He maintained that she consented to having sex with him. However, this could not be proven and the end result was that he has to pay at some later stage for what he has allegedly done, since he is not working. Again, such action reinforces equating sex with a commodity that can be bought.

5.4.4 Sexual initiation is the domain of men

A common thread that ran throughout the focus groups in this study and in other studies (Koenig et al, 2004; Izugbara, 2004; Leclerc-Madlala, 1999; Becker, 2000, Wood et al, 1998) was that although a woman is expected to provide sex, it is unacceptable for her to initiate it. Although some felt that it was acceptable for either a male or female to initiate sex, there were some strong sentiments expressed that if a female initiated sex,

"One must be suspicious that she is undisciplined, undignified, loose and a whore and she is now asking sex from me. I am the one that should be asking sex from her. She is not the one that must ask sex from me." (Hlonipha School)

Another participant added: *"Then you hit her for that"*.

These quotes represent the overall sentiments of all three focus groups. These responses give credence to the assertions of Arnfred (2004) and Morrell (2003) that in African contexts, a culture of silence assumed by women indicates a socially-accepted behavioural constraint dictating women's reserve, modesty and discretion in sexual relations. The opposition is the construction of men as sexually unrestrained, confident and forthright. It is clear then that in keeping with the male sexual drive discourse, the position of men as subjects and women as objects is firmly entrenched, as highlighted by Barker (2005), Becker (2000), and Leach (2003).

Any attempt by women to move into an initiating role can have serious negative consequences for them, the assumption being that they are sexually experienced, a

position which is reserved for males. Herein lies the double-bind for women which arises from widely accepted concepts of masculinity. While females are expected to accede to men's sexual demands, such submission may warrant criticism and labels such as 'slut', 'loose woman' and 'whore'. An important consequence of sexually assertive and sexually experienced women being viewed as promiscuous is that safer sex negotiation is daunting for many women (Larkin et al, 2006). As one participant at Ulwazi School indicated, overstepping this boundary calls for serious punishment such as a beating, which received some support from other participants, for example:

"Most girls lose their dignity by doing such things.....the boy would think that she is a whore."

However, some challenging of this position was noted: *"Wait, this is natural. There is no need for you to be suspicious of that because it is something that is there. It was created by God."*

Alexis (2003) asserts that boys are taught that they have a right to initiate sexual activity, since women are likely to be passive, reluctant, hesitant or rejecting. The social scripting of sexual relationships leads to acceptance of some degree of force on the part of men and requires women to be passive rather than assertive. These findings fit with those of Chavez (1999), Wood et al (1998) and Koenig et al (2004) and Leclerc-Madlala (2003) whereby women who initiate sex or experience pleasure during sex may be considered shameless and arouse suspicion that they may be having sexual experiences with other men. What of the expression or satisfying of the female sexual drive? Bhana (2002) offers the explanation that from a young age many girls learn and usually accept that sexual enjoyment happens within unequal power relations.

However, Bryson (1999) challenges the notion that heterosexual men should be the sexual initiators of reluctant virgins, and maintains that this is difficult to sustain where young men are confronted with images of sexually confident, knowledgeable and assertive women. For a man, such assertion on the part of a woman may pose a threat to his image as articulated by one young man at Hlonipha School. A girl initiating sex is not right because *"It's like he is dumb, especially if she is in love with*

him and she says it first. It's like he is dumb. You don't know what to do; it doesn't sound right." Again, this stance may not sound right in relation to social and cultural expectations of men and women as it causes an imbalance in the structure of power relations. On the other hand, some participants also fear that expressions of sexual interest may be construed by women as harassment or even assault. These dilemmas about gender roles and behaviour have resulted in uncertainty, anxiety and stress for some young men.

5.4.5 Sexual harassment: "it's okay to touch lightly"

Harrassing a girl by following her, touching, smacking her bottom, pinching her breasts or lifting up her dress were all seen as violations of girls' rights, but were acceptable if done to a girlfriend. Similar to findings by Frosh et al (2002) and Robinson (2005) the participants explained that sometimes girls respond to boys who *"make a move... it is no problem to them"*, the implication being that some girls do not mind being harassed. One participant ventured: *"... There are girls that love to be touched (The group laughs). They enjoy being touched"* (Ulwazi School). The moderator and observer confirmed that this part of the discussion took on a less serious tone, with participants making light-hearted comments about having some fun with the girls, echoing findings by Mills (2001) with Australian boys.

A few participants related that girls also *"made a move on boys, touching and massaging them."* As in Robinson's (2005) study, the boys in this study welcomed comments and touches from girls which served to authenticate their masculine identities. This was evident from subsequent comments denoting pride at how much the girls *"wanted"* the boys. A further demonstration of such pride was noted when most of the youth agreed that lifting up a girl's dress was an unacceptable act of violation, and one participant from Qhubeka School announced: *"Think about this, it is something that I usually do"* (Others laugh). The speaker, it appears, was boldly engaging in a public performance and, in so doing, promoting his masculine sense of identity (Bhana, 2005). The laughter in the group may denote some acknowledgement of the common occurrence of the act and the 'normative' assertion of male power over females (Mills, 2001). Robinson (2005) notes that sexual harassment is a multi-layered phenomenon, and this complexity is increased when

boys read girls' reactions as positive. Engaging in such gendered performances becomes part of the cultural script constituting hegemonic masculinity, thus rendering the boys' sexual harassment as an appropriate form of interaction with girls.

In his interview, Nkosi talked about degrees of harassment, denoting some awareness of boundaries. He stated that while "*it's okay to touch lightly*" or to "*swiftly smack a girl's bottom*", one had to be very careful not to become personal and to touch her private parts. He also explained that girls are different, and implied that boys took their cues from girls.

"One does not smack the bottom of a girl that takes her studies seriously – she won't accept it. There are those that go around and even get drunk, they don't mind that. ...It differs from girl to girl".

What surfaces here is the categorization of women referred to by Barker (2005) which serves to guide men in their treatment of women based on their (women's) perceived reputations. It is not clear what form the non-acceptance would take. Nor is it clear what exactly the drunk girl would or wouldn't mind, or whether the harassment does indeed stop at bottom-smacking.

Simon and Bongani, in their interviews, were clear that harassment was abusive and hurtful to girls. However, they also acknowledged that people are different and respond differently, implying that boys often took their cues from girls. However, whether girls enjoyed it or not, the overall position of the participants interviewed was that harassment was '*not right*.'

5.5 THEME FOUR: FIDELITY: THE DOUBLE STANDARD

The participants, in both the focus groups and individual interviews, emphasized the importance of women's fidelity to men. A focus group participant from Hlonipha School explained:

"It is a must that a woman be faithful, because she knows that an outy (man) does not have one girlfriend. But she knows that you love her. But still every girl must know that they have to be faithful." (Hlonipha School)

This faithful male/unfaithful female binary works to keep males in sexually privileged positions. This dichotomy, according to Fairclough (2001), illustrates forms of power which depend on consent rather than coercion in the acceptance of social arrangements which are sustained ideologically in the 'common sense' assumptions of everyday life. A striking feature of this quote is that the double standard relating to fidelity for men and women is not merely implied; it is clearly stated.

Congruent with the responses in the discussion on control in relationships, the "misbehaviour" on the part of the girl was again linked to a drop in the boy's image. A girl having more than one boyfriend was viewed as *"an utter disgrace"*. The importance of a girl being 'well behaved' was that it brought praises from the community to her boyfriend. It is worth noting that male honour is dependent on women's appropriate behaviour. Therefore femininity and female sexuality represent an active and threatening power to male identity and masculinity (Silberschmidt, 2003). These insecurities may elicit judgements about women who behave in a certain way:

"In my opinion it means that she is incomplete. It can't be that you love a person and then you make him eat poison by not being faithful" (Ulwazi school)

"Such a woman is clearly a whore" (Qhubeka School)

"She is badly behaved, lacking discipline and undignified." (Hlonipha School)

As noted, the issue of women's infidelity elicited similar responses at all three schools. The moderator and observer revealed that during this discussion, in all the groups, the participants spoke with a tone of disgust, and in some cases, anger at the behaviour of girls. At Hlonipha, parts of the discussion became quite chaotic, as some of the youth highlighted the promiscuity of girls and the possibility of killing those who were unfaithful. The idea that infidelity on the part of a woman is

tantamount to killing of a man indicates the intensity with which the behaviour is viewed. 'Incomplete' may mean that she is not a real woman. Labels such as 'slut', 'whore', 'prostitute', and 'loose woman' were commonly used to describe women who had more than one lover. The expression of these intense emotions may be indicative of the fact that threatening a man's image and status, causing him embarrassment, or implying that he is not sexually competent, is taken very seriously. Masculinity, then, is powerful, yet fragile. It exists as scripted behaviour and within 'gendered' relationships. Therefore men must always guard against losing it (Silberschmidt, 2003).

The positioning of themselves as judges of behaviour indicate how acts of power are performed by the young men (Foucault, cited by Burman et al, 1997) and the conditions which allow these acts to work (Edley, 2001). For Potter and Wetherell (2001), this may be an example of people using their language to *do* things such as persuading and accusing. These discourses occur within a context of patriarchy, referred to by Edley as their 'interpretive repertoire', which guarantees the dominant position of men and the subordination of women, legitimated by the performance of hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 2002; Mills, 2001; Robinson, 2005).

Despite the attitudes expressed in Section 5.4.1 that power was linked to sexual performance and in Section 5.4.3 that men had an uncontrollable and insatiable sexual drive, considerable discussion occurred around the possibility that girls may not be sexually satisfied by boys and that boys needed to listen to girls about how to perform optimally (sexually). Herein lies a double bind also identified by De Almeida (1996) from his study of Portuguese men. Congruent with Hollway's (2001) position, De Almeida notes that men viewed themselves as naturally charged with a strong sexual drive. While participants felt that it was a woman's fundamental duty to satisfy them, they also believed women to be sexually insatiable, as articulated by one focus group participant from Ulwazi School: "*The problem is that some women cannot be sexually satisfied*". It was clear that the discourse was more concerned about what this suggested about a woman's capacity for infidelity than about women's sexual fulfilment.

The idea that women must be regarded with suspicion, must be watched, controlled, moulded and beaten for bad behaviour surfaced at different points throughout the focus group interviews. The moderator and the observer noted the intensity with which the boys reacted at the mere possibility of being betrayed and thus shamed by a girl's behaviour. Such concern may have some basis as illustrated in studies by Leclerc-Madlala (2003) in KwaZulu-Natal, and by Selikow et al (2002) in Gauteng. Both these urban township studies revealed that for many young women, having multiple partnerships was viewed as a modern activity, and was commonly framed by discourses on gender equality and human rights. Given that women's choices are constrained by historical, cultural and material forces, such associations may reflect on ways in which women are attempting to assert themselves. This presents a challenge to the implicit social norms that dictate men's control over sexual encounters (Leclerc-Madlala, 2003). Whether this pattern is replicated in rural areas is not known and may be area for further research among rural young people.

A further illustration of the double standard that emerges from differing perceptions of the same behaviour or performances by males and females is illustrated in the following extract from the focus group at Qhubeka School:

Y: *"In nature, a male is not faithful....but in my opinion in a love relationship, for a male to be unfaithful is understandable...when I am there (away from home) because it's cold and I want to have sex...it's a must that I have a woman that day."*

Phrased slightly differently, the basic message from this quote is that it is unnatural for a man to be faithful. The biological male and female roles, as posited by the sex role theory and challenged by Connell (2002) and Kimmel (1994), are evident in this extract. *"In nature"* provides the justification for males being *"badly behaved, lacking discipline and undignified"* and someone who *"deserves no respect,"* the criticisms strictly reserved for women engaging in similar behaviour. To illustrate the double standard, bad behaviour on the part of the privileged group (males) has very satisfying rewards: *"Yah, definitely, a loose woman is a whore. If an outy (man) gets another babe, he is praised."* This comment gives credence to Connell's (1995: 77) claim that hegemonic masculinity is that which is most "culturally exalted." The behaviour goes beyond one of acceptance to one of praise, the message for the man

being that bad behaviour will earn him more respect. The underlying message to women is that the same behaviour will have negative consequence for them, usually in the form of hitting and having a damaged reputation. The immediacy for sex again relates to the male sexual drive discourse discussed previously and reinforces the perception of women as objects for sexual gratification, similarly observed by Barker (2005), Dunkle et al, 2004, Becker (2000), Leach (2003), and Wood and Jewkes (2001).

The interaction continues with the following challenge:

Z: *"Wait, what should a woman on the other hand do if she feels she must have a man at that time...it is said 50-50, what is done by a male I must also do, you see."*

Y: *"You see brother,... a male's case is understandable. You see a male doesn't deteriorate, but a girl you can see that something is happening to her. I would go home and find a child there and I don't even know the child, whose child is that?"*

Z: *"Let me disagree with you brother ... they (males) are deteriorating now (Laughter in the group) There are a lot of diseases...The person goes from here being grand and comes back having really deteriorated (more laughter)You see we are spoiling males and say they should be unfaithful, because they don't deteriorate easily. To be unfaithful is not something good. It can't be that you love each other but you don't trust each other."*

The binary oppositions for females (deteriorate) and males (improve) resulting from sexual activity are evident in the response of Y. Here, the advantage that men have over women is rooted in biological differences, namely, that the woman is the one bearing the child. It is this difference which makes it possible for her to 'deteriorate'. The patriarchal discourse embracing inequality between the sexes surfaces here. While women being sexual leads to their deterioration, men being sexual are safe and in fact flourish. Z challenges this position by aligning deterioration to diseases to which men are vulnerable. He suggests fidelity, first, for the safety of males, and second, to promote love and trust between people in relationships. Related to the

issue of fidelity in relationships, the next section focuses on men and multiple partnerships.

5.5.1 It is acceptable for men to have multiple partners

For the young men in this study, masculine identity was linked to notions of insatiable sexuality and the need for multiple sexual partners for men, a finding consistent with those of Adomako Ampofo and Boateng (2005), Dunne et al (2003), Becker (2001) and Vundule et al (2003). Reasons forwarded for having multiple partners included that men were not sexually fulfilled by one partner, but were attracted to many girls at one time, and there was some status attached to boys having many girlfriends at one time. Hunter (2005) highlights multiple partnerships as a subject of ongoing change and contestation amongst the Zulu of KwaZulu-Natal. A woman having more than one partner was chastised as being *isifebe* (loose woman). The following dialogue (Quebeka Group) is representative of the views of the majority of the focus group participants:

Moderator: What do you think about a man that has many girlfriends at one time?

A1: *"Hey!...he enjoys to be loved by many girls."*

A2: *"It's my luck and I am good looking..... this man has wisdom."*

A3: *"He is a Casanova, because there are those of those males here of which it is even difficult to get even one girlfriend." (Others laugh).*

This joint construction of hegemonic masculinity within this male peer group conveys the perception that a man with many girlfriends is indeed blessed, and that others should aspire to be like him. 'Doing gender' in this instance involves a concern with social status, and with giving the impression of worldly wisdom (Holmes, 1997). The discussions on multiple partners evoked smiles, laughter, humour and much chatter among the participants. These boys adhere to the belief that they are the superior gender, and that their identity as men is defined through sexual ability and accomplishment. Silberschmidt (2003), from her studies in rural and urban East

Africa and Leclerc-Madlala (1999), from her South African study, found men arguing that a man who cannot handle several women is not a real man.

Having many girlfriends was also seen as a form of security, the other side of which were the underlying insecurities experienced by some boys: *"If a girlfriend dumps you, you still have others. It is better to balance"* Consistent with the findings of Selikow et al (2002), Wood and Jewkes (2001) Leclerc-Madlala (1999) and Koenig et al (2004), the participants in this study confirmed that there is considerable admiration for boys who are Casanovas or 'isoka' because they are well loved by many girls. As explained in Section 2.4.3, this display of hegemonic or dominant masculinity points to a well respected man who is considered macho, has many girlfriends and wields control over women. Men 'winning the consent' of other males and females is one way of securing their hegemonic legitimacy. For the majority of youth in this study, achieving success as a young 'isoka' bodes well for his success as a real *umnumzane* (real man/head of household) in later years. Even if one has a steady girlfriend, casual partnerships and multiple partnerships are common, as this exercise and experience of power is profoundly pleasurable (Foucault, in Paechter, 2001). However, it is questionable as to whether men's satisfaction is derived from *achieving* the act itself (having many girlfriends) or from any intrinsic pleasure derived from this (Foreman, 1999b). Although the youth spoke of being "in love", love relationships for many participants were not equated with a sense of gentleness, love, caring, and commitment.

Reflection on the "push factors" (status and popularity) and "pull factors" (confusion and failure) noted by Silverman (2001: 99) may have contributed to the alternative positioning articulated by some of the youth, for example:

"Now if I'm going to have three, or four or five girlfriends nowadays,....it means I don't know what I want." (Some "yabs" and nodding heads). (Qhubeka School)

In the focus groups, one young man ventured to explain why having many partners does not make a man powerful. *"In my opinion, it does not, because he is afraid, you see. He does not have confidence...Casanovas end up failing at school. I learnt*

from my uncle that if you concentrate on your schoolwork, you will be successful later in life.” (Ulwazi school)

These alternative views challenge the assertions of Barker and Galasinski's (2001) and Silberschmidt's (2004) that men are acculturated to seek esteem through public performance. While performance orientation manifested in competitiveness and grandiosity is true for many men, the above responses illustrate that there are some exceptions to this rule.

The data derived from the interviews confirmed that talk of multiple partnerships were not just macho talk but were a common practice among the youth, as illustrated in the extracts below:

Interviewer:” Have you ever been in a love relationship?”

Themba: *“Yah (he laughs). There are many. I have been a number of times. I can say that with women, I have seven girlfriends in all, you see. But still if I were to speak the truth, there is not even one of them that I love, you see. It is like I can use her and then move on, you see. It is like I can love her when she is with me. But when she has left, I no longer care about her.”*

Themba went on to explain how his relationships terminate: *“A person asks if there is another person that you are in love with. Then you say ‘No, there is no one’. Then she catches you on the spot in a way that you can’t deny it. She then dumps you like that. This how I am usually dumped and move on.”*

In Themba's articulation of his experience, he equates love with sex, as discussed in Section 5.4.2. However, his story confirms that his love is based on using girls as objects for his sexual gratification, a trend observed earlier in Section 5.4.3. The interviewer explained that Themba spoke quite callously about girls, and showed no depth in the way he related to them, confirmed by his statement *“I love her if she is here with me at that time only.... but when she has left, all of that is no longer there, you see.”* Such displays of masculine performance in the form of hyper-heterosexuality may have helped Themba to achieve the status and dynamism

aspired to by other young men, as noted in the aforementioned focus group responses.

Dumisane once had five girlfriends simultaneously and was very popular – but now has one steady relationship:

Interviewer: “Have you ever been in a love relationship?”

“Yah, I was once in it and I am still in it, even now. Before now I used to have a relationship with about five girls by myself which I used to take as being popular with girls. This used to happen because sometimes boys influence each other and I used to do that because of the influence, not because I enjoyed it. It was something that I could see was not right.”

Dumisane illustrates that he had to work to guard against 'losing' his masculinity by conforming to gender roles that were the norm amongst his peers. The fragility of masculinity, then, mean that these young men may themselves become victims of their role as the dominating sex.

Jacob also declared that he had many girlfriends because “*we are boys and we love babes.*” Moses stated that he had two girlfriends; Bongani has a few girlfriends, one of who is ‘serious’; Simon, who had several girlfriends in the past, now has a steady relationship. Some of the interviewees, although they spoke of ex-girlfriends, maintained that they were in single relationships, some serious and some casual. The discussions revealed the general acceptance of the ‘boys will be boys’ discourse. The concern is that this position, reinforced by messages from parents, schools and the media, reflects essentialist views of masculinity which makes difference biological, thus working against the varied forms of masculinity. By denying the social construction of gender, unequal power relations are produced which continue to privilege boys (Bhana, 2002; Thomson, 2002).

One reason for the acceptability of multiple partners, according to Alexis (2003), is that boys are socialized to believe that they must be sexually experienced but must marry virgins. They are expected to experiment with sex to develop the sexual

experience required in manhood. An interesting observation was that in the focus groups, the youth were more scathing of unfaithful girls, while during the interviews some expressed their vulnerability to being hurt or made to look foolish. Considerable suspicion was expressed regarding the fidelity of girls. Terms like *"keeping secrets"*, *"making me a fool"*, *"not honest"*, *"denying things"*, and *"they are not faithful"*, were commonly used. As noted in Sections 5.3.2 and 5.5, status, for many participants, depended to some extent on the behaviour or conduct of their girlfriends. Herein lies the circulation of power referred to by Foucault (1994), that is, because power does not always radiate in a top-down direction, the oppressors and the oppressed are caught up in its circulation. In this case, the oppressed (females) also have the power to oppress (males).

Some contradictions to this stance were noted to the previous comments when the moderator asked the participants whether being a Casanova shows that men are powerful. At Qhubeka School, focus group participants jointly constructed positions denoting alternative masculinities.

Moderator: "Does being a Casanova show that men are powerful?"

B1: *"No, it does not...the only thing nowadays is that you can end up destroying yourself."*

B2: *"No, a man I can say is only a man by his actions...I must think for myself... you are a man by your actions and by the way you view things."*

B1: *"Yah, it depends on how you conduct yourself."*

B3: *"You are a man by having a wife.... You can't tell me that you are a man by having a lot of girlfriends, no."*

These young men build on one another's comments to oppose the apparent link between men, many girlfriends and power, with a final suggestion by B3 that manliness is associated with a permanent relationship (having a wife), as opposed to multiple partnerships. These statements provide further evidence of alternative

patterns of conduct which have the potential to disrupt conventional hegemonic assumptions about masculinities (Bhana, 2005). The evidence of the fluidity and multiplicity of masculinities creates spaces for change and new ways of thinking about relationships. Discourses relating to multiple partnerships are picked up again later in this chapter in the discussion on HIV/AIDS.

5.6 THEME FIVE: FORCED SEX IS SOMETIMES NECESSARY

As discussed above, sex is central to heterosexual relationships. Congruent with the studies of Harrison (2002) and Pretorius (2004), the majority of the youth acknowledged awareness of the common occurrence of sexual violence (forced sex, beatings and rough sex) between men and women within relationships. In this study, coercive sex meant sex which occurred within a context of pressure, persuasion, threats, intimidation and bullying which compelled the female to submit to sexual intercourse. For the participants, 'coercive sex' and 'forced sex' meant the same thing. They saw rape as sexual intercourse without the woman's permission or against her will. For the youth, rape was characterized by force and violence usually occurred with a stranger or someone outside of either a serious or casual relationship. In other words, they did not construe forced sex within marriage as rape, but considered it as having some justification as the wife was usually 'paid for' in *ilobolo*. In keeping with the meanings of these concepts to the participants, forced sex within marriage is discussed in this section and not under the section on rape. Table 5.4 summarises the participants' responses relating to forced sex.

TABLE 5.4
YOUTH PERSPECTIVES ON FORCED SEX

Theme	Sub-themes	Categories
Theme 5 Forced sex is sometimes necessary	"They say it is nice because it is spiced"	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • When she refuses, "you end up forcing things" • "She needs to satisfy you" • A girl may say that the 'outy' (guy) is slow
	Forced sex: is acceptable within marriage	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • "I have paid my thousands" • "I want her to give birth to my babies"
	When 'no' means 'yes'	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A woman does not usually verbalize what she wants. She will always say 'no' • Girls are shy to show that they enjoy sex • Even if girls say "no", it is expected that the boy continues

5.6.1 "They say it is nice because it is spiced"

While there was some acknowledgement that forcing a woman to have sex was not good as women's rights must be respected, the comment from an Ulwazi participant that "*They say it is nice because it is spiced*" drew much laughter from some participants. "*Spiced*" appears to be used here as a euphemism to cover up the brutality, roughness and ruthlessness involved in forced sex. The moderator's request for an explanation was met with laughter from the speaker and some of the other participants, suggesting a common understanding and appreciation of the speaker's description. This was confirmed by the observer who noted some knowing glances, smiles and "*yahs*" among some participants.

There was an apparent inconsistency between what the youth articulate as appropriate behaviour, and their actions. While forcing a woman to have sex was spoken of as '*not good*,' the following response from a Qhubeka participant suggests that in practice, girls have no option: "*But it also happens that a girl refuses to give*

you. You again and again ask and she refuses. You end up forcing things." Asking, then, means going through the motions because the decision to take by force, has already been made. The phrase *"refuses to give you"* implies that something is owed. What is also evident throughout the focus groups is a commonly understood language among the youth when referring to sex. It is talked of using such words as *"giving sex", "take it", "owing", "buying", "still want", "had enough", "satisfy yourself", "he enjoys", "her duty to do that."* As mentioned previously, these gendered phrases are nested within a discourse exemplifying the objectification of women and the attached 'sexual provider' role. Buga et al (1996) observed a similar pattern among youth in rural Transkei, where males initiated sexual activity to prove normality and for sexual gratification while the girls in the study reported having experienced forced sexual initiation (Appendix D). This, and other studies (Larkin et al, 2006; Varga and Makubalo, 1996; Vundule et al, 2001), highlight the powerlessness that young women experience due to the lack of opportunity for sexual negotiation. Despite the ease with which these terms were used during the focus groups, it was significant that all the interview participants went to great lengths to explain that they have never, and will never, force a girl to have sex.

Sbu's explanation reflected their views: *"No, I don't think it is right to force a person to have sex. There are those that say that they enjoy sex if it is rough. I don't think that is a good thing, because you are going to enjoy and she is not enjoying"*.

Simon agreed: *"Forcing sex means she does not like what you are doing to her, because you are forcing her. Let's do it in agreement, knowing that we are both enjoying"*.

The participants were far more serious within the private context of the interview displaying sensitivity and an awareness that forced sex hurts girls. They advocated discussing sex and enjoying it together. In comparison with the 'loose talk' regarding forced sex in the focus groups, a public context, the interview responses point to the these young men doing gender differently in different contexts, demonstrating that for them, masculinity has different meanings in different settings at different times (Silberschmidt, 2003). These discourses demonstrate an openness to new ways of thinking and of finding ways of relating to women that are not oppressive.

5.6.2 Forced sex is acceptable within marriage

As with the issue of forced sex within relationships, most of the youth, but not all, were clear that forced sex within marriage was entirely acceptable. Across all three schools, when the issue of forced sex within marriage arose, there were some spontaneous responses: *"Yah, definitely if you are married,"* and *"As long as the person is your wife, it's okay."* The following interaction in the focus group at Qhubeka further demonstrates this point, along with challenges related to forced sex within marriage:

C1: *"When we are married....I can force you to have sex with me...because I know that I pay my money to buy you"* (Laughter)

C2: *"When I come back from work, I call her to the bedroom definitely. It is my money. (Laughter continues). I paid my thousands."*

C3: *"Yah brothers.....money is not everything, because you can go to jail."*

C4: *"Can I ask whether you took her in order to demand her for things or you took her so that you can build a house together."*

C1: *"You see a wife when I have taken her home, I am a man... I want her to give birth to babies."*

C2: *"They (the courts) say that you must feed her there with the kids, don't go to her; don't come near her; but she takes your money"*.

C4: *"But they also put one thing before you, that you are abusing her."*

Payment for the woman in terms of the *ilobolo* custom seemed to serve as a guarantee for sex, which, if not readily forthcoming, could be taken by force. Such action illustrates the cultural construction of masculinity where male authority in the sexual domain is legitimized. As noted previously, this may be a reflection of the

discourse of objectifying women as sexual providers drawn from the repertoire of meanings within that culture (Walsh, 2003; Edley, 2001). These responses suggest that that sexual entitlement within marriage is an entrenched feature of cultural norms. In fact, Ludsin and Vetten (2005) cite a South African legal case where these attitudes were so entrenched that the Supreme Court of Appeal justified reducing the mandatory minimum sentence of a man convicted of raping his wife on the basis that the accused honestly believed that he had some right to conjugal benefits. The laughter in the group could reflect the shared background knowledge of the group relating to the power attached to 'buying,' and also demonstrates how conventional definitions of 'deviant' behaviour may sometimes be viewed as normal (Silverman, 2001).

This patriarchal positioning coheres with Barker's (2005) contention that in much of the world, financial independence and starting a family are seen as key mandates in achieving adult manhood. The subordinate positioning of the woman is noted in C2's assumption that the man will be the one to have the money, again based on conventional constructions of gender roles. In this regard, Leclerc-Madlala (1999) reminds us that contexts characterized by high levels of unemployment, violence, female-headed households and a lack of adequate male role models may contribute to men exaggerating their sexual capacities and their need to sexually control and/or conquer females. This pattern may explain some of the attitudes and behaviours of the youth in this study, although more research in this area is essential.

However, the above model was challenged by some participants who presented alternative viewpoints, providing evidence of traditional stereotypes persisting alongside changing gender relations. In contrast to the idea of buying a woman, C3 and C4 did not see sex as payback for money. To them, money was not central to a relationship and forced sex was in fact abuse. These responses show that in resisting conventional notions of masculinity, some young men act to undermine gender-related violence (Sideris, 2005). The following section focuses on male responses to women's refusal for sex.

5.6.3 When 'no' means 'yes'

The overall impression in the focus groups was that women are often known to say 'no' to sex when they actually mean 'yes'. One comment from an Ulwazi School participant was that *"Her speech says that she is refusing but her actions are not saying that."* Several of the focus group participants believed that a woman will never verbalize that she wants to have sex; she will always say no. A view expressed at Hlonipha School was that *"If you would agree with her when she says no, you would really not be on good terms with each other. It would mean that you don't know your work."* The real or assumed pressure to perform hegemonic masculinity can pose difficult challenges for men who may become anxious about what is expected of them (Walker, 2005), or how to interpret female messages.

We saw previously (Section 5.4.4) that participants were clear that it was unacceptable for women to initiate sex. At most, women must be passive. The reality of women seeking sexual pleasure and the secrecy surrounding female sexuality is at the heart of much abuse and violence against women (Arnfred, 2004;; Jewkes et al, 2002; Varga and Makubalo, 1996). Kitzinger and Frith (2002) attribute the failure of women to 'just say no' to personality characteristics such as low self esteem, lack of assertiveness, or lack of perseverance. Internalization of feminine gender role stereotypes such as passivity, submissiveness and a need to please men means that women become ineffective communicators in sexual relationships. While young women may be able to communicate their desires or lack thereof in other situations, the heavy levels of cultural loading and moral investment may prevent them from doing so in sexual contexts.

Denial of a request for sex may follow a pattern including a delay in responding or a palliative remark such as *"Ah, well"*, aimed at softening, explaining, justifying or excusing the refusal (Kitzenger and Frith, 2002). Such female behaviour was warranted, as the participants explained that a refusal *"wounds the man and causes him suffering"*. Bongani's subjective positioning of himself as a victim is evident in his claim that:

"Sometimes a person that becomes a victim is meI would plead with her and if she has a reason that I can see that once we have sex there it might have risks, I would choose to zip up my trouser and go home."

"Pleading" notes a level of desperation, presumably for intimacy and warmth which Hollway (2001) points out is a discourse usually reserved for women as it protects men from the risks associated with their own need, and the consequent power it would give women. The exact risks that Bongani mentions are unclear, but it probably refers to pregnancy, lack of condom usage or a parent finding out. Whatever the reason, the power to 'choose' not to have sex still remains with him.

A few of the youth interviewed stated that because girls did not agree to have sex, they had to take a risk and 'go on straight," meaning to press on with having sex. As a participant from Qhubeka School stated, *"Girls are shy to tell you to go on, and afraid to tell you to stop."* This silence confuses boys and gets them into trouble if they follow their instincts. Kltzenger and Frith (2001) are of the opinion that a refusal can be communicated without the word 'no' - in fact a silence can suffice as a refusal. For these authors, the problem lies not in the articulation of refusal, but in the artful, complicit way in which men and women 'attain' misunderstanding. Themba explained that:

"When I am kissing her, I have this tendency of brushing her with my hand as well. So when you go down there, you would hear a person saying 'no! no!', I would then stop and ask if she does not like it, you see, and she would not answer and look downwards. So I usually tell myself that a girl has never agreed.....she would never say yes."

In any event, as stressed by the participants in Section 5.4.4, girls are not meant to say 'yes' lest they be judged negatively for being sexually experienced and 'loose'. The above responses emphasize some of the issues for young people arising from asymmetrical gender relations. These explanations must be viewed against the social and cultural restrictions for girls that surfaced in Thorpe's (2002) study where girls admitted to saying 'no' when they meant 'yes' because desiring or initiating sex indicated promiscuity (Appendix D). Such notions may open up possibilities for boys

to justify sexual coercion. Despite the above responses, alternative approaches were proposed by some of the youth. For a few focus group participants from Qhubeka School, refusal of sex was interpreted as a sign of strength on the part of a girl:

D1: *"As she is saying "wait," (for sex) she really means it and I cannot over-power her on that....she is strong because I can't force her to do things. If I am a person that understands, I would accept that."*

D2: *"Yah, that's right." (Some nodding of heads)*

The performance of an alternative discourse concerning the right to forced sex provides yet another example of different masculinities. This quote indicates that besides dominant masculinities, there are masculinities that *"cannot overpower"*, *"can't force"*, *"understands"*, *"accepts"*, and above all, admires a refusal for sex from a women, thus showing a strong resistance to the conventional cultural construction of women as sexual providers. In other words, some young men attempt to 'do gender' differently and seek to embrace non-violent versions of masculinity.

Ketha provides another example of an alternative masculinity:

"AAih! I have never done that. ...It is not that maybe I end up using power or something. No, it is not so. That is bad...you are committing rape...you are no longer at peace with that person...each and everything you are doing you must first talk about it".

In another individual interview, Simon supported Ketha's view that forced sex was tantamount to rape and was not acceptable. He claimed that he would not enjoy such an act because he would hurt the girl, and he emphasized the need to listen to what a girl wants or does not want. These alternative responses again demonstrate sensitivity, understanding and a willingness to communicate with girls on the issue of sex rather than taking their consent for granted. Young men acting in different ways within the same discursive arrangements provides some hope for greater gender equality.

In concluding this section, I draw attention to the comments of Morrell et al (2002) that sexual coercion is not always violent. Poverty drives many young women to engage in transactional sex. Despite the existence of force in some sexual encounters, many risky relationships are fully consensual. I argue that the interpretation of consensual sex needs to be looked at quite carefully. Many of these relationships are because they occur within a context of coercion and fear. Because heterosexual relationships are considered a prized aspect of femininity, most young women are vulnerable to forced sex. Girls may not have a good understanding of their sexualities and therefore have little ability to resist the dominant masculine discourses, thus allowing young men to determine the conditions of intercourse. In the next section, I focus on rape.

5.7 THEME SIX: RAPE IS A VIOLENT ABUSE OF POWER

As noted in Section 5.6.2, for some of the youth, forced sex with girlfriends or wives was acceptable and was not viewed as rape. The term rape was confined to forced sex with a woman who was known casually, with a stranger or with a child, a pattern noted with by Jewkes and Abrahams (2002) in their review exploring difficulties in researching and addressing rape. Participant responses are summarized in the following table.

There was overall consensus in the focus groups and individual interviews that rape was an act of sexual violence. Terms such as “*force*”, “*without her permission*” and “*sexually abusing her*” were used to describe what rape entailed. Rape was construed as penetrative sex and no other sexual activity was mentioned. The issue of a woman raping a man was briefly mentioned at Hlonipha School. The idea evoked some laughter and some questions about whether a penis could get erect “*by force*”. However, the discussion became chaotic and no clear answer emanated from the group.

TABLE 5.5
PARTICIPANT PERSPECTIVES ON RAPE

Theme	Sub-themes	Categories
Theme 6 Rape is a violent abuse of power	Men rape women for a purpose.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Man has no wife and wants sex • Man has an insatiable sexual appetite • Revenge a woman for dumping a man • Women are seen as objects for sexual gratification • Men must re-think attitudes and actions or face severe punishment
	Women sometimes bring rape onto themselves	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Women refuse sex • Women wear provocative clothing • Women must accept some responsibility and change behaviour, for example, they must dress less seductively • Women consume alcohol • Women make men angry (refusing sex, cheating)

All participants regarded rape as an unacceptable and abhorrent act. From the texts, it was clear that rape was seen to apply only to stranger rape or acquaintance rape and not to forced sex with one's wife or girlfriend. In Section 5.6, we saw that for some of the youth, sex was taken for granted and was regarded as non-negotiable in heterosexual relationships, especially within marriage. At Hlonipha and Ulwazi Schools, there was general consensus that: "*Here in rural areas, it is rare, but in other places, it is often*". This was challenged by a few participants who indicated that it "*occurred underground*," (Hlonipha School) meaning that it was done secretly, especially instances of adults raping children. At all three schools, the participants dismissed as '*nonsense*' the notion that HIV/AIDS could be cured by raping children and viewed it as a way by which the disease would spread. During this part of the discussion, two distinct views emerged, namely, that rape serves a purpose for men, and that women sometimes bring rape onto themselves.

5.7.1 Men rape women for a purpose

Participants felt that men usually had a purpose to rape which carried with it notions of revenge and destruction, echoing Whitehead and Barrett's (2001: 17) description of rape as an example of "brute force." The participants articulated clear purposes for raping women:

"... this person does no longer have a wife and it happens that he feels like having sex; then he rapes a child." (Hlonipha School)

"Others find that they just don't have enough (sex). He is not satisfied with what he has." (Qhubeka School)

"...because he loves his girlfriend and she dumps him...he wants to destroy her body" (Qhubeka School)

"Another one rapes a girl because he knows that she will not say yes. So the best way is to rape her so as to destroy her." (Ulwazi School)

These responses echo the findings of existing studies that generally endorse the view that rape is an act of power rather than sexual gratification (Jewkes and Abrahams, 2002). The implication is that the weapon, in this case the penis, is used for revenge and destruction. This frames the act of rape an assertion of male dominance over women, confirming the point made by Jewkes et al (2005) that rape is an instrument of communication by the rapist to convey masculinity and power to the victim and to himself. There was also some mention that women may well get some sexual pleasure from being raped, reflected in the statement that *"She might not enjoy when it's at the beginning, but in the middle of it, she will end up enjoying."* (Hlonipha School)

One focus group participant explained: *"There is a person I know of who did not enjoy normal sex, he would like to have forced sex and get it violently, so that he can enjoy it"* (Ulwazi School) It was not clear whether the participant referred to rape or to forced

sex within a relationship. However, what it does indicate is that boys are talking amongst themselves about sexual experiences related to the use of force and violence.”

5.7.2 Some women bring rape onto themselves

A fair share of blame was placed on women for rape in terms of their dress (*revealing clothing- mini skirts and tight clothing- ‘harasses’ boys*), habits (*consuming alcohol*) and behaviour (*refusing sex or cheating*). At Hlonipha School, this question evoked considerable debate as confirmed by the session observer. One participant explained, amidst considerable chatter and laughter that

“Sometimes you have agreed that she would drink your beer and when she has finished, she refuses (to have sex) and he thinks that he just bought her drinks.”

Moderator: “Would that make you angry?”

“Yes, it really does happen that you end up raping her, because it can’t be that you approach a babe and she comes to you with things that are exciting you.... you ultimately want to have sex by force and that’s when things get worse.”

These findings agree with those of Jewkes et al (2005), Silberschmidt, 2005, Arnfred, 2004 and Leclerc-Madlala (1999), in highlighting the perception that men who are sexually aroused cannot control themselves. In addition to locating rape within a discourse of female blame, the following comments point to misinformation on the part of the youth: the first related to boys’ need to get rid of sperm because *“when it is full, it goes up to the head.”* The second is that *“once the girl has drunken alcohol, it goes down to the lower parts, and this makes her cause rape.”*(Ulwazi School). Jewkes and Abrahams (2002) submit that alcohol consumption may increase the risk of women being raped, probably because it reduces their ability to act on warning signs and to effectively defend themselves, interpreted by the youth as ‘causing rape.’ However, as emphasized in Chapter Two, silence on the topic of sex and sexuality does not make the problem go away, and it in fact contributes to gender-based violence. These statements therefore point to the need for education in these areas.

All the participants expressed abhorrence for the rape act, and there were strong suggestions for severe punishment for rapists including imprisonment, a death sentence or that punishment such as a severe beating or castration should be meted out by the community. Child rape was viewed as particularly unacceptable and appropriate sentencing, according to the youth, should include long-term imprisonment or death. Addressing rape required change on the part of men and women: while men should re-think their attitudes, women also needed to be more responsible. Jacob's suggestion was that "*girls must learn to wear less seductively.*" In the focus groups and interviews, the participants mentioned the need for men to control themselves, which contrasts with earlier responses (Section 5.4) where the youth justified the need for immediate sexual gratification and argued that men were unable to control their sexual urges. These contradictions again point to different expressions of masculinity in different contexts (Frosh et al, 2002; Lindegger and Maxwell, 2005).

5.8 THEME SEVEN: HIV AND AIDS: "DISEASES COME FROM GIRLS"

The intersection between gender violence, sexuality and HIV/AIDS which emerged from this study, has also been highlighted by researchers such as Foreman (1999b), Zierler et al (1997), Campbell (2003) and Mitchell (2005). Although the issue was not directly raised in the focus groups, it was mentioned by youth in relation to sexual behaviour, mainly of women. At Hlonipha School, the spread of HIV/AIDS was attributed to women's infidelity. At, Qhubeka School the point was made that boys having multiple partners are at risk because girls are not honest about their HIV status. At Ulwazi School, in the discussion on control in relationships, some participants felt that girls had to be controlled because "*loose girls*" are likely to spread the disease. Having identified this pattern of thinking in the focus groups, I decided to explore the topic of HIV/AIDS further in the individual interviews. While acknowledging that socio-economic factors, along with gender based violence, increase the risk of the infection, the point I wanted to examine is whether even without the risk of infection, violence in relationships is acceptable. The appearance of HIV/AIDS has aggravated the effects of sexual and economic violence against women, but in some ways detracted from the need to address violence per se.

The discourses relating to HIV/AIDS among the sample of rural youth were clearly gendered. In the interviews, major discourses of disease, stigmatization and blame were identified. Women's infidelity and '*indiscipline*' in the form of "*loose sexual behaviour*" were suggested as major contributors to the spread of HIV. A recurring theme in the interviews is well reflected in one participant's contention that "*It would be a person of skirt that would bring the virus.*" This suggests an active female sexuality in comparison with the stereotypical representation of females as passive, submissive and asexual (Section 5.4). The majority of the participants made some reference to their fear of the diseases that girls carried. Several explained how men "*end up getting the disease,*" implying that they had no active role in acquiring it. This was summarized by a focus group participant at Quebeka School: "*A lot of diseases come from girls.*" The choice of language in these quotes may be unconscious, but nevertheless allows the speakers to distance themselves from responsibility for their actions; any damage is seen to be caused by events beyond their control (Barker et al, 2001).

These responses corroborate Leclerc-Madlala's (2001) observation that among Zulu speaking people in Kwa-Zulu Natal, dominant narratives of blame are framed within a common discourse on female sexuality. The female reproductive biology is associated with both positive and negative characteristics. On the one hand, the female body is the acknowledged site of male sexual pleasure while on the other, the bodies of sexually active women conjure up notions of danger, disease and the ability to weaken men and to bring all sorts of danger to society. The Zulu have long-established notions of pollution associated with sexually active women and their bodies. Sexual intercourse is also considered to be polluting to a milder degree because of seminal emissions. A woman's "dirty" reproductive anatomy and related secretions such as menstrual blood and vaginal discharges are viewed as reservoirs of HIV "germs" (Leclerc-Madlala, 2001). Ngubane (1977) explains that in Zulu, the word used to denote illness, *isifo*, also applies to various forms of misfortune and to a state of vulnerability to misfortune and disease. Although not as strongly articulated in this study, the aforementioned responses indicate the construction of girls and women as being sexually dangerous to men.

This is highlighted in one of the focus group interviews (Hlonipha School) when reference was made to the migrant labour system, whereby men and women (husbands and wives) work away from home. The majority of the group saw this as contributing to the spread of HIV via women's infidelity:

"Aii, really, it is very important that a girl be faithful. You see those women that are married, you find that the husbands are working far and they come back on Friday. It is important that she be faithful. It should not be that the father behaves himself far away and when he comes back, he gets a disease. When he goes back to work, he then suffers from diarrhoea and he really gets HIV/AIDS. "

This reasoning is contrary to conventional wisdom and shifts much of the responsibility for the spread of HIV and AIDS to women. The discourse of blame is nested within the perception of woman as carriers of diseases. The participant is referring to the common practice of men working away from home and to women having other sexual partners in his absence. The discourse here is framed within the binary oppositions father/mother; faithful/unfaithful, and behaves/ misbehaves. The father is constructed as responsible, innocent and blameless while the woman bears the responsibility for him getting the disease.

Despite the youths' suspicion about the infidelity of girls, Bankole et al (2004) found that among sexually experienced 15-19 year olds in sub-Saharan Africa, larger proportions of men than women had two or more partners in the past year, more than 40% of men in some countries and fewer than 10% of women in almost all countries. On the issue of HIV/AIDS, these authors highlighted that traditional social values condoned promiscuity among men while undermining women's ability to protect their sexual and reproductive health. Adding weight to this argument, Foreman (1999) confirms that over a lifetime men have considerably more partners than women, which means that they have more opportunity to contract and pass on HIV. The participants' statements also run contrary to Ramphele's (2002) claim that disempowered rural women are often at risk of being infected by husbands returning from the city who refuse to wear condoms. The silence on any possibility that men contribute to the spread of HIV may be couched within an entrenched discourse of patriarchy and the related perception that men know better and are always right.

Some emphasis was placed on the need to prevent women from spreading diseases, primarily by “disciplining” them, which may be linked to the ‘little girl’ discourse and the paternal responsibility of exercising discipline (Vilakazi, 1962). Significantly, stigmatization occurs because HIV/AIDS is the result of what is generally perceived as deviant and promiscuous behaviour (Abdool-Karrim, 2005). One consequence is that instead of receiving sympathy and support, people with AIDS are blamed, feared and avoided.

One participant, Moses, offered a parallel of the pattern of HIV spreading at schools during his interview:

“Yes, it does happen that when one is in relationship with someone who sexually misbehaves and she goes to other school and falls in love with someone with AIDS. Then she will come back to him who sexually behaves well. He will meet (sexually) with her and gets AIDS. “

Responses such as these resonate with findings of Sikwibele et al (2004) with young men in a squatter settlement in Zambia who expressed fear of HIV infection through sex with their girlfriends. The alignment of ‘she’ and ‘sexually misbehaves’ and ‘he’ and ‘sexually behaves’ provides another example of the speaker ‘doing gender’ within a gendered social context (Holmes, 2001). The male is again positioned as the passive recipient, who, through no fault of his own, “gets” AIDS.

In the individual interviews, all the youth except one (Vusi) agreed that women were primarily responsible for the spread of diseases such as HIV/AIDS. It was only with some probing that some participants conceded that both men and women could spread HIV. To further illustrate the extent of the gendering of HIV/AIDS, responses to three questions are provided, namely, whether women influence the spread of HIV/AIDS, whether male behaviour change can influence the spread of the virus, and whether the youth thought that they were at risk for HIV/AIDS. The views of three youth, namely, Moses, Jacob and Dumisane are representative of the views of all but two of the twelve youth interviewed, and may be generalized to the views held by the focus group participants as well. It must be noted that being semi-structured interviews, each interview may have differed in terms of the content and exact context

of these responses. However, the focus is on the responses to the question and the discourses that were inherent in these responses.

5.8.1 Women's responsibility for the spread of HIV and AIDS

Interviewer: In your opinion, do women contribute to the spread of HIV and AIDS?

Moses: *"Women spread AIDS because "they are people who are unable to control and respect themselves....If one comes with a beautiful car, whether that person is using a condom or not, she does not care.If you look at the rate of people with AIDS in South Africa, women are the most people who suffer from it."*

Jacob: *"A beautiful person attracts people. She attracts strongly. There is no one that does not like a beautiful girl. So in that way it can be able to spread, because once you (the woman) has HIV/AIDS, you must try to discipline yourself. Yes, they sleep around, isn't it? Too much and that is the thing that will make them get HIV/AIDS. These people go places in a strong way."*

Dumisane: *"Women reject men (in their love relationships) " and then go for other men ...gets AIDSand then go forward for another affair and then gets AIDS again. Then AIDS keeps on spreading and AIDS spreads on and on. She then becomes something useless and an AIDS toy and when she knows that she has AIDS, she decides to spread it on to other people."*

In contrast to Willig's (1999) findings with adults in the UK where sex was seen as a male preserve and women were positioned as the innocent victims of HIV infection, the above extracts point to the social construction of women as carriers of 'the disease' and men as victims. These responses may be seen as reflective of the dominant cultural interpretations of the spread of HIV and AIDS. Jacob's contention that *"Yes, they sleep around, isn't it?"* is, according to Coates (1997: 252), a tag question which is used to confirm what is being said as taken for granted. Jacob did not expect an answer, but uses a tag as a way of confirming a shared notion with the interviewer. Such rhetorical questions may be constructed to undermine alternatives (Silverman, 2000). The participants attribute the spread of HIV/AIDS to women's

careless behaviour such as the inability to control themselves, being irresistible and having multiple sexual partners. By implication then, additional pressure is placed on beautiful women to discipline themselves. Although this evidence does not mean that all boys have the same view about HIV transmission, male responsibility and female culpability, it does exemplify male hegemony and the power relations implicit in these discourses.

As argued throughout this thesis, the common feature of dominant forms of masculinity is that manhood is associated with having some sort of power. In gender relations, power has a more negative manifestation (Whitehead and Barrett, 2001; Hearn, 1998). In these discourses, the youth attribute negative power in the form of the “power to infect,” to women (Barker and Galasinski, 2001). This negative power has a stigma attached to it and requires some distancing from, and rejection of the carrier. AIDS as a gendered illness implies that women have overstepped patriarchally-defined moral boundaries, as signified by their inability to control themselves (Leclerc-Madlala, 1999). Such discourses confirm Strebel's (1997) observation that the control of seemingly deviant sexuality is seen as a solution to the AIDS problem, evident in Moses' assertion that the ‘out of control’ behaviour provides a rationale as to why more women in South Africa suffer from HIV and AIDS than men.

Henning (2004) makes reference to “meaning making” which in this context attaches a meaning that absolves men from responsibility and results in a comfort zone for men, thus freeing them from the arduous task of behaviour change. The reality is that women are frequently coerced, forced or beaten into sex by male partners who control sexual encounters and refuse to wear condoms (Abdool-Karim, 2005; Sikiwibele et al, 2004, Bujra and Baylies, 2004; Leach, et al, 2003; Mirsky, 2003; Wood et al, 1998). Despite this, women, irrespective of their behaviour, seemingly cannot escape being blamed for the spread of the disease.

These responses contradict earlier statements by the participants supporting the acceptability and promotion of multiple partnerships for men, and the abhorrence of infidelity of women (Section 5.5). Implicit in the above discourse is the positioning of males as victims of female infidelity, and the perception that the prevention of HIV

therefore rests largely on female behaviour change. These boys focused on their exposure to infection rather than exhibit concern that their pursuit of pleasure might lead to the further transmission of HIV. In fact, most studies on women and AIDS (Abdool-Karim, 2005; Morrell, 2003; Department of Health, 2003; Zierler and Krieger, 1997) point to women being the main victims of the epidemic. Foreman (1999b) adds his voice to this view, arguing that men's failure to protect themselves and their partners makes them responsible, or even to blame, for the HIV/AIDS epidemic.

5.8.2 Men's behaviour change and the prevention of HIV/AIDS

Some conflicting ideas arose as to whether men's behaviour change can have an impact on the spread of HIV as evidenced in the following quotes:

Interviewer: "Can men change their behaviour?" (as a way of reducing the spread of HIV)

Moses: *"Yes, that may also happen. You find that one has been sexually behaving well in a relationship, then he starts to change, for example, walking at night, coming late and so on."*

Jacob: *"No,...it is just that I don't know how they can change.....I don't think there is a man that does not love a woman....once you let him taste, he will want it all the time. I don't know how they can change. HIV/AIDS is something that is always there."*

Dumisane: *"Males do have a role, though it is not that high. They use condoms and try to limit the spread of AIDS."*

Moses' conception of behaviour change for a man is that it would mean a shift from present good behaviour towards bad, HIV-causing behaviour. The belief that men are basically pure and AIDS-free confirms Leclerc-Madlala's (1999: 217) assertion that "the possible association between men and HIV/AIDS remains, metaphorically, inconceivable." Incidentally, Dumisane's claim that men use condoms is disputed by Taylor et al (2002) whose study of 901 secondary school learners in Ugu North found

that although 64.8% of the learners viewed the threat of acquiring HIV/AIDS as discouraging multiple sexual partners, 16.5% still indicated that would want to have many partners. Of the 256 sexually active learners, only 33.5% of males and 10.1% of females reported always using condoms.

Jacob's comments (*once you let him taste, he will want it all the time*) clearly reflect Hollway's (2001) 'male sex drive discourse' (Section 5.4.3), implying that it is natural for men to be seen as sexually incontinent and out of control. The potential for behaviour change is therefore very limited. Although the above comments make some marginal reference to men having some role to play in limiting the spread of HIV, the dominant discourse still centres on women as the carrier of the disease. These findings are contrary to those of Willig (1999) where women in the UK were constructed as sexually naïve while men were viewed as being promiscuous and sexually experienced. In the present study, by contrast, men were viewed as passive receptors of a deadly disease while meeting their unstoppable need for sexual release. Whether the silence on the prominent role played by men in the spread of HIV is due to ignorance, entrenched cultural beliefs or is a form of learned denial is not clear. My sense is that these responses are probably due to a combination of these factors.

5.8.3 Personal risk of infection with HIV/AIDS

The following are youth responses to the question of whether they thought that they were at risk for HIV/AIDS:

Moses: *"I can get it because of the people I am staying with if they will fail to control themselves. Then she (his girlfriend in Johannesburg) comes here and cheats me and then she kisses...and then we are tempted to have sex. At the end, I have got it this way, whereas I have abstained for four years telling myself that I am grand."*

Jacob: *"Yes. Maybe there are babes on my side and they are busy two timing me and I come with a kiss and have sex with her. Then I get it like that."*

Dumisane: *"I don't use a condom and I don't want to know my status. This is going to cause stress for me and also mixed with other things".*

As with previous responses, the labelling and blaming pattern continued in the participant's attempts to make sense of the spread of HIV/ AIDS. Moses, who has two girlfriends with whom he is sexually active, claims that he could be at risk because *others* (women) are out of control. Dumisane's concern is that knowing his status might cause *him* stress. This response is viewed in relation to his earlier contention that *"she (a woman) decides to spread it (AIDS) to other people."* The belief that women cause AIDS appears to be so deeply entrenched that responsibility for their own sexual behaviour is completely overlooked. Advertising campaigns, social marketing and promotion of condom use to prevent HIV/AIDS infections seem to have had little impact on changing risky behaviour. In the midst of the HIV epidemic in KwaZulu-Natal, responses of this nature indicate the need for alternative strategies to facilitate behaviour change. However, the language of plural masculinities, perceived as social constructions, may have positive consequences for work on HIV/AIDS, for it raises the possibility that men may change their behaviour in changing social circumstances (Bujra, 2002)

5.9 THEME EIGHT: ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIOUR TOWARDS WOMEN: "WE DON'T LEARN IT FROM SOMEWHERE; WE SEE IT AS NATURAL"

During the focus group discussions, the participants were asked about the main influences on the attitudes and behaviour of youth towards females generally, while in the interviews, they spoke more specifically about influences on themselves.

Group responses in all three schools highlighted the integration of social and cultural norms as the way things ought to be, expressed by a Hlonipha School participant as *"We don't learn it from somewhere; we see it as natural."* In keeping with Kimmel's (2004) contention that learning is a steady accumulation of information, ideas and ways of responding, the youth made reference to the fact that pin-pointing a particular influence on behaviour was difficult as many things appear to be natural and people are not even aware that they count as influences. However, they did indicate major influences on attitudes and behaviour although, according to the moderator, in some

instances the participants offered one word answers and he (the moderator) had to probe considerably to obtain more details.

5.9.1 Family influences

In the focus group interviews and individual interviews, the participants shared that while parents did have some influence on their attitudes and behaviours towards females, most parents were largely out of touch with them and did not understand their way of viewing things. Observations by Morrell (2006) and Richter (2006) that in a country like South Africa, it is common for grandfathers, older brothers, uncles and step fathers to take on the fatherhood role, holds true for the youth in this study. They spoke of a range of people such as siblings, fathers, brothers, uncles and peers who influenced their thinking. From the sample of twelve youth who were interviewed, four lived with both parents while in five cases, the fathers were deceased or parents were separated. Some participants felt that parents could play a guiding role, but when parents are too strict, young people regard them as enemies. Consistent with findings by Arnfred (2004) and Izugbara (2004), the youth in this study did not feel comfortable to speak to their parents, especially about issues related to sexuality. Furthermore, asking parents about sexuality could be viewed as a sign of disrespect.

Unlike the strong influences of mothers on boys in Pollack's (1998) study, for the participants in this sample, there was no direct mention of mothers having had strong influences on their lives. These responses were inconsistent with the responses in the earlier focus group discussions (Section 5.2) where some participants spoke of their mothers as being strong figures in their homes and the ease with which they could talk to their mothers. Perhaps this ease did not extend to talk regarding relationships and sexuality. On the other hand, it is possible as emphasized by Mac an Ghail (1994) that some influences are regarded as natural and just the way things are, and people may not be conscious of these influences on their lives.

Parental monitoring of youth activities, especially for girls, was highlighted. Mention was made of mothers encouraging daughters to 'sell their bodies' to make a living which exposed the child to HIV/AIDS. For this reason one focus group participant cautioned that it was sometimes better not to follow parental advice as it could lead

one to do "*bad things*." Responses such as these demonstrate clearly the intersection between poor socio-economic conditions, family life and HIV/AIDS, a pattern consistently highlighted by authors such as Abdool-Karim (2005), Cornwall and Wellbourn (2002), Farmer (1999) and Human Rights Watch (2003). The responsibility placed on the girl child to bring money into the household for food and other necessities can bring disrespect, make her vulnerable to sexual abuse and place her at risk for HIV infection.

Likewise, while many of the boys spoke admiringly of their fathers, although they did not highlight specific ways in which the fathers influenced their thinking. What was clear, however, was that several participants aspired to have the power of their fathers which Ramphele (2002) emphasized symbolized the authority of patriarchy and masculine control. The overall impression was that older males in the family, whether they were fathers, brothers, or uncles, were highly regarded despite any distance between them and the boys. One participant, 'Sbu, whose father died a few years ago, spoke of the great impact that his father had on his thinking and his treatment of women. His father had cautioned him against abusing women and forcing a woman to have sex. He maintained that he was living by these lessons and 'owes who he is' to his father. Dumisane aspired to attain his father's level of independence and his ability to solve his own problems. His father engaged in love affairs and unusually, given the reluctance to talk about sex, discussed with Dumisane and his brothers the problems related to these affairs. Dumisane felt that as males, he and his father understood each other, and that his father had had a tremendous influence on his life. Such responses point to the pattern of young people constructing their behaviour in relation to significant other people in their lives, including being essentially masculine or feminine. These gendered responses are usually carried over into other social situations such as the peer group.

5.9.2 Peer influences

Similar to the findings of Totten (2003) for Canadian male youth, a recurring theme in my research was that within the context of male peers, the perceived threat to masculinity was at its highest. Participants explained that males encourage other males to be sexually active, even if they are unprepared or not interested, confirming

the findings of Buga et al (1996) with youth in Transkei and Selikow et al (2002) with youth in Alexandra. A common thread running through the individual interviews was that sexual ignorance often evoked ridicule and laughter from other boys, validating earlier comments by the youth that having sex was seen as a mark of manhood (Section 5.4.1). The pressure from peers for boys to “*show that they are men*” was reiterated, and failure to demonstrate sexual orientation and distancing from perceived femininity challenged the essence of masculinity (Kimmel, 1987). Youth responses in this study also resonated with findings of Mac an Ghaill (1994) that boasting about sexual performance forms part of striving for acceptance within the masculine peer group. A common view was that “*Here at school we friends influence each other about getting girlfriends and the way girls should be treated.*” This was clearly demonstrated in Dumisane’s earlier admission (See Section 5.5.1) that he at one point had had five girlfriends because this enhanced his status amongst the boys. Vusi, in keeping with his previous responses, resisted peer positions and judgements, although stating that he did so with some difficulty.

“Yah... because of peer pressure from my friends.....my friends had girlfriends and so I decided that I must have one so that I can be able to fit in with my friends. Then I saw that having a girlfriend is not right, and at home they told me that it was not right and so I dropped her. When my friends asked me why I did not have a girlfriend, I told them ‘You know why? I am from a different family. They are coming from their own families and I am coming from my own family, so we are different from each other...Even then, I am not saying that I am afraid. I am not afraid, but it is just that I have not yet reached that stage.’”

How exactly Vusi’s relationship started or terminated was not made clear except that ‘*he decided*’ to have a girlfriend so that ‘*he could fit in with his friends*’ and then ‘*he dropped her*’. It does seem, though, that the girl (object) was there to fulfil his need to be recognized for ‘scoring’ with a girl. However, he appears to have a strong bond with his family which may, as Strong et al (1999) suggest, have enhanced his sense of self and lessened his dependence on the approval of his peers. His emphasis on not being afraid may reflect a feeling that he *ought* to be afraid, perhaps of being undermined by his peers for not having a girlfriend, which appears to be a deviation from the norm.

The participants articulated further that peers had a strong influence in “*teaching violence*” in dating relationships, confirming the findings of Arriaga and Foshee (2004) amongst school-going adolescents in the US. As noted earlier, boys recommended the use of violence especially when a girl ‘was unfaithful, misbehaved and needed to be disciplined.’ These responses fit with previous responses that violence was seen as an appropriate method to resolve conflicts and to control women. As stated previously, peer support for the dominant positioning of men and the exercise of power of women are powerful influences in maintaining unequal power relations between men and women. A few youth again made the point that people should resist being influenced by others and that they should think for themselves.

Papalia et al (2001) mention the positive effects of peer relations which are encapsulated in Nkosi’s account of the positive influence of a group of boys on how he views girls:

“It was the way the outies (guys) conducted themselves. The outies I am going with believe that you must treat a babe nicely and you must also look at how she conducts herself and also think of how they would feel at the girl’s home if you do something to her. I then saw that these outies have the right thinking. They don’t have this thing that you must do anyhow to girls.”

In his interview, Nkosi emphasized that men and women should nurture their relationships and respect each other. He declared that beating a girl or engaging in forced sex is completely “*out of the question*”. This fits with Barker’s (2000) contention that belonging to an alternative peer group that reinforced a more gender equitable version of masculinity can be an important factor in young men’s development.

5.9.3 School influences

As noted in Chapter One, the study was conducted at under-resourced schools in a rural area. At all three schools, preparation of students for adulthood via improved life skills was not a priority. Although these schools had Life Orientation periods, feedback from the participants indicated that issues such as intimate relationships,

handling feelings, communicating effectively, sexuality and sexual relations were not adequately covered. The principal and learners confirmed that there was also no input from external sources for learner development.

Focus group responses and interview responses indicated that the school was not seen as a supportive environment and one which facilitated healthy relationships between male and female students. Comments like *"This school has had no positive influence on me"* and *"I'm not learning anything here"* were common for all three schools. There was considerable talk of girls *"ridiculing"* boys, and if boys responded with a retaliatory ridicule or by hitting, they were taken to the principal's office and blamed. The boys felt *oppressed* by a system that does not realize their pain of being ridiculed, degraded and embarrassed in the presence of girls. Ridiculing took various forms: making derogatory remarks about boys; dismissing them with a gesture; not listening when boys are talking; and generally making the boys *"feel small"*. It was alleged that sometimes teachers *"talk against boys and put us on the bad side as boys."* The perceived alignment of teachers with girls against the boys is a cause for concern, considering the intersection of violence with feelings of isolation and low self esteem (Kermode and Keil, 2003; Gilbert and Gilbert, 1998).

At Hlonipha School, several boys jointly constructed a story relating to the principal's announcements during the assembly in which he conveyed to the girls to be cautious about boys:

E1: *"Yah, but the way he was doing it, he was not doing it in a good way. It was ridiculing at the same time. The way he was warning them he was criticizing boys at the same time. The girls at the same time have that boys, you see, are whores, sort of. The outies lust after girls....."*

E2: *"They (boys) are insane."*

E1: *"He does not tell them anything constructive."*

E3: *"It is something that is offensive and hurting at the same time you see."*

E4: *"He is just insulting."*

During this interaction, several participants attempted to speak at once, with contributions emphasizing feelings of hurt, not being listened to, not being understood, being treated like children, and a general feeling of '*oppression*' at girls receiving preferential treatment over boys. This is encapsulated in one participant's comments: *"There in the office...she has witnesses that you beat her, but you don't have witnesses as to what happened that led you to beating her."* Some laughter followed with one participant imitating the principal. A statement of powerlessness ended this discussion: *"You can't do a thing"*.

These stories echo the concerns of Sathiparsad and Taylor (2005) regarding the consequences for learners who have no access to social work and other support services in areas such as Ugu District. The need for life-skills training and interventions to address issues such as gender relationships and discipline is apparent. Although the participants appeared reluctant to elaborate, a few comments were made that corporal punishment was implemented, although the frequency and severity of such punishment was not probed by the moderator who was aware that corporal punishment is illegal in schools. However, the moderator and the observer both explained the sense of injustice that the youth felt at being subjected to this system of punishment at school. This must be seen in light of their earlier responses that corporal punishment by parents was acceptable.

During the focus group interviews, mention was also made of some teachers "*having girls*." The youth had to be cautious when approaching girls, as a participant at Ulwazi School commented: *"you don't know the person that the teacher is involved with."* This is one of the reasons why, *"at school, you won't be able to learn how women should be treated."* These findings echo those of Dunne et al (2006), Leach (2003), Morrell et al (2002) and Human Rights Watch (2001), which pointed to male students having to compete with teachers for the attention of the girls. It was clear to the moderator that the participants were reluctant to engage on this issue and this was not probed further. This would also have been a breach of ethical principles, as teacher conduct fell beyond the scope of this study.

5.9.4 Cultural influences

There were mixed responses regarding the extent to which culture sanctions gender-based violence. The participants at Ulwazi presented a combination of common knowledge with some popular myths and some contradictions, as indicated in the extracts below:

Moderator: Do cultural beliefs and practices play a role in encouraging the beating of women?

F1: *"Yes, it does have a role to play, because the other men out there they take women as a person that is insignificant and can't contribute anything."*

F2: *"No, you see if you can observe in the old days, you wouldn't find our grandpas and fathers beating their wives. A man was very respectful towards a woman. But now that has changed. That is why I say that culture does not encourage violence against women."*

F3: *"In the old days ...if you had a girlfriend, you were going to have sex with that person only after you have entered into marriage with that person. That is why I say that women had rights then."*

These responses indicate an awareness of a traditional culture that does not condone violence, in contrast with their earlier responses emphasizing the 'cultural' acceptability of violence linked to the subordinate position of women (Sections 5.2.1 and 5.3.4). Significantly, F2's interpretation of culture is that it is something that belonged to the past, somehow overlooking the influence of present day culture in influencing behaviour. It is worth noting the reminders issued by Leclerc-Madlala (2003) and Nhlapo (1992) in Section 2.4.4 that despite the patriarchal mindset, no society has abuse, particularly sexual abuse, as part of its deep culture.

A similar pattern of interaction emerged at Hlonipha School:

G1: *"Aaai, I believe that in a lot of time, culture spoils men."*

G2: *"In a lot of time a person that is esteemed is a man and the one that is downgraded is a woman. But in the old days, a woman was given her position."*

Moderator: Can you give some examples to show how a woman was treated in the old days?

G2: *"You must give her respect, not take decisions on her behalf, and not rape her."*

G3: *"Though they were topless and wore strips of cloth that covered her on the private part, men stood aside and respected them, and gave them dignity."*

G2: *"Boys of today can't be trusted to protect girls 'since they are now animals... they are animals'".*

These extracts again reflect on the 'old days' when women, it was said, were treated with more respect. The alignment of boys with animals may denote male insensitivity and the harsh treatment of girls, particularly relating to sexual instincts. However, despite these insights, for the majority of the participants, in the preceding sessions, there was limited aspiration to elevate the position of women, again pointing to the conflicting and contradictory presentations of masculinity depending on the context.

Some discussion ensued on the fact that modern city life made no place for Zulu culture. Responses varied between those which emphasized that culture should be embraced and respected, and 'modernists' whose sentiments were captured by one participant who boldly explained:

"Nobody still wants to identify with a certain culture. Like a Black person that is a Zulu. I would no longer want to live a traditional life of a Zulu. No, I would want to live, maybe, a life that is lived by other people." (Qhubeka School)

Consistent with findings by the Nelson Mandela Foundation (2005) that rural identity is closely connected with an imagined urban world that is both better and worse than rural areas, some of the youth in this study aspired to a better life in the city, although

they were aware that such adjustment is not easy. There was some mention of the fact that *"to lead a life like Whites,"* one would need money. It was evident that rural life and identity, with its impoverished, repressive social and economic backdrop, were defined in relation to urban materialism and an aspiration for a better life.

In the individual interviews, there were also some mixed views regarding practices such as the payment of *ilobolo*. For example, Sbu stated that the practice clarified for women that it is adulterous to sleep with someone who hasn't paid. On the other hand, *"a man may make excessive demands of a woman, be insulting and arrogant just because he has paid ilobolo"*. Nkosi felt that the practice of *ilobolo* must be maintained, even if people moved to the cities. Simon's adhering to cultural practices was demonstrated in his admission that he has already paid *ilobolo* for his girlfriend to secure her hand in marriage. These responses fit with the findings of Jewkes et al (2002) in Section 2.5.2 that for many rural women, *ilobolo* is still a valued practice. However, challenging this practice, Vusi articulated that cultural practices promote the idea of man's superiority over women, the payment of *ilobolo* being a case in point. Bassadien and Hochfeld (2005) take this point a step further, claiming that such customs can mean that families or even communities can justify violence culturally and thus condone or ignore it. Dumisane argued that *"although culture dictated that the man should be the head, this may not be applicable these days as women also work and therefore have equal status"*, indicating that there are spaces to negotiate 'traditional' gender roles.

There were also mixed views regarding virginity testing. There was still much pride attached to marrying a virgin as articulated by one participant: *"No one wants to marry a person that is not a virgin"*, and marrying a virgin gives one status. Section 2.5.2 discussed the importance of virginity in Zulu culture. This is demonstrated by the fact that the *ilobolo* package is increased by an additional cow, for example, if the woman is a virgin (De Haas, 1987). The double standard is again noted here. While a girl who has lost her virginity may be regarded as a disgrace and is labelled *'isiGalagala'*, implying that she has had excessive sexual intercourse (Krige, 1950: 106), an *isoka* (sexually experienced young man) gains greater respect. For Bhana (2002), it is these culturally specific discourses position males' patterns of conduct in ways that engender unequal power relations. A few of the youth felt that although virginity

testing is a practice that seems to be fading, it served the purpose of protecting girls and keeping them ready for marriage

Although the youth did not directly perceive it in this way, their responses indicate that culture does in fact play a prominent role in the construction of their identities, again giving credence to the observations of Mac an Ghail (1994), Mayer (2000) and Pinker (2002) (Section 2.4.4), that cultural patterns are often invisible to people because they are experienced as a natural part of the environment. This was clearly evident in Themba's articulation of the expectations of his culture:

"According to Zulu culture, women are expected to behave themselves well...and not have sex until marriage. She should stay with her mother and do things at home, you see. You should not find a situation where the school breaks up at two o'clock and she comes home at eight o'clock at night. She is no longer showing that she is a girl. She is doing as boys."

Here Themba engages with cultural norms reflecting asymmetrical relations of power, pointing to connections between cultural expectations, male privilege and girls' disadvantage. The interviewer confirmed that Themba did not see this position as being privileged, but rather the way things are and should be. In other words, according to Zulu Culture, *"doing as boys"* is unacceptable, a point that was echoed by several participants throughout this thesis, demonstrating how the male/female binary holds gender inequity in place by insisting on differences within it (MacNaughton, 2005).

5.9.5 The influence of the church

While religion was not mentioned by the participants, some discussion followed the moderator's query regarding the possible role of the church in influencing the way in which they conducted relationships. The youth were aware that the local church congregations have counsellors who guide youth in relationship matters, promiscuity, and pre-marital sex. When young people are confused, they may prefer to go to church counsellors instead of to their parents. However, the feeling was that the church did not take time to ensure that young people understood and felt comfortable

with regard to sexual issues. As in schools, the youth felt that girls made derogatory remarks against the boys, giving the boys a bad reputation at church. A few youth mentioned some inconsistency in the teachings of the church. One participant explained:

"Some pastors want to have many church members, quantity. They don't want to have quality of Christians. You see, those who want to have a big church, it is those that say 'Be involved in an affair'. If you say that people should not have an affair, people run away. They want to eat the offerings of many people. They don't care about them. " (Ulwazi School)

In view of the patriarchal nature of Zulu society, it is doubtful whether women could be actively encouraged to have affairs. It also seems unlikely that men may be directly encouraged to have affairs as articulated by the participant. However, extra-marital relationships may be overlooked or not taken seriously. As highlighted by Bassadien and Hochfeld (2005), within church circles the appropriate behaviour in abusive situations is often constructed within a patriarchal discourse that prioritises the maintenance of marriage above all else. Constructions of the sanctity of marriage and the husband's authority in the household (De Haas, 1987; Mannathoko, 1992) may underlie the common practice of church leaders sending abused women back to the abusive relationships (Bassadien and Hochfeld, 2005; Dawes et al, 2004).

Despite the views expressed above, the youth agreed that some churches did influence people on issues such as abstinence from pre-marital sex, teenage pregnancies, and the advantages of having one partner. In his interview, Nelson explained that the church had a strong influence on his life. He explained the influence that this had on him:

"These youth services have made me more sensitive and respectful towards girls. I believe in monogamous relationships and responsible sexual behaviour. Even my grandmother complimented me on how well I treat my girlfriend."

Nelson attends youth services and is an active member of a church association which provides education and support on all aspects of youth development.

5.9.6 The influence of the media

At the three schools, the question on media influences evoked responses primarily relating to television. At Qhubeka School, mention was made that certain visuals on television and in magazines arouse boys, thus making them lust after girls. However, there was no further discussion on print media. The participants acknowledged that the radio also had a similar effect via sexy songs, and at Ulwazi School, there was agreement among some participants that radio programmes were more educational than certain television programmes. However, the overall view was that the visual images on television were more powerful in influencing the behaviour of youth.

General statements were made about violent images on television which encouraged young people to resort to violence to gain respect and to enhance their image. Aggressive behaviour portrayed in the media was also seen as powerful and was used to instil fear in others. The moderator's request for examples was met with *"Films... they show shooting and crime....and gang fights"* (Ulwazi School). Although these statements were not made specifically with regard to violence against women, they may be directly linked to earlier statements made by the youth regarding hitting women to gain respect and to exert control (See Section 5.3.2). It must be noted that the youth themselves did not make this link, but instead spoke of other boys being influenced by violence on television, thus excluding themselves from being influenced. However, mention was made of the replication of behaviours watched on television such as smoking, consuming alcohol, hissing at a girl wearing a mini skirt or making sexually explicit comments to girls. Hlonipha articulated this as follows:

"When you look at the TV (television), it happens that maybe a girl wearing something smartly passes by, those boys that look at her will then make noise after her. In the same way, you would tell yourself that when you see a girl wearing a mini-skirt, you must do the same thing they did."

One focus group participant echoed the views of Potter (2003) and Kimmel (2004) in his statement: *"It's pointless blaming bad behaviour on television; television shows what is already happening."* A few participants were quick to emphasize the need to

exercise one's own common sense in not participating in behaviours that are destructive. They agreed that in rural areas, parents don't restrict children from certain forms of media exposure because parents themselves are unaware of what children watch on television or which magazines they read. At Ulwazi School, the discussion somehow turned to girls being vulnerable to be influenced by television, especially those shows portraying girls behaving badly. Concern was expressed that:

"When girls see something bad on television, they conclude that it is right to do something like this.... "

Another participant saw the positive side of this: *"When they show at the end that they experience something painful, you learn from this that if you do like this, you will end up there."*

Mention was made of the local television drama 'Generations' and the fact that:

"if there is someone that is wrong in Generations, then you will act likewise and not even know what happens at the end of the story. It may also happen that you end up being in trouble, but you still continue not knowing what will happen."

In these quotes, the boys referred specifically to the vulnerability of girls to be negatively influenced by television, while denying their own vulnerability to this influence. Despite attempting to focus on how television influenced their attitudes towards girls, the moderator and the observer both noted that the participants remained fixed on the idea that television provided a channel through which girls *"learnt bad behaviours."* These responses build on notions from previous discussions, that is, the construction of males as invincible, a tendency noted throughout this thesis.

5.10 THEME NINE: EMERGING ALTERNATIVE MASCULINITIES

As noted in the discussions on the preceding eight themes, the majority of the participants displayed dominant views of masculine identity that condoned sexism and violence against women. However, on several issues discussed, counter-

discourses surfaced, giving credence to Foucault's (1994) contention that power relations are always accompanied by relations of resistance. The fact that some participants contested hegemonic masculinities and demonstrated support for more equitable relationships with girls as noted previously ("*You can't tell me you are a man by having a lot of girlfriends, no*" ; *there is nothing you can do by being violent*) suggests that alternative forms of masculinity were operating around and within dominant forms. This section discusses a final theme drawing on the alternative forms of masculinities that emerged during the focus group discussions and interviews. These responses support Strebel's (1997) claim that dominant discourses are neither static nor unchallenged and are contrasted to contestations, alternative positions, and to less dominant discourses and are modified in interaction with discursive positioning. Shifts in depictions of the topic and spaces for alternative responses were evident. These discourses, reflecting alternative masculinities and the fluid, contradictory, conflicting, characteristics, provide the basis for my argument in this thesis that masculinities, including Zulu masculinities, are not static. Therefore, I support the claims made by Sideris (2005) and Walker (2005) that there are spaces to involve men in addressing gender-based violence and to reduce the inequalities that underpin abuse. I return to these points in the concluding chapter.

Several of the participants, at different points in the discussions, displayed ambivalence about the dictates of tradition and challenged conventional hegemonic practices that have become the norm in their community. For example, one assertion at Hlonipha was that "*the mother can also be called the head of the household.*" and the acknowledgement by an Ulwazi School participant that: "*The father supports the family with money, but the mother is important*". At Qhubeka School, some discussion centred around the admission that the payment of *ilobolo* entrenches the man's superiority over the woman as "*he then feels that he can do anyhow to her.*" It was observed that throughout the discussions, the participants positioned and re-positioned themselves within these discourses. They distanced themselves from them, posed alternatives, and, in some instances, recognized the limits of particular positions. Parallel to observations by Pattman et al (2005) and Lindegger and Maxwell (2005), these young men appeared to respond differently to social change and shifting gender roles, thus producing a multiplicity of discourses around a common event.

Although Ketha stated that he had hit his girlfriend, he explained that he knew that he had blundered and beating a girl was not right. Later, in his interview, he explained that his uncle was his role model.

Ketha: *"If she (the uncle's wife) was gone out to wash clothes, he would remain behind and wash pots. You have never heard any voice that rose above the other one. If there is a problem, you would see them in the bedroom sitting down and talking about the problem. I then saw that it means a woman must not be abused or beaten, you see. There must also be no work that that she is doing alone and you are not doing".*

Interviewer: So what have you learnt from him?

Ketha: *"When he has heard something and comes home heated up, he becomes humble and they both talk about the issue, you see. I then saw that a woman must be treated in this way."*

The moderator noted that Ketha's attachment to his uncle was related with pride. He explained that he aspires to be like his uncle in his own relationship, because such a relationship is rare. This view is seen in relation to earlier discussions which noted that violence against women was a known practice in the community (Section 5.2.4). For Ketha, then, behaving differently may mean transgressing gender boundaries and submitting to his gentle, caring self. This may indeed be a more natural state as boys are not naturally 'tough' and 'hard' but have put considerable effort into constructing themselves as such (Pattman et al, 2005),

In view of the participants' being at the adolescent phase of development, it is uncertain whether the changing nature of power relations between men and women constitute a 'crisis of masculinity' for these young men. What is certain, though, is the contention of Reid and Walker (2005) that the interplay between broader social and gender change and individual men's responses is complex, as is evident throughout the interactions with the research participants. For example, despite the acknowledgement by the boys that girls were intelligent and resourceful, the

discourse of the need to "*discipline for misbehaviour*" still positioned girls as minors who needed to be moulded into obedience. Although the discourse of dominant masculinity indicated a need to sustain control and power over women, there was no direct articulation by the boys of 'feeling threatened' by advancing females.

Despite the overall feeling that men should continue to hold dominant positions in the home, at all three schools, there were voices that resisted patriarchal positioning and strongly advocated equality between men and women. As discussed previously there was considerable agreement that "*women must be listened to,*" "*they must be taken seriously*" and "*they must be given a chance to make decisions*" pointing to the realisation that women have strengths which must be acknowledged. The increasing role of women as economic providers and care-givers was highlighted along with the admission that men were frequently absent from home: "*In my opinion, I think it is the mother, because she is the one that looks after everything because the father is at work most of the time. If anything happens, she is there. The father just gets a report.*" (Qhubeka School.) The participants also argued against gender violence in the community generally, and described it as "*undignified and unattractive*".

Several participants acknowledged that beating a girl was hurtful and therefore not a desirable reaction from a boy or man. At several points in the focus group discussions and in the interviews, the youth suggested alternatives to beating, such as talking and listening, to resolve problems. Beating was seen as a cowardly act in view of the perception that females were not in a position to fight back. There was some contesting of the notion that hitting a girl demonstrates love, along with assertions that girls will not be attracted to boys who are known to beat other girls. In the focus groups, and to a greater extent in the interviews, a few participants distanced themselves from any suggestion that girls should be beaten, reflected in Moses's statement that "*...beating her is what I cannot believe I can do.*"

With regard to sexual relations, some participants agreed that forced sex is abusive and that men and women ought to respect each others sexual rights. At Qhubeka School, the suggestion during a focus group discussion that "*Forcing a girl to have sex is not right. We (boys) must understand that and accept it*" evoked responses of nodding heads from other boys. The observer and the moderator noted that across all

three schools, there was considerable agreement that love between couples is based on co-operation, patience, trust and understanding. A few participants agreed that sex must be talked about and consensual, not coerced or forced. Although in the focus groups, some participants maintained that forced sex was acceptable depending on circumstances, in the interviews most of the boys claimed that they would 'never' engage in such behaviour. Thabo articulated this clearly:

"No, it (forced sex) is not right, because now it means that this thing that you are doing, she is not enjoying. She is hurt by what you are doing. You are satisfied and she is not satisfied. It means that in that relationship that you have, there is one person that is satisfied. You find that the other one is not and she is not treated well in the relationship. It is no longer good".

In his interview, in contrast to general focus group responses, Thabo opposed the construction of women as objects. He displayed sensitivity, care and support for a discourse of equality in sexual relations, denoted by terms such as *"not right"*, *"she is not enjoying"*, *"she is hurt"* and *"she is not satisfied."* A shift from a dominant to a less-dominant position is indicated in his contention that *"it is no longer good"* implying that it may have been good previously.

The suggestion in a focus group that forced sex within marriage was acceptable, was challenged by dissenting voices claiming that this was abuse. In fact, one young man viewed a girl's refusal to have sex as a display of strength against male dominance, providing evidence of an emerging gender consciousness within a context where dominant patterns of masculinity can begin to be renegotiated. While there was considerable support and admiration for men having multiple partners, a few participants opposed the idea on the grounds that such behaviour revealed a lack of confidence, affected schoolwork negatively, showed that the boy had no direction, was irresponsible, and could destroy himself, presumably by contracting HIV/AIDS.

Rape was viewed as a violent abuse of power, and the youth were emphatic that there was no excuse for such behaviour. There was consensus among the participants that rapists should be severely punished and that men needed to control their sexual urges. Vusi explained:

"I don't think there is a person that cannot control himself. A person does on purpose what he is doing. They do it because they trust that they are going to say they cannot control themselves".

In this extract, Vusi exposes men for hiding behind the veil of 'uncontrollable sexual urges' to justify forced sex. His position is clear, namely, that men have a purpose to their actions, and these actions can be controlled. Observations by the moderator, the observer and the data from the transcripts indicate that throughout the focus groups and interviews, Vusi stood out in his display of non-hegemonic behaviour, and his support for respect and equality between men and women. The moderator/interviewer felt that this could be due to the fact that he was orphaned at an early age and was brought up by sisters. Having no parents, he may have been exposed to additional responsibilities at home. It is also possible that his close relationship with his sisters could have sensitized him to needs of women

Participants also suggested that men needed to re-think their attitudes and actions, and behave more responsibly. In his interview, Sbu' demonstrated his thinking beyond the sexual act:

"I told the brothers, sex is very nice... but you must remember one thing, you can get HIV, and the girl can become pregnant. If she is poor, who will buy the napkins and the milk?"

By issuing this caution to boys and showing concern about possible consequences for the girl, Thabo demonstrated emotional sensitivity, care and support, qualities usually constructed as feminine. He went on to emphasize that boys should not deny paternity, and face up to their responsibilities. These displays of resistance, and the contradictions, conflicts and confusion regarding gender roles and behaviour, highlight that some young men are beginning to think in different ways and are reconstructing the meaning of masculinity.

5.11 CHAPTER SUMMARY

In this chapter I provided a comprehensive discussion of the findings of this study. What was evident was the entrenchment of patriarchy and patriarchal practices in the lives of many of these young men. A significant recurring theme across the discourses was that violent masculinities served a purpose in relationships and was therefore acceptable. In the focus groups many of the young men displayed hegemonic masculine performances where they jointly constructed stories supporting conventional gender roles and the dominance of males over females. In the interviews, however, although some shared their experiences of engaging in hegemonic masculine practices, they displayed sensitivity, caring, and in some instances, empathy, towards females. A significant finding was that there was minimal opposition to the view that women, by their behaviour, contribute to the spread of HIV/AIDS, while men were positioned as victims. In the participants' reflections on the main influences on their attitudes and behaviour towards women, they demonstrated the strong influence of peers on their behaviours and the need to maintain a masculine image among other men.

Overall, in each of the themes discussed, alternative masculinities were evident. Although a minority response, some of the young men supported more equitable relationships with women and demonstrated alternative forms of masculinities. The final theme brought together some of these emerging masculinities.

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY

6.1 INTRODUCTION

In Chapter One, I listed the aims of this study and formulated research questions related to these aims. I also outlined the research problem and provided a rationale for my study. In this final chapter, I return to these, and focus on whether the aims have been met. The chapter commences with a summary of the research process, incorporating the restraints of the study. Conclusions are drawn based on the findings, and implications of the study for future interventions, future research, methodology, and policy are discussed.

6.2 SUMMARY OF THE RESEARCH PROCESS

The overall aim of the study was to investigate the attitudes, beliefs and behaviour of the sample of rural male youth concerning gender-based violence. In attempting to achieve this overall aim, the study followed several phases with various tasks within each phase.

In Chapter One, I provided a rationale for the study and highlighted its relevance and importance. The specific focus on rural male youth was justified as an area that lacked attention, despite being crucial in addressing the pressing social issue of gender-based violence in South Africa. Gender as a social construct provided a guiding theoretical framework which emerged as a recurring theme throughout this thesis.

Existing literature and research were reviewed in Chapters Two and Three to provide an overview of the nature, determinants and contexts of gender-based violence. Appendix D summarized selected empirical studies conducted internationally and locally. These studies, along with other studies reviewed, provided a basis for me to examine how the findings of other research related to my own research, and to identify similarities and differences across studies. A review of perspectives and themes relating to masculinity (Chapter Three) enabled me to verify those factors

highlighted by the participants as significant to them as young men. Furthermore, exploring patriarchy and masculinity among the isiZulu facilitated my understanding and interpretations of participant responses. The literature highlighted the changing South African socio-political context, accompanied by opportunities for women to be better educated, more economically independent and assertive, thus heralding a potential crisis in masculinity. Shifting feminine roles implies shifting masculine roles and the need to find different, more progressive ways for men to relate to women. Although research in this area is limited, it was encouraging to note the emergence of initiatives in South Africa to encourage men's involvement in promoting gender equality.

The qualitative research approach embracing the interpretive paradigm, as explained in Chapter Four, was well suited to the goals of the research, which was to obtain a thick, rich and deep interpretation and description of participant views and knowledge of social events and behaviour. This approach helped me to understand and document participant interactions and how they interpreted and interacted with the world around them. In this way, I was able to discover patterns of shared understanding among the participants and identify variability in those patterns.

In a study such as this, the combination of data collection methods enabled me to get a fuller picture of participant perspectives. Considering the view of masculinity as performance highlighted by authors such as Connell (2002b), Mills (2001) and Pattman (2005), the focus group provided a public context or platform and allowed for a more general response relating to gender-based violence in the community. The individual interview, a more private context, provided space for the participants to reflect on their personal experiences of relationships and to explain their own behaviours. Similarly, the combination of methods of content analysis and discourse analysis allowed for interpretation from different angles and provided a depth of understanding and a more meaningful inquiry into the research questions. Using an inductive approach to analysis, I identified nine broad themes and related sub-themes that emerged from the categories that were identified. These were discussed in detail in Chapter Five and related directly to addressing the research questions and the aims of the study. This mixed methodology or triangulation enabled me to draw conclusions from a synthesis of the results.

6.3 RESTRICTIONS AND RESTRAINTS

As pointed out in Chapter Four, given the purposive selection of my sample of participants and the use of qualitative and interpretive methods, this study is restricted in terms of its transferability to other contexts or settings or to the general population of rural male youth. Discourse analytic research involves interpretation, meaning that it is open to being influenced by the subjectivity of the researcher. Although an independent research assistant conducted the focus group interviews and individual interviews and translated and transcribed the data, the subjectivity in my interpretation cannot be understated. Nevertheless, the combined methods of data collection and analysis used allowed for cross-checks to increase the credibility of my interpretations. To further enhance their credibility, my interpretations were discussed at regular meetings with the research assistants and the research team.

As with much of the research with human subjects, it was difficult to distinguish between responses that were truthful, untruthful, exaggerated or understated. Particularly in the focus groups, the dynamics of the group process itself may not have facilitated a true representation of what the young men in the sample were actually thinking or doing at an individual level. Furthermore, there was no way of establishing whether those who participated actively (all volunteers) were any different in terms of attitudes and experiences from those who did not, and whether their responses were representative of other rural youth. However, the diversity that emerged in the data both within and across groups suggests that males with a variety of attitudes and experiences were represented. To minimize these limitations, individual in-depth interviews were held with a sample of 12 young men. While interviews do not guarantee absolutely truthful responses, the youth may have been more honest when they presented themselves to an individual interviewer and were not playing to an audience (Hyde et al, 2005). Methodological triangulation enabled me to cross-check responses gathered from the different data collection methods used. However, I am not able to say with certainty, that the views of the twelve volunteers who were interviewed were representative of the views of the larger sample.

Although relevant and detailed data were obtained, a restraint identified was that all leads during interactions with the youth may not have been fully explored. There may also have been gaps in the transcripts which did not adequately capture the nuances of the interactions among the youth. This limitation, however, was minimized by the presence of the observer and his detailed notes which were cross-checked with the transcripts compiled by the moderator. I also sought clarity on a range of issues during regular meetings with the research team.

As pointed out by Denzin and Lincoln (2000), there is always the possibility that some of the richness of data may have been lost because I was not directly involved in the focus groups and individual interviews. This meant that the nature of the data obtained depended largely on the moderator/interviewer and his relationship with the research participants. I was not in a position to guarantee this relationship, but aspects relating to focus group moderation and interviewer-participant relationships and other skills relating to data collection were thoroughly covered during training sessions and subsequent meetings with the research assistants. During the research process, I made every effort to address restraints to which I was alerted in order to enhance the credibility of the study.

Finally, I am aware that being an urban, non-Zulu speaking, Indian female academic imposes restraints on my abilities to understand young, rural, Zulu males. However, the use of male Zulu research assistants in the data collection process, and my engagement with them throughout the research process, enhanced my understanding. The use of the Zulu language was important to facilitate the discussion and interviews, but its subsequent translation into English prior to analysis adds another area where the richness of data may have been diminished. Despite these and other restraints, I have received much confirmation, from within and outside the data, which leads me to be confident in the credibility of my findings.

6.4 MAIN CONCLUSIONS OF THE STUDY

Conclusions drawn from this study are discussed in relation to the research questions outlined in Chapter One. Two very broad findings from the study concerns male domination in gender relations. First, there was consistency and support for a

dominant ideology of masculinity. Second, and in contrast to some earlier studies, this study found diversity in masculine behaviour and attitudes, some of which favoured more equitable gender relations. The overall conclusion drawn from the study is that while displays of dominant forms of masculinity were apparent among the study participants, there were also displays of alternative forms of masculinity. Each of these is discussed below.

Dominant masculinities

Data collected from the youth in this study confirm what researchers internationally and locally (Appendix D) have found in terms of gender relations: men are in control, exert power, demand sexual intercourse, regard women as objects for sexual gratification, make most of the family and community decisions and have a general discriminatory attitude towards women. A further finding was that relationship violence was acceptable and was used at times by some participants as a strategy to control the behaviour of girls. This study revealed that male aggression towards and control of women are seen to be legitimate and for the good of women. In their relationships, the participants viewed sex as being central, a mark of manhood and a demonstration of love. Constructions of masculinity centred on the objectification of women as sexual providers. Although violence was mentioned as a violation of a person's rights, this seems to have been more an articulation than any active awareness of the seriousness of such violation. For the participants, violence against women meant acts of physical, sexual and emotional abuse, as well as threats and harassment. For some respondents, physical and sexual violence were seen as natural and essential elements in a relationship.

Consistent with findings of researchers such as Dunkle et al (2004) Jewkes et al (2002) and Leclerc-Madlala (1999), the position of women remains tightly circumscribed. Male superiority and forms of control and subordination of women characteristic of patriarchal practices are operational in homes and in the wider community. The position of the man as the head of the household was strongly entrenched, as were male leadership and decision making positions in the community. This reflects deeply embedded patriarchal values to which many young people subscribe. The views held by the youth in this study reflect wider cultural

values and beliefs in rural South African societies. These values specify the socialization to which young people are exposed and foster the assimilation and reproduction of cultural norms among generations of people.

In their developmental years, boys are accorded more freedom and privileges than girls who have more restrictions placed on them and are groomed for domestic duties. In this way, the seeds of power and privilege for men are sown long before a boy becomes a man. Boys and girls thus act according to the social and culturally-prescribed gender scripts in the community. The study found that although girls were acknowledged for their common sense, success and intelligence, they were still accorded subordinate positions in relation to males. Not only were women perceived to have a different place to men, but there were also notions of men being better and stronger than women and thus more deserving of power and privilege in society.

A further conclusion was that gender-based violence was a feature of the community and a way of life for females from a young age. As articulated by the youth, girls were beaten by mothers, fathers and brothers and other elders in the family. However, although people were aware that women were being beaten in their homes, there appeared to be an unwritten code of silence surrounding the issue, highlighting Morrell's (2003) concern that hegemonic masculinity and emphasized femininity thrive on the silence surrounding issues such as gender violence and HIV/AIDS.

Alternative masculinities

This study demonstrated that young men grapple with change in different ways, both in the social context and in the intimate sphere. While some participants defended established masculinities, others sought to explore new possibilities by constructing new and different masculinities. Dominant discourses may therefore be contrasted to alternative positions, to less dominant discourses and to silences. While the majority of the sample aligned themselves with hegemonic masculinity, some responses suggest that men are renegotiating their relationship with current masculinities. In my research, some participants reflected on masculinity and challenged traditional norms, adding weight to the perception of the fluidity, multiplicity and the contextual

nature of masculinity. The discourses of these participants demonstrate openness to new ways of thinking and to relating to women in ways that are not oppressive.

Drawing on these notions of the dual nature of discourses (Strebel, 1997; Yates, 2001), it can be said that the reproductions, contradictions, contestations, alternatives euphemisms and nuances revealed by this research all offer spaces for change and point to a possibility for more positive responses. This study suggests that some men do want to distance themselves from patriarchy for various reasons. Beneficiaries of an oppressive system can come to acknowledge its oppressiveness and the negative impact in areas of their lives. Men may be committed in important ways to women's welfare and may desire better, more fulfilling lives for women and for themselves.

The study also revealed a range of influences, including the family, church and culture, on the attitudes and behaviours of the youth towards women. However, a major conclusion was that peers played a significant role in constructing versions of masculinity. Dominant male peer group cultures seemed to influence boys to conform to certain stereotypical behaviours, for example, using sex to prove manhood or having multiple partners. A further conclusion was that the diverse educational needs of these young men were not adequately met at school, particularly with regard to conflict resolution, relationships with girls, sexual health and the risks of HIV and AIDS.

Participatory methodologies

I mentioned earlier the benefits of employing an interpretive paradigm within a qualitative framework, and that multiple methods of analysis were advantageous in capturing the nuances, silent messages and underlying meanings of the sample of young men in this study. I would like to comment specifically on the use of focus groups as a data gathering method. My research resonates with the views of Hyde et al (2005), Crossley (2002) and Ulin (2002) that focus groups influence the data gathering process and can have an educational and transformative potential. The value of this method is further supported by Madriz (2000) who, in addition to viewing focus groups as an effective data-gathering technique, maintains that they can have a consciousness-raising role as sharing and interaction take place. Upon concluding

each individual interview, the interviewer explored with the participants their experiences of their involvement in the research, and whether participation influenced them in any way. All the interview participants stated that being part of the focus group interactions was a valuable learning experience for them. The majority reflected on the value of group thinking as opposed to individual reflection on issues. Many participants stated that the focus groups helped them to 'open up' on important topics that were not usually discussed at school. They also found that listening to different points of view gave them food for thought.

Responses indicated an increased awareness that the participants could be at risk of HIV, and several of the youth mentioned the need to take preventive measures. This was seen in relation to dominant masculine behaviour, as stated by Dumisane: *"What I learnt is that nowadays, being a Casanova means death"*. He went on to emphasize that HIV and AIDS must be taken seriously. Khetha stated that he had learnt a lot about how to treat women. His girlfriend was keen to know what he was learning in the groups and they had considerable discussion on relationships, including sexuality and HIV/AIDS. Several participants - Dumisane, Vusi, Jacob and Thabo - stated that the group interaction had encouraged them to think seriously about their own behaviour. As a result, they had decided that it was wrong to beat girls and that they deserved respect. In addition, they spoke of the need for couples in relationships to communicate more to resolve issues. Jacob explained that being in the group highlighted for him the negative aspects of beating. He stated: *"I used to do it, but now I think about it. I even discussed it with some friends, we all agreed – beating is bad."* Likewise, Nkosi shared with some friends that participation in the group helped him to view relating to women differently. The consequence for him was that: *"Like the issue of harassing girls, you see, we ended up agreeing that it is bad to do that."* For Thabo, being in the groups *"woke up my mind so that I can see things in a different way."* He spoke of the necessity for trust and fidelity in relationships. Vusi explained how he tried to tell some of his friends that it was not good to beat girls. However, it was difficult for him because they seemed to have fixed mindsets. Several participants suggested that if sessions of this nature continued to be held at school, more young people could be helped to view relationships with girls differently. Although influencing participants was not one of the direct aims of the research,

these responses bear testimony to the potential of participatory methodologies such as focus groups to have positive spin-offs for some participants.

6.5 MAIN IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY

Implications for interventions

The research findings have implications for a range of sectors involved in striving for gender equality. This study provides a clear illustration of the intersection between gender-based violence, sexuality, HIV/AIDS and socio-cultural constructs of gender. Therefore, in addressing these issues, a multi-pronged approach is advocated. A starting point in developing interventions is to move away from stereotyped notions of men/masculinity/domination and women/femininity /subordination. The ultimate goal is not merely to study norms of masculinity and femininity, but to understand the possibilities for a commonly shared humanity not defined in terms of gender.

This study alerts us to the possibility of a range of alternative masculine discourses and masculine positions regarding the ways in which young men relate to females. We need to find creative ways of exploiting such variation. For example, 'being a real man' may mean responsible behaviour in terms of fatherhood and sexual and reproductive behaviour rather than being a Casanova or *isoka*. The actions of individual men in changing behaviour, as well as the social space where individual men and women can negotiate identity, offers hope for broader social change. Getting men to realize the value of changing gender relations and challenging them may be easier if it is emphasized that empowering women does not necessarily mean disempowering men. Men and women will benefit from interventions that question skewed gender roles and relations. Through education and advocacy, it may be possible to create new norms that stress mutuality, responsibility and equality,

Although in the minority, the alternative responses provided spaces for possible shifts in attitudes with regard to violence, sexuality and HIV/AIDS. Along with their strong assertions about women spreading HIV and AIDS, some youth admitted to men having a role to play in prevention. Further exploration of this aspect is likely to

provide direction in the development of interventions. Maximum use should be made of opportunities to encourage alternative forms of talk about sexuality, encourage gender equity, provide safe sex education and promote healthier relationships. One way to do this would be to identify and involve males displaying alternative forms of masculinity in educational programmes.

Schooling sites emphasize patterns of hierarchies, exclusion and power and provide a platform for the performances of masculinities and femininities. It follows that schools are significant sites for gender-related interventions. An additional advantage is that schools can provide an effective channel through which to reach families and communities. As this study focused on school-going youth, I consider some implications of this study regarding sex education for males and females in schools. Two points need to be emphasized here: first, the research participants shared their sense of not being listened to, of being misunderstood and of feeling powerless at school; second, observations indicated that at the participating schools, there were limited planned life-skills and sexuality programmes. While my study focused on adolescents, I acknowledge, as highlighted in Bhana's (2002) research, that gender power positions and struggles surface at a much earlier age in schooling. Therefore considerable attention needs to be given to developing interventions appropriate to younger learners at primary schools.

To tackle gender-based violence in schools and to encourage gender-equitable behaviours and collaborative relationships among learners, schools need to work through the curriculum, the school management, teachers, learners and parents. There must be an understanding of the ways in which dominant masculinizing processes operate to normalize male violence. Violence is not a matter of nature but must be seen as systematic acts of injustice that preserve existing relations of power. Thus work with boys on issues of gender and violence requires a focus on the ways in which violence, domination and oppression are implicated in the construction of idealized masculinity. Given that feminism appears to have played a role in the development of masculinity studies (Section 3.2), feminism may have much to offer by way of providing insights into the lives of boys and girls. Feminist work can underpin the approach utilized with boys on gender and violence issues. However, gender issues must be conceptualized as applying to both boys and girls.

In developing and implementing interventions, the close association between sex and love (Section 5.4.2) needs to be examined. Dissociating the concepts of love and sex does not mean that young people should not have sex with those that they love. Rather, sex education must clarify that sex takes place within a wide range of relationships and settings, many of which are unrelated to romantic love. Sex education needs to enable young people to recognize their own and their partners' needs – be they for sex, love, romance or a combination of these - and to communicate these without having to resort to unsafe sex. Similarly, constructions of sex as an area which males control (Section 5.4.3), limits women's ability to control their own sexual experiences and sexual health. Sex education within the context of HIV and AIDS must therefore challenge these constructions in order to be effective. As women are becoming more vocal about violence in their lives, it may be possible to challenge the discourse of women as the 'other' (Section 5.8) as it relates to women and the stigma of AIDS.

This study highlighted misinformation amongst the youth regarding sexual relationships and the spread of HIV (Section 5.8). Various sources of knowledge and a range of influences on the attitudes and behaviour of the participants were noted. There is limited potential to affect some of these influences, but sexuality education is one influence which can be changed for the better. As advocated by Izugbara (2004), an urgent need exists for well-trained rural adolescent sexuality educators and change agents. Such training should include lessons on culturally responsive approaches and innovative sex education strategies. Because gender power relations influence sexual relations, emphasizing rights around sexuality could help to address asymmetrical gender relations in schools. Such rights could include rights relating to respect for bodily integrity, choice of partner, consensual sexual relations and the right to be sexually active or not (WHO, 2005).

School teachers need to be included in such training to increase awareness of their own classroom practices and their expectations of boys and girls. This is essential in view of the fact that school processes, such as disciplinary measures and recreational facilities, tend to be gender specific. Training can be aimed at enhancing understanding of issues such as power relations, gender and identity, and at

equipping teachers to address the relationship issues faced by learners. In addition, being gendered beings themselves, teachers need to confront their own attitudes and experiences regarding gender and violence (Dunne et al, 2006).

However, simply providing information on protection against ill-health is often insufficient to change behaviour. Cornwall and Wellbourn (2002) caution that changing what people *know* may have no impact on what they *do*. Adding weight to this argument, Wood et al (1998: 235) state that the "knowledge leads to action" model which forms part of the HIV/AIDS prevention campaigns tends to overlook the realities of power dynamics, including the gender inequities which structure heterosexual relationships. One way to address this issue is for sexuality educators to provide counter narratives to challenge a hegemonic masculinity that views female sexuality as dangerous and diseased and men's sexual behaviour as uncontrollably biologically driven. Condom promotion must be accompanied by knowledge regarding prevailing power relationships, sexual patterns and the context within which sexual and reproductive decisions are made. A supportive approach is advocated where men and women have opportunities to dialogue, in addition to HIV transmission, on issues such as self confidence, intimacy, respect, mutual fidelity, and alcoholism. While sex education may not protect against violent abuse, appropriate sex education can help young people to understand the implications of sexual activity and develop negotiation and refusal skills. Sex education must encompass more than the mechanics of intercourse, contraception and disease prevention. Young people need to learn what behaviours are acceptable, how to refuse inappropriate advances and to respect the wishes and rights of others.

Talk about sex and sexuality is still taboo in many African families and communities. The participants in this study emphasized that parents were out of touch with their needs as adolescents, and sexuality was seldom, if ever, discussed with parents. The integration of parents in rural adolescent sexuality programmes is crucial. Involving parents in educational institutions and exploring creative ways of including parents and other adults in sex education programmes will draw attention to the reality of adolescent sexuality, HIV and AIDS. Encouraging "let's talk about sex" discussions among parents and children may help to demystify sex and sexuality and reinforce ideas about responsible sexual behaviour. It will be necessary to ensure

that such programmes respect local cultural values, while attempting to effect change. However, by encouraging this generation to discuss these issues, change in the longer term is likely to be facilitated.

On a broader level, we need to explore ways in which the community themselves, irrespective of gender and generation, can be included in developing a positive awareness of how issues of sex, sexuality and relationships are central to their development and well being. A multi-sectoral strategy that connects with the reality of rural people, the home, media, school, and church is needed and could be developed. We need to ensure that work done with males, both in and out of school, is conducted within a framework that includes addressing the vast inequalities and injustices in the lives of females. Creating safe spaces for young people to articulate their needs and concerns, discuss the changes they would like others to make in their attitudes and behaviours, and develop a critical analysis of how to resolve their concerns, is certain to make a difference to youth and to society. To this end, the suggestions of Sathiparsad and Taylor (2005) to appoint social workers in schools, particularly in rural areas where the lack of resources aggravates social problems, needs to be seriously considered.

This study highlights the firm entrenchment of patriarchy and the poor socio-economic conditions that fuel unequal gender relations and pathologies such as violence and HIV/AIDS. What also seems to be required is a shift beyond individual behaviour change to approaches that tackle contextual factors such as poverty and discrimination. Establishing new forms of culture entails challenging current economic realities. Changing gendered power relations and deep rooted norms and values requires more than working with those that are vulnerable. It calls for approaches that also work with those whose actions and attitudes affect the vulnerability of others.

Although not part of this study, but based on its findings, I have begun developing an intervention focusing on gender for implementation at secondary schools in the Ugu District. The programme targets both girls and boys. At present, the initial sessions of the programme are being piloted at the three schools which participated in this study. The programme is implemented by facilitators who I have trained. Depending

on the goals of the sessions, some single-sex sessions are held while others combine boys and girls. Appendix E provides an example of two exercises which are included in the programme.

Implications for future research

This study demonstrated that adolescent relationships and sexual behaviour are part of a complex, ambivalent and contested field and calls for research and programmes that provide opportunities for rural male youth to re-examine the dominant norms of sexuality, masculinity and relationships in which they engage. The findings of my study point to a need for future research in this area. Research on the lived experiences of boys and young men in relation to violence is essential to further understanding of the construction of masculine identities, social and cultural conditioning, and to guide the development of appropriate interventions.

Research with rural female youth on their experiences of relationships with males needs to be expanded. Such research, however, must incorporate unpacking reciprocal responses between young men and women regarding their relationships with one another. It is important to listen to what men and women say about sex and their relationships. Attention must be given to how young men and women negotiate relationships, including the silences, the cultural expectations, and the taken-for-granted behaviours within such relationships. Similar research in urban contexts will provide a fuller picture of the diverse influences and the complex linkages between the power relations of gender, sexuality, race and various constructions of masculine and feminine identity. Such research will also highlight contextual influences on the construction of gender. Participatory methodologies such as focus group interviews are recommended for research aimed at gathering data on gender relations. As my study has demonstrated, such group interaction has the potential to generate valuable qualitative data and to have a positive influence on participants. By providing a context for boys to reflect on hegemonic assumptions about masculinity and their own behaviour, focus groups open up new possibilities of masculine enactment. Furthermore, discourse analytic research may provide useful guidelines for sex education curricula.

Implications for policy

In developing gender equity programmes, institutions and organizations need to develop policies based on their own needs. Policies to address gender-based violence may occur against the backdrop of existing policies and Acts. The South African Constitution and the clauses contained in the Bill of Rights affirm the democratic values of human dignity, equality and freedom. The constitutional mandate of the Commission on Gender Equality is to promote, protect and monitor gender equality in South Africa. The South African Schools Act, 84 of 1996 advocates a schooling system free of racism, sexism and all forms of unfair discrimination and intolerance. As explained earlier, the Department of Education appointed a Gender Equity Task Team (GETT) in 1997 to work towards eliminating sexism, sexual harassment and violence throughout the education system. Although some strides have been made, addressing the complexity of social interactions and social and cultural influences has proved to be enormously challenging (Wolpe, 2005).

My observations and informal discussions with professionals involved in the education sector indicate that while attention has been given to curriculum development and to some policies and programmes incorporating gender issues, the implementation of such programmes often falls down. Some examples are the Department of Education's 'Issues on gender in schools', the Government's HIV/AIDS Programme, and the Life Orientation/Life Skills Learning Area within Curriculum 2005. At schools in Ugu North, gender issues are absent from the curriculum. One reason for this is that teachers feel overwhelmed by their existing workloads and do not have the necessary training to deal effectively with gender issues. Aspects such as these must be considered in planning. Translating policies into action remains a major challenge.

My final comment is that eliminating gender-based violence does not rest solely within the education sector. A multi-sectoral approach with commitment from the education, health, welfare and other sectors will go a long way towards creating safer environments for adults and children. The health-promoting schools initiative referred

to in Chapter Three has the potential to draw together the various sectors towards achieving this goal.

6.6 CONCLUSION

This final chapter provided an overview of the overall research process and the restrictions and restraints of the study. The conclusions drawn are guided by the aims of the study. Finally, implications of this study for interventions, future research and policy are discussed. From the findings, I have argued that there are alternative forms of masculinities which contest the violent and dominant forms. As Barker observes:

For every young man who recreates traditional and sometimes violent versions of manhood, there is another young man who lives in fear of this violence. For every young man who hits his female partner, there is a brother or son who cringes at the violence he witnesses men using against his sister or his mother. For every young man who refuses to use a condom, there is another who discusses sexual health issues with his partner. In discussions of male 'social pathologies, particularly in discussions related to HIV/AIDS and to violence, these alternative voices are often lost. (2005:6)

The surfacing of non-violent masculinities in my research signifies hope for change in gender relations in society.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: ETHICAL CLEARANCE FORMS

**APPENDIX B: LETTERS REQUESTING
CONSENT**

APPENDIX C: RESEARCH INSTRUMENTS

**APPENDIX D: SUMMARY OF EMPIRICAL
STUDIES**

**APPENDIX E: EXTRACTS FROM PILOT
INTERVENTION IN PROGRESS**

APPENDIX A



**UNIVERSITY OF
KWAZULU-NATAL**

Nelson R Mandela School of Medicine

SCHOOL OF FAMILY AND PUBLIC HEALTH MEDICINE

DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNITY HEALTH

Nelson R Mandela School of Medicine

Faculty of Health Sciences

Private Bag 7

Congella

4013

15 July 2006

To whom it concern.

Dear Colleagues

Reshma Sathiparsad is a participant in a SANPAD funded research project entitled "Can school based Intervention help to reduce abuse and gender violence against female learners in KwaZulu Natal, South Africa".

The Project is a participant between the Nelson R Mandela School of Medicine, the School of Social Work and Community Development, and Maastricht University.

As part of the project, Ms Sathiparsad undertook her PhD study entitled: "Gender-based violence and masculinity: a study of rural male youth". The study was approved by the University of KwaZulu – Natal Research Ethics Committee. The relevant documents are attached.

Yours Sincerely

Professor CC Jinabhai

Head: Department of Public Health Medicine
School of Family and Public Health Medicine
University of KwaZulu-Natal, Private Bag 7
Congella, 4013, Durban
Phone 031 260 4386, Fax 031 260 4211



Nelson R Mandela
School of Medicine



30 March 2004

Professor C C Jinabhai
Community Service
Nelson R Mandela School of Medicine

Dear Professor Jinabhai

PROTOCOL : Can a school based intervention help to reduce abuse and gender violence against female learners in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. C C Jinabhai, Community Health. Ref.: E029/04

The Research Ethics Committee considered the abovementioned application and made various recommendations. These recommendations have been addressed and the protocol was provisionally approved on 28 March 2004 **subject to:**

Permission being obtained from the Department of Education.

Only when full ethical approval is given, may the study be started.

Yours sincerely

Cheryl Borresen
Medical Research Administration

Permission for study granted.

Mrs Mthuli:.....

Date:.....

MEMORANDUM

To : Professor C C Jinabhai
Community Health
Nelson R Mandela School of Medicine

From : Professor A Dhai
Chair : Research Ethics Committee
Nelson R Mandela School of Medicine

22 April 2004

PROTOCOL : Can a school based intervention help to reduce abuse and gender violence against female learners in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. C C Jinabhai, Community Health. Ref.: E029/04

The Research Ethics Committee considered the abovementioned application and made various recommendations. These recommendations have been addressed and the protocol was approved by consensus at a full sitting of the Research Ethics Committee at its meeting held on 6 April 2004 pending the submission of the isiZulu translation of Information to Participants, permission from the Department of Education and the signature of R Sathiparsad.

The outstanding documentation and signature have now been received and the study may begin as at today's date - 22 April 2004.

This approval is valid for one year from 6 April 2004. To ensure continuous approval, an application for recertification should be submitted a couple of months before the expiry date.



PROFESSOR A DHAI
Chair : Research Ethics Committee

MEMORANDUM

To : Professor C C Jinabhai
Community Health
Nelson R Mandela School of Medicine

From : Professor A Dhai
Chair : Research Ethics Committee
Nelson R Mandela School of Medicine

2 March 2005

PROTOCOL : Can a school based intervention help to reduce abuse and gender violence against female learners in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. C C Jinabhai, Community Health. Ref.: E029/04

I wish to advise you that the application for recertification dated 4 February 2005 for the above study has been approved by a sub-Committee of the Biomedical Research Ethics Committee. At a full sitting of the Biomedical Research Ethics Committee to be held on 5 April 2005, the Committee will be advised of this decision.



Cheryl Borresen
Medical Research Administration



UNIVERSITY OF
KWAZULU-NATAL

Research Office
BIOMEDICAL RESEARCH ETHICS ADMINISTRATION
Nelson R Mandela School of Medicine
Private Bag 7, Congella 4013
KwaZulu-Natal, SOUTH AFRICA
Tel: 27 31 2604769
Fax: 27 31 2604609
Email: buccas@ukzn.ac.za
Website: www.ukzn.ac.za

22 June 2006

Professor C C Jinabhai
Community Health
Nelson R Mandela School of Medicine

Dear Professor Jinabhai

PROTOCOL: Can a school based intervention help to reduce abuse and gender violence against female learners in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. C C Jinabhai, Community Health. Ref.: E029/04

I wish to advise you that your application for **recertification** dated 20 June 2006 for the above protocol has been approved by a sub-committee of the Biomedical Research Ethics Committee.

A full sitting of the Committee will be advised of this decision at a meeting to be held on 25 July 2006.

Yours sincerely

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Suraiya Buccas'.

SURAIYA BUCCAS
Ethics Research Administration

APPENDIX B



**UNIVERSITY OF
KWAZULU-NATAL**

Nelson R Mandela School of Medicine

**SCHOOL OF FAMILY AND PUBLIC HEALTH MEDICINE
DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNITY HEALTH
Nelson R. Mandela School of Medicine
Faculty of Health Sciences**

☒ Private Bag 7, Congella 4013 South Africa

Telephone: (+27) 031 260 4287

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E-mail: dch@med.ukzn.ac.za

pillaym@ukzn.ac.za

Website: www.ukzn.ac.za/dep/commhealth

15 October 2004

The Principal

Dear Principal

Research project on Gender Violence: Request to work with 10 grade 11 learners in your school for one hour

We are requesting permission to talk to 10 x grade 11 boys for one hour. We would like to get information from them that will help us in developing material for a school programme to reduce HIV/AIDS. We will meet with them at a time that is convenient for you.

Please can parents sign the letters to give permission for their children to participate. We will inform you of the results of the study next year.

Thank you for your assistance.

Sincerely

Dr Myra Taylor



SCHOOL OF FAMILY AND PUBLIC HEALTH MEDICINE
DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNITY HEALTH
Nelson R. Mandela School of Medicine
Faculty of Health Sciences
Private Bag 7
Congella
4013

Dear Parent

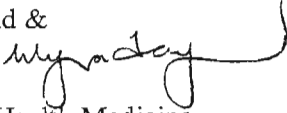
We are doing research about how a school programme can help youth reduce the spread of HIV/AIDS. Research is just the process to learn the answer to a question. We are inviting your child to participate in a research study focusing on gender so that we can encourage behaviour that reduces the spread of HIV/AIDS.

We will come to your child's school and ask 10x grade 11 boys to participate in a discussion group. The discussion will be anonymous and will be tape-recorded with the permission of the group. Four boys will then be invited to participate in three further interviews at weekly intervals. There will be no negative consequences either at school or when you need health care if you decide not to take part. If you agree to take part we hope that the information that we obtain will be used to help other learners in KwaZulu-Natal avoid HIV/AIDS infections. If your child does not want to answer any question, s/he does not have to and if s/he want to withdraw s/he is free to do.

When we have all the results we will come back to your school to tell you the results of the study. Contact details of researcher/s – for further information / reporting of study related adverse events. Dr Myra Taylor. Phone 031 2604499 (work) and 031 2661592 (home)

Contact details of BREC Administrator and Chair – for reporting of complaints / problems :
Biomedical Research Ethics Committee –
Administrator : Ms C Borresen, telephone : (031) 260 4495; Fax : (031) 260 4529 – e-mail:
borresen@ukzn.ac.za

Sincerely

Ms Reshma Sathiparsad &
Dr Myra Taylor 
Research Manager
Department of Public Health Medicine
Nelson R Mandela School of Medicine
University of KwaZulu-Natal
Private Bag 7, Congella



**UNIVERSITY OF
KWAZULU-NATAL**

Nelson R Mandela School of Medicine

**SCHOOL OF FAMILY AND PUBLIC HEALTH MEDICINE
DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNITY HEALTH
Nelson R. Mandela School of Medicine
Faculty of Health Sciences
Private Bag 7
Congella
4013**

Dear Learner

We are doing research about how a school programme can help youth reduce the spread of HIV/AIDS. Research is just the process to learn the answer to a question. We are inviting you to participate in a research study focusing on gender so that we can encourage behaviour that reduces the spread of HIV/AIDS.

We will come to the school and ask you to take part as one of ten grade 11 boys to participate in a discussion.. This interview will be anonymous but will be tape-recorded with your permission. There will be no negative consequences either at school or when you need health care if you decide not to take part. If you agree to take part we hope that the information that we obtain will be used to help other learners in KwaZulu-Natal avoid HIV/AIDS infections. If you do not want to answer any question, you do not have to and if you want to withdraw you are free to do so.

When we have all the results we will come back to your school to tell you the results of the study. Contact details of researcher/s – for further information / reporting of study related adverse events. Dr Myra Taylor. Phone 031 2604499 (work) and 031 2661592 (home)

Contact details of BREC Administrator and Chair – for reporting of complaints / problems :
Biomedical Research Ethics Committee –
Administrator : Ms C Borresen, telephone : (031) 260 4495; Fax : (031) 260 4529 – e-mail:
borresen@ukzn.ac.za

Sincerely

Ms Reshma Sathiparsad
Dr Myra Taylor
Research Manager
Department of Public Health Medicine
Nelson R Mandela School of Medicine
University of KwaZulu-Natal
Private Bag 7, Congella
4013, Durban
Phone 031 2604499; Fax: 031 260 4211



SCHOOL OF FAMILY AND PUBLIC HEALTH MEDICINE
DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNITY HEALTH
Nelson R. Mandela School of Medicine
Faculty of Health Sciences
Private Bag 7
Congella
4013

Dear Learner

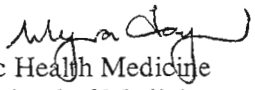
We are doing research about how a school programme can help youth reduce the spread of HIV/AIDS. Research is just the process to learn the answer to a question. We are inviting you to participate in a research study focusing on gender so that we can encourage behaviour that reduces the spread of HIV/AIDS.

We will come to the school and ask you to take part in an interview every week for 3 weeks. This interview will be anonymous but will be tape-recorded with your permission. There will be no negative consequences either at school or when you need health care if you decide not to take part. If you agree to take part we hope that the information that we obtain will be used to help other learners in KwaZulu-Natal avoid HIV/AIDS infections. If you do not want to answer any question, you do not have to and if you want to withdraw you are free to do so.

When we have all the results we will come back to your school to tell you the results of the study.
Contact details of researcher/s – for further information / reporting of study related adverse events. Dr Myra Taylor. Phone 031 2604499 (work) and 031 2661592 (home)

Contact details of BREC Administrator and Chair – for reporting of complaints / problems :
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Administrator : Ms C Borresen, telephone : (031) 260 4495; Fax : (031) 260 4529 – e-mail:
borresen@ukzn.ac.za

Sincerely

Ms Reshma Sathiparsad
Dr Myra Taylor
Research Manager 
Department of Public Health Medicine
Nelson R Mandela School of Medicine
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Private Bag 7, Congella
4013, Durban
Phone 031 2604499: Fax: 031 260 4211

APPENDIX C

FOCUS GROUP TRAINING SCHEDULE

What is a focus group?

How are focus groups different from other groups?

The purpose of focus groups in this research

Starting the group

Following the focus group questioning route

Encouraging interaction

How to handle: domineering members, quiet members, sub-groups, members not taking discussions seriously, difficult personalities, members 'butting in', rude behaviour, too much of focus on one person's input, attention during sessions; silences, sensitive issues, inappropriate responses.

Following leads; using probes appropriately

Moderator participation and responses

When to direct; when to withdraw

Time-keeping during sessions

Termination of sessions

Beginning a new session: recap of the previous session.

Summary of the role of the moderator

Summary of the role of the observer

Questions

INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE FOCUS GROUP OBSERVER

The purpose of observation is to capture the group responses and interactions that are not recorded on the audio tape.

Ensure that the tape recorder is working. Bring spare batteries. Check tape, batteries, quality of sound, volume. Turn/change tape if required during session.

Keep a notebook for notes. Make notes of those aspects that cannot be recorded.

Do not participate in the session unless asked by the moderator.

Observe and record the following during the session:

Behaviour of participants: Are they interested in the discussion? Do they seem relaxed/anxious? Are all the youth participating? Are some particularly withdrawn/aggressive/passionate in their responses? Are participants serious, mocking or lighthearted in their tones?

Patterns of interaction of participants. How are they relating to one another? (agreeing, disagreeing, being supportive)

Non-verbal responses: facial expressions (confusion, shock, much interest, disinterest, eye contact, discomfort)

Gestures: nodding or shaking heads, hand gestures to moderator or other participants.

FOCUS GROUP QUESTIONING ROUTE

A. The general position of women in the community

In your community, who is usually the head of the household?

Probe: What do you think about this system? (Does it work? Is it acceptable to you?)

Who makes important decisions in the home and community ?

Probes: Do women usually rely on men to make decisions? Are men/women better decision makers? How do you know this? Are women consulted at all? Depending on responses, how do women feel about this (if they have no say in decision making).

Are boys and girls treated similarly/differently within the household?

Probes: In what respect? By whom? If different, is this fair to young people? How do girls feel about this? Do they accept/ like being treated differently?

Who is viewed as being stronger – males or females?

Probe: What does being stronger mean? (having more power, being able to make decisions, doing better academically, being more independent, commanding more respect).

B. Exploring the nature of relationships between young men and women

What does being in a love relationship mean?

In boy/girl relationships, who is usually in control of the relationship?

Probe: Who has more power? In what way? Why?

In a relationship, is it essential for a girl to be faithful to a boy?

Probe: If a girl is unfaithful to a boy, what does it say about her?

What do you think about a man having many girlfriends at one time?

Probe: What does this say about the man?

Do you think that, once in a relationship, it is a women's duty to provide sex for the man?

Probe: Are there any other (sexually related) expectations of a woman in a relationship?

Is it okay for a man to force a woman to have sex?

Probes: Under what circumstances is this acceptable? If a woman refuses to have sex, what does it mean?

Is it true that women are known to say "no" to sex when they actually mean "yes"?

Probes: Ask participants to explain their responses.

Are girls entitled to money/gifts/rewards for having sex with a man?

Probe: Under what circumstances?

C. Attitudes and behaviours that constitute violence against women

When girls and boys have problems in their relationships, how are they usually resolved?

Is it sometimes necessary to hit a girl if she does not listen to you or if she behaves in a way that you do not like?

Probes: Under what circumstances is it justifiable to hit a girl?

What purpose does hitting serve?

Do some girls want to be beaten? How do you know this?

Are women in your community often hit/ beaten?

Probes: List some reasons for women being beaten in the community? Who are likely to be the people who beat them? (husbands, boyfriends, fathers, brothers).

Do you think that men have are justified in beating women?

How does the community (leaders, elders, adults, youth) generally perceive violence against women?

Probe: Is it culturally and socially acceptable?

What do we mean when we speak of violent behaviour?

Probes: Is it violent if we:

use abusive words

threaten someone

hit a woman

insult someone

force someone to have sex

follow someone and make them feel uncomfortable

touch part of a persons body without their permission (eg. slap a girl's bottom, pinch breasts, lift up a dress)

rape

D. Rape

What is rape?

Does rape occur in your community?

Does it occur seldom/frequently?

Is it more common among younger or older people?

Do you think that women bring rape upon themselves – by asking for it by the way they dress, talk, sometimes refuse to have sex, make men angry, cure HIV?

What happens to rapists? Do you think they should they be punished? How?

E. Influences on attitudes and beliefs: parents, peers, church, media.

Where do young people learn how to behave towards women?

(parents, church, peers, school, media)

Each of these sources may be explored separately.

Probes:

Which has the strongest influence?

Was there conscious discussion or informal observation?

Do peers discuss with one another how to get their way with girls, what works and what doesn't, the advantages of being coercive and using violence?

What forms of media are influential – radio, TV, newspapers, magazines.

F. Cultural factors (may have come up previously)

What do you understand by culture?

Does culture play a role in how men and women are treated in the community?

Probe: In what way? The influence of Zulu culture?

Do some cultural norms/beliefs/practices allow/encourage violence against women?

Probe: In what ways? Examples of some specific Zulu practices?

Do you think that old and young people have different views concerning violence against women?

Are there any consequences for those engaging in violent behaviour towards women?

Probes: Consequences may include praise, feeling good, being a role model, looked upon as being a real man, anger, rejection.

INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEW TRAINING SCHEDULE

The purpose of interviews

Establishing a relationship with the interviewee: some initial starting points

Your non-verbal communication

Your verbal communication

Pacing the interview

Following the interview guide

Linking focus group questions and responses with interview questions

Picking up on interviewee cues

How to use probes; how much to probe

Asking difficult/sensitive questions

Handling silences

Self-disclosure

Terminating the interview

Summary of your role

Questions

TO THE INTERVIEWER

Familiarize yourself with the interview guide before conducting the interview. Read through the guide several times and prepare well for the interview. If you are not clear about anything, make a note and discuss with Reshma.

Each interview will vary, depending on the responses of the participants. It is important to engage with the, to probe and to obtain detailed, in-depth responses from the participants. However, do not 'force' responses. If you sense that a participant is not ready, uncomfortable, or unwilling to share, convey to him that it is okay and move on to another question.

Remember that the interview is a conversation, NOT a question and answer session. As with the focus groups, remember that you are not meant to respond in any way that may influence participant responses.

Before beginning the interview, explain to the participant that the interview is a follow up from some issues that arose in the focus groups. You are conducting the interviews to obtain more details on some aspects that were discussed. You are interested in the personal development and experiences of the participants who have agreed to be interviewed. The interview will focus primarily on the participants' relationships and their beliefs about relationships. If, at any point, the participant wishes to stop the interview, you need to respect this wish. Before beginning the interview, convey to the learner that he has this right.

INTERVIEW GUIDE

Age:

Family composition:

Family circumstances: employment, support, living arrangements.

Description of family relationships

Probes: Discuss issues relating to decision-making at home, as well as power, control respect. How were you disciplined as a child? This may bring up issues relating to physical/economic/emotional abuse in the family. Would you like to retain this system (where men are in control) when you have a family of your own?

Are things done differently by younger people as compared to their parents. Sibling relationships? Tell me about the females in your family (mother and sisters). Probes relating to intelligence, common sense, decision making abilities, skills, roles and responsibilities, other strengths. Depending on the response, if females have strengths, are they sufficiently acknowledged?

Particularly explore the learner's relationship with his mother and father, and to what extent they, or other family members, influenced his thinking and behaviour.

Personal experience of intimate relationship/s

Have you ever been in a love relationship or relationships? What were these relationships like for you? (different relationships can be explored).

Probes: Did you really love the girl? Control/power in the relationship? How did you show love to each other? Gifts? Money? Sexual activity? Who initiated?

Did you ever have occasion to hit your girlfriend/s. Perhaps some detail on this – what were the circumstances? What effects did this have on the relationship? How did you feel? How do you think the girl felt? Try to get a story/picture of the relationship/s and feelings surrounding this (ascertain whether there was physical and/or emotional abuse, or economic manipulation).

In some of the group discussions, the males felt it was essential to **hit a girl** in order to control her, to bring her into line (especially if she is unfaithful), and to display his love for her. Do you have any comments on this? If you were in a position where a girl was offensive or unfaithful to you, what do you think you would do? Depending on response, do you think that you may hit her? What other behaviour by a girl is not acceptable and will cause you to hit her? How do you feel after hitting a girl?

Was there any time when you had sex with a girl when she did not want to – against her will? (discuss the circumstances and consequences).

As discussed in the groups, relationships are sometimes difficult. If you are having a problem with a girl, is it okay to:

- use abusive words

- threaten someone

- hit a girl/woman

- insult someone (calling names – whore, cheap, bitch)

- force someone to have sex

- touch a girl's body against her will

Explore if the participant has engaged in any of these behaviours.

How do girls feel about the above? (expect it, acceptance, hurt?)

Rape

Rape was also discussed in the focus groups? Do you know anyone who has raped someone or who has been raped? Under what circumstances does rape occur? (If the girl is not willing to have sex, dresses in a certain way, asks for it, is very sexy, if she has been drinking). Are men able to control their sexual urges? Do men's uncontrollable sexual urges contribute to rape?

HIV AND AIDS

During the focus groups mention was made of the spread of HIV and AIDS. How do you think people become infected?

Does the relationship between men and women influence the spread of HIV/AIDS? How? (coercive sex, condom usage, infidelity-multiple partners, rape).

Do females contribute to the spread of HIV/AIDS? In what ways?

Do you think that male attitudes/behavioural change help to prevent the spread of HIV/AIDS? How?

Do you think that you can get HIV/AIDS? How? What will it take to stop the spread of the disease?

Influences on attitudes and behaviour

Who or what influenced you the most regarding your attitude towards girls? (parents, culture, school, church, peers, media). Explain. What was appealing about that particular influence?

Let's look at the cultural expectations of women. Think about the women in your family and community. Do you think that culture influences the way in which women are viewed and treated? (Explore a couple of cultural practices and beliefs – *ilobolo*, virginity testing). Is it important to retain these practices? Explain.

Experience of research participation

What did it mean to you to be part of this process (participating in the focus groups and interviews?)

Has being a participant influenced you and your thinking in any way? Explain.

Did you share your group experiences with others? Who? Do you think that discussions and sharing information with other male learners at schools may influence them to think more deeply about their relationships with females? If yes, any ideas on how this could be done.

APPENDIX D

EMPIRICAL STUDIES ON GENDER – BASED VIOLENCE

This table provides a summary of findings of selected international studies and local studies. Although the samples are not, in all instances, youth, and all the studies cited were not conducted in strictly rural contexts, the research outcomes are of significance to this study. All the studies reviewed explore male and/or female experiences, attitudes, beliefs and behaviour relating to gender-based violence. Even where the sample consisted only of females, one of the aims was to obtain information about the behaviour of males towards females.

Study cited and context	Sample size and data collection	Major findings
Robinson (2005) Australia Context: urban	<p>Male and female learners aged 12-17 years from 14 Australian secondary schools.</p> <p>In this ten-year study, data collection took the form of:</p> <p>In depth interviews with 112 girls and 88 boys</p> <p>A questionnaire on experiences of sexual violence completed by 148 boys and 146 girls</p> <p>Surveys and in-depth interviews conducted with teachers and administrators, observations of classroom and schoolyard activities, and focus group discussions with students and teachers.</p>	<p>High levels of boys sexually harassing girls were reported. Harassing behaviour established hegemonic masculine status for boys and increased their acceptance and status among other boys.</p> <p>Sexual harassment was viewed as normal behaviour. Justifications such as "boys will be boys" and "it's in our nature" were common.</p> <p>Some boys, girls and teachers claimed that some girls (read as tarty, slutty and fair game) deserved to be sexually harassed, based on their perceived active sexuality and manner of dress.</p> <p>Some boys desired to invest in alternative masculinities But feared ridicule and criticism from other boys.</p>
Arriaga and Foshee (2004) USA Context: urban	<p>The sample consisted of 526 eighth and ninth graders (280 girls and 246 boys) aged 12-17.</p> <p>Self report questionnaires were completed over a six-month period.</p>	<p>22% of the participants observed parental violence at some stage</p> <p>14% of the total sample reported having perpetrated dating violence</p> <p>26% reported having been a victim of dating violence.</p> <p>Although boys and girls were equally likely to be victims, girls experienced more severe violence than that of males.</p> <p>The effect of friend dating violence was more effective than inter-parental violence in influencing the participants own perpetration or victimization.</p>

<p>Frosh et al (2002) London, UK</p> <p>Context: urban</p>	<p>The sample consisted of 245 boys and 27 girls aged 11-14 at schools.</p> <p>Thirty-six group interviews with boys only, and nine with mixed groups of boys and girls, were conducted. Seventy one boys and twenty four girls were interviewed individually. The group and individual interviews sought to obtain information about boys.</p>	<p>Findings revealed that popular masculinity involved 'hardness', antagonism to school-based learning, sporting prowess and having a cool, casual attitude.</p> <p>Boys posed a number of gendered oppositions involving denigration and idealization of femininity. While they asserted themselves as tough and active, some described girls as more mature in relation to their schoolwork, friendships and emotional confidences.</p> <p>The girls described boys as being generally immature, irresponsible and troublesome, while they saw themselves as being mature, sensible and conscientious. Bad behaviour was attributed to peer pressure as it was felt that boys on their own were not bad.</p> <p>The girls did not want 'nice' boys as boyfriends, but boys who were witty and sporty.</p> <p>Many of the boys described their mothers as being sensitive and emotionally closer to them, while their fathers tended to be distant and detached.</p>
<p>Kaestle et al (2005) North Carolina, US</p> <p>Context : urban</p>	<p>The study sample consisted of 6548 adolescents (3767 females and 2781 males) in grades 7-12 who reported being in a heterosexual relationship.</p> <p>The study followed several phases. Data were collected using self-administered questionnaires and a sample of individual interviews.</p>	<p>27% of the sample reported experiencing some form of violence victimization in their relationship, and many reported multiple forms of violence victimization. Insulting and swearing were the most common actions, but many also reported physical violence</p> <p>A further finding was that violent victimization was more likely to occur in relationships that included sexual intercourse. The authors concluded that because sexual intercourse indicates greater emotional intensity within the relationship, it may foster feelings of jealousy and a greater need for power, increasing the risk of partner violence.</p>

<p>Koenig et al (2004) Rakai, Uganda</p> <p>Context: rural</p>	<p>4279 women of reproductive age in partnerships participated in the study.</p> <p>The study took the form of a community based survey.</p>	<p>24% of the women reported that their current partners had forced them to have sex at some point. 16% indicated that forced sex occurred frequently. The most common type of force was pushing, pulling, or holding down the female partner (78%), verbal threats by the male partner (21%), slapping (5%) and threatening gestures (4%).</p> <p>Wives experienced more sexual coercion than girlfriends or casual partners</p> <p>Women whose partners consumed alcohol before sex were more likely to report sexual coercion than those women whose partners did not consume alcohol before sex.</p> <p>Women who perceived that their partners were likely to be at risk of HIV were more likely to report sexual coercion than those who felt that their partners were unlikely to be at risk of HIV.</p> <p>Multiple partnerships for men are condoned, while infidelity on the part of women provides grounds for beating or abandonment.</p>
<p>Human Rights Watch (2003) Zambia</p> <p>Context: rural and urban</p>	<p>Girls attending schools</p>	<p>Sexual violence and coercion of young girls by older men were common, often based on the assumption that young girls were HIV negative or that sex with a virgin cured AIDS.</p> <p>'The study reported the widespread phenomenon of "sugar daddies", unscrupulous older men who entice girls into sex with offers of gifts and money.</p> <p>Laws against sexual violence and abuse were inadequately enforced.</p> <p>The subordinate legal status of women and girls make it difficult for them to negotiate safer sex and to protect themselves.</p>

<p>Leach et al (2003) Zimbabwe, Malawi and Ghana</p> <p>Context: rural, urban and peri-urban</p>	<p>Zimbabwe: A sample of 112 girls and 59 boys aged 13-17 were drawn from each of 4 schools.</p> <p>Malawi: A sample of 60 girls and 65 boys were drawn from each of three schools.</p> <p>Ghana: A sample of 48 girls and 27 boys were drawn from each of three schools.</p> <p>In-depth interviews and participatory workshops were held with students. At each site, interviews and/or focus groups were held with teachers, parents and officials such as police officers and officials from education and welfare.</p>	<p>Similar findings emerged at schools in all 3 countries.</p> <p>Girls had sex with teachers for money, class favours or to avoid punishments. Parents and teachers were not always disapproving of teachers or older men (sugar daddies) having sex with schoolgirls. The boys expressed contempt towards male teachers and older men who were unfair competition in securing girls for sex.</p> <p>Boys' harassment of girls was common.</p> <p>There was strong peer pressure to enter into sexual relationships. Having many girlfriends increased status among males.</p> <p>Poverty pushed some girls to engage in transactional sex to meet basic living expenses, placing them at risk of HIV infection.</p> <p>The authors linked sexual violence to other forms of violence in schools such as corporal punishment. 96% of the sample of girls in Zimbabwe, 93.75% in Ghana, and over 80% in Malawi reported having been beaten by teachers at some point. Boys were subject to more beatings by teachers than girls.</p> <p>In all three countries, there was little evidence of action by education authorities, and gender violence was seen as a normal feature of life.</p>
<p>Becker (2000) Namibia</p> <p>Context: rural and urban</p>	<p>The sample consisted of young men both in and out of school. Data were collected using focus group discussions and interviews.</p>	<p>Young Namibian men were required to prove their manhood through sexual conquests, while young women were supposed to be shy and modest. A woman initiating sex in a relationship was abhorred and viewed as being cheap.</p> <p>It was important for men to control relationships. Being a man was synonymous with having authority and dominance.</p> <p>Many of the youth described women as 'big snakes' who schemed men into subordination and exploited them financially.</p>

		<p>Gender relations played a role in the spread of HIV/AIDS. A woman could be beaten if she suggested condom usage. The young men felt that they did not need to use condoms because male promiscuity was widely known and accepted as part of dominant masculinity. While male promiscuity was embraced, female unfaithfulness was shunned.</p> <p>The men felt the need to assert dominance by hitting their girlfriends.</p> <p>Some participants, although a minority, were more considerate and understanding in their attitudes towards women wanting to use condoms. The fluidity of the ethnic construction of masculinities was also observed. Some participants quietly questioned the dominant representations of 'us' and 'them'</p>
<p>Izugbara (2004) Nigeria</p> <p>Context: rural</p>	<p>Focus group discussions and in-depth interviews were held with 120 boys aged 10-21.</p>	<p>Boys likened intercourse to a process of conquering and demystifying girls. Bodily aggression clearly reinforced masculinity and notions of girls as objects to be sexually dominated, controlled and conquered.</p> <p>Male aggression towards women (coercion and beating) was seen as legitimate and beneficial to women.</p> <p>Multiple sexual encounters endorsed the notion of male supremacy.</p> <p>Views expressed were reflections of wider cultural beliefs and values in Nigerian society.</p>
<p>Pattman (2005) Zimbabwe</p> <p>Context: rural and urban</p>	<p>The sample consisted of girls and boys aged 16 who attended school. Data were collected using mixed sex group interviews. The youth also completed diaries daily for a week.</p>	<p>In the groups, the boys dominated the conversation and spoke contemptuously about girls. To the laughter of other boys, they referred to girls as objects, as things which they opened and threw away.</p> <p>Double sexual standards were evident whereby boys derived status and girls were condemned for speaking explicitly about their heterosexual needs and desires.</p> <p>The boys expressed anger at girls who had relations with older rich men (sugar daddies).</p> <p>In their diaries, the boys expressed their vulnerabilities, fears and</p>

		<p>anxieties about heterosexual rejection and about getting beaten by other boys and teachers. Some boys spoke of their love for particular girls, and referred to sex as being intensely personal.</p>
<p>Jewkes et al (2002) Eastern Cape, Northern Province and Mpumalanga, South Africa</p> <p>Context: rural and urban</p>	<p>The cross sectional sample was made up of women aged 18-49 years living from 2232 households. In total 1306 interview questionnaires were completed</p>	<p>The women in the study felt that husbands should be obeyed (83.6%); if a woman errs, her husband has the right to punish her (41.1%); a man demonstrates love by beating his partner (25.2%); it is sometimes or always acceptable for a man to beat his wife (13.6%).</p> <p>Alcohol consumption on the part of the woman was positively associated with domestic violence.</p> <p>A woman may have found herself at risk due to jealousy on the part of the man, or violence associated with trying to leave a relationship.</p>
<p>Wood et al (1998) Kyeitsha (Cape Town), South Africa</p> <p>Context: rural and urban</p>	<p>24 pregnant adolescent women aged 14-18, participated in the study.</p> <p>Data were collected using in-depth interviews with the women.</p>	<p>Male violence and coercive practices dominated sexual relationships. 22 of the 24 women claimed that they were beaten by their partners on multiple occasions and 2 were threatened with assault. Women were commonly assaulted for refusing sexual intercourse as it was assumed that she was 'worn out' by other sexual partners.</p> <p>There was no difference in violent practices between urban and rural boyfriends.</p> <p>For many of these women, being in love was equated with penetrative intercourse and being available sexually. It was unacceptable for a woman to demonstrate desire and initiate sex.</p> <p>Sexual coercion took the form of persuading, pleading, and escalated to hitting, in some cases with belts, shoes and sticks. There was some notion that beating was perceived as an expression of love, and assault was seen as a male strategy to lure women into loving them.</p> <p>The women did not perceive forced intercourse with a boyfriend as rape because of the relationship with the man. A woman suspected or known to have other partners was gang raped by her partner's acquaintances to 'punish' her.</p>

		<p>Reasons for not terminating violent relationships included peer pressure, fear of loneliness, a belief that their partners' actions were demonstrative of love or that boyfriends prioritized them over other girlfriends and their willingness to please their partners.</p> <p>The authors concluded that their findings point to the area of men's sexuality which has been largely ignored on the African continent and needs to be given priority.</p>
<p>Buga, Amoko and Ncayiyana (1996)</p> <p>Transkei, South Africa</p> <p>Context: rural</p>	<p>Twenty six schools in 22 rural districts were selected.</p> <p>1072 adolescent girls and 903 adolescent boys attending schools constituted the sample.</p> <p>Data were collected using self-administered questionnaires.</p>	<p>Research outcomes indicated that 12.7% of 126 thirteen year old girls and 45% of 67 thirteen year old boys were engaged in regular sexual activity. Of the 759 girls from the total sample that reported having sex, 28.4% stated that they were forced by their partners, 20% succumbed to peer pressure, 11.7% wanted to show that they were normal, and 10.1% stated that they wanted to prove that they loved their partners.</p> <p>For many boys, sexual activity centred on proof of normality, peer pressure and self-gratification.</p> <p>250 girls had been pregnant before while 99 boys claimed to have fathered a child. Condom usage was reported to be low (23.5% among sexually experienced girls). 98 girls and 387 boys had a history of sexually transmitted infections</p> <p>The study concluded that adolescent sexuality in rural Transkei characterised by early initiation, a high level of sexual activity, low contraceptive usage and a high rate of pregnancies and STIs, places adolescents at high risk of HIV infection and AIDS.</p>
<p>Dunkle et al (2004)</p> <p>Soweto, South Africa.</p> <p>Context: Urban township</p>	<p>A cross-sectional study of 1366 women presenting for antenatal care at four health centres who accepted routine antenatal HIV testing. The age range of the women was 16-44.</p> <p>Data were collected from individual in-depth interviews with the women.</p>	<p>The study found that women with violent or controlling male partners were at increased risk of HIV infection, even after their own risk behaviour was taken into account.</p> <p>The researchers postulated that abusive men were more likely to have HIV and to impose risky sexual practice on partners.</p>

<p>Selikow, Zulu, and Cedras (2002) Alexandra, Gauteng, South Africa.</p> <p>Context: Urban township</p>	<p>The sample was made up of 50 youth (male and female) between the ages of 18 to 35 in and out of school.</p> <p>The study employed individual interviews and single-sex focus groups</p>	<p>The study found that male dominance, promiscuity and sexually assertive behaviour was generally encouraged. Many women expressed fear of male violence. Dominant or hegemonic masculinity was associated with men wielding control over women, viewing women as possessions, dressing fashionably and driving an expensive car. Having multiple partners was linked to status, prestige and popularity and the acceptability of men's promiscuity was often attributed to tradition. Within constructions of masculine sexuality, males were seen as requiring frequent, varied sex.</p> <p>The authors acknowledged that the youth culture gave rise to destructive gender relations which left both men and women vulnerable to HIV infection through risk taking behaviour, transactional sex, multiple partners and infrequent condom usage.</p> <p>While the youth acknowledged that poverty led some women to engage in sexual relations to pay for basic subsistence needs, the current materialist and consumerist culture also led young women to engage in sexual relations to purchase goods such as fashionable clothes and jewellery.</p> <p>However, the authors acknowledge that both men and women are active in creating masculinities and femininities that make them vulnerable to HIV. They concluded that men are also subjected to covert forms of violence such as being conceived of purely in economic terms. Furthermore, masculinity being defined by youth as men having many women partners can be a form of covert violence that undermines safe sexual practices.</p>
<p>Wood and Jewkes (2001) Ngangeliswe, a township in the Eastern Cape,</p> <p>Context: urban township</p>	<p>30 Xhosa speaking men and women aged between 16-25 years whereby the men discussed their experiences of practising violence, particularly assault and coercive sex against their sexual partners.</p>	<p>Violent male practices, in particular assault, forced sex and verbal threats were a common feature of young peoples' sexual relationships. Most of the young male participants reported having beaten their sexual partners on various occasions. Successful masculinity depended considerably on success in</p>

		<p>controlling one's girlfriend, particularly sexual behaviour. Male rights included expectations of male sexual entitlement and female sexual passivity.</p> <p>Violence took the form of slapping, pushing, hitting with sticks and other objects, assaulting with fists, forcing a woman to have sex, rape, stabbing with a knife and public humiliation.</p> <p>Most reported violence was associated with girls' refusals to become involved in love affairs, their actual or suspected sexual infidelity, their attempts to end relationships, their sexual refusals, their resistance to boyfriends' attempts to dictate the terms of the relationship, and their efforts to undermine their boyfriend's sexual success with other women.</p> <p>Sex was viewed as an inexorable physical need, and sex in exchange for money and clothes was common. While for men multiple sexual partnerships was a defining feature in successful masculinity, a woman with more than one partner was severely criticized and/or beaten. These young men did not directly present violence as a necessary part of successful masculinity. They perceived it to be a defensive strategy based on the notion of taking honourable action if someone has wronged you.</p>
<p>Human Rights Watch (2001) KwaZulu-Natal, Gauteng and Western Cape Provinces, South Africa</p> <p>Context: urban</p>	<p>In-depth interviews were held with 36 girls at 8 public schools about their experiences of sexual violence and sexual harassment. Small group discussions were also held with the girls. Teachers and school administrators were also interviewed about sexual violence and the schools' response to allegations of abuse made by the girls who were interviewed. Interviews were also held with social workers, parents and children.</p>	<p>The girls in the study reported having been raped, sexually assaulted and otherwise sexually abused by teachers.</p> <p>Male learners also perpetrated violence against females, sometimes in dating relationships and sometimes against girls who were perceived to be arrogant and assertive, such as prefects and student leaders. Male students often acted together in raping or sexually assaulting females.</p> <p>Often some form of sexual harassment preceded a girl's experience of sexual violence.</p> <p>School officials failed to respond adequately because they did not know what to do; sometimes they ignored the problem, discouraged</p>

		the girls from reporting the abuse or concealed the existence of such violence.
<p>Thorpe (2002) Durban, South Africa</p> <p>Context: urban African township</p>	<p>'Mobilising young men to care' is a programme developed by DramAidE, an organisation based in KwaZulu-Natal providing HIV and life skills workshops through drama. Fifteen workshops each were held in two township schools in Durban. Thirty learners per school aged 14-16 attended the workshops. Single sex focus groups and short interviews were also held with the learners.</p>	<p>From the exercises and small group dramas, it was evident that power in relationships, including sexual relationships, resided predominantly with the boys. The boys saw power as something that could not be shared – it was hierarchical and linear.</p> <p>In relationships, it appeared that boys looked for sexual gratification and conquest, while girls looked for status and financial rewards.</p> <p>Girls spoke about the inappropriateness of females initiating sex as this indicated promiscuity. Hence they admitted that sometimes girls did say 'no' when they meant 'yes'. Therefore, the boys sometimes experienced difficulty in identifying a real 'no', supposedly justifying sexual coercion.</p> <p><i>ilobolo</i> or bride price was linked to a woman's obligation to have sex. Likewise, if a boy spent money on a girl, he has a right to expect sex on his terms. Notions of sharing, personal and emotional commitment, trust and sensitivity to each other appeared to be absent from boy/girl relationships.</p> <p>Although violence was recognized as a negative aspect of a relationship, it was seen as a necessary part of 'relationship discipline.' For the boys, reasons for violence against girls included her not behaving in accordance with her gender role, refusal to have sex, and perceived unfaithfulness.</p> <p>Sexual intercourse is of utmost importance in a relationship. A boy appears foolish if he has a girlfriend with whom he does not have sex.</p> <p>The programme highlights the importance of men's involvement in addressing gender inequality and bringing about behaviour changes.</p>

<p>Leclerc-Madlala (1999) St Wendolin's Mission, Durban, South Africa</p> <p>Context : Peri-urban African township</p>	<p>Participants included 32 school going youth (males and females), eighteen women and fourteen men. Ages ranged from 15 -18 years inclusive. Data were collected using group discussions and in-depth interviews.</p>	<p>Communication between parents and children was poor, with corporal punishment used as the main form of disciplinary action.</p> <p>Women were considered to be the primary carriers of diseases including HIV. The traditional ideal of masculinity and status was associated with having multiple sexual partners. However, it was demeaning for females to have many boyfriends.</p> <p>Sexual intercourse was central to male-female relationships. Without sex, there was no relationship.</p> <p>Gender power relations were characterized by the men being in charge and the women being 'under control.'</p> <p>The overall perception was that Zulu women were transforming and challenging traditional female roles such as the need for female fidelity.</p> <p>Sex for financial gain was a common practice, often encouraged by parents.</p> <p>Men accused women of using witchcraft or 'love medicines' to 'trap' men. Some forms of witchcraft they maintained, also caused HIV/AIDS.</p>
<p>Varga & Makubalo (1996) KwaZulu-Natal.</p> <p>Context : rural and urban</p>	<p>85 pregnant African primary health ante-natal clinic attendees aged 19 years and younger were interviewed</p>	<p>The majority of the women reported that refusing sex might result in physical abuse, termination of the relationship or financial hardship. These factors led to the girls not refusing sex.</p> <p>42% said partners refused to use condoms as it made sex less pleasurable. 58% of the women avoided requesting condom use as they feared physical abuse or rejection.</p> <p>Partners do not discuss sexual issues and AIDS.</p> <p>For many young women, sexual situations are fraught with physical violence, coercion and female powerlessness. Sexual violence was regarded as normal and was expected and accepted by women.</p>

APPENDIX E

ACTIVITY 4: Exploring love relationships

Time: 20 minutes

Materials: statements (Appendix A); pens; paper



Notes for facilitators:

Split the larger group into sub-groups. Give each group three statements and fifteen minutes to discuss them. Participants must consider whether or not each statement is true and provide reasons for their answers.

After the group work is completed, ask the students to share their responses. Learners must not be judged; all answers must be accepted. Generate a discussion about each statement after the group has shared with the class.

It is important to make the maximum use of each statement to educate and shift perceptions of learners where necessary. This exercise can lead to very interesting debates around relationship issues!

Example – show illustration provided in Appendix A: “If someone wants to have sex with you it means that they really love you.” Group provides its thoughts on the validity of this statement. Facilitators generate the discussion by asking probing questions such as:



What is going on here?

Can couples love each other and still decide not to have sex?

Is it a person’s right to demand sexual intercourse of a partner?

What are some reasons for someone to refuse to engage in sex?

What other ways can couples demonstrate love?

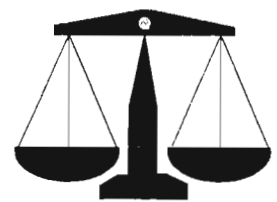
How many love relationships can boys/girls have at one time?



Statements on love relationships and commentary:

1. Truth and respect are a normal part of a healthy relationship.
These are important aspects of any meaningful relationship. (For more information, refer to Session 1 on values.) Truthfulness is linked to trust, as it is difficult to have trust in a relationship where people are dishonest with one another. In healthy relationships, trust grows over time when a person feels that they can rely on the other to be truthful. Even if people differ in their views, this should not affect their respect for one another. Respect in a relationship is related to having trust and honesty as values.
2. If someone wants to have sex with you it means that they really love you.
Sex does not mean love. People who love each other do have sex, but people who don’t love each other also have sex for different reasons. We should not have sex just to convince our partners that we love them. There are other ways of showing love.
3. Some men show love by hitting their partners.
If you really love someone, why would you want to inflict pain on that person? Physical pain (or any other type of pain) does not mean love.
4. If your partner is jealous, it means that he/she really cares about you.
People are sometimes jealous of their partners’ interactions with others. A certain amount of jealousy is normal. However, a very possessive and destructive type of jealousy can harm a relationship and the individuals concerned. Partners may place restrictions on each other such as whom to talk to, where to go or not to go, how to dress or not to attend school. A truly caring person will facilitate, not restrict, another person’s development.

5. A man must buy expensive gifts to show that he really loves a woman.
Love can be demonstrated in many ways. Buying gifts is one of them. However, expensive gifts alone do not demonstrate love. Understanding, respect, companionship, communication, thoughtfulness and consideration are just as, if not more, important.
6. It is important that people get to know each other well before engaging in sexual activity.
For sexual activity to be meaningful between two people, it is preferable that they know each other well. That way, they can both be sure that they want to engage in sexual activity.
7. If a person refuses to have sexual intercourse with you, it means that the person does not love you.
A person may not be ready and may need time before deciding to have sexual intercourse. Actually the person may deeply love you and may feel that to preserve the relationship, it is better to take it at a slower pace. There must be mutual agreement between partners to engage in sex.
8. In a relationship, it is essential that the man make the important decisions.
Joint decision making between partners is preferable. Each person is listened to and his/her views are respected. In this way, both people feel that they have contributed and are responsible for the decision. Having a balance of power in relationships, where sharing and collaboration are valued, is most important.
9. It is shameful to talk about sex.
As with other issues, talking about sex is a way of sharing ideas, obtaining knowledge, exploring concerns and learning. Rather than being shameful, it is healthy to communicate about sex so that you can evaluate your choices adequately and make informed decisions.
10. Having many sexual partners at one time is really cool.
It is more satisfying to have a single meaningful sexual relationship at any one time. There is nothing cool about contracting or spreading sexually transmitted infections. It is uncool to cause yourself or another person to get sick.
11. Boys cannot control their sexual urges.
As with other urges (eating, drinking, fighting), all people can control their sexual urges. It is important to think carefully about the consequences of an action or behaviour before engaging in it. We are all capable of evaluating our choices, no matter how much we want something.
12. Talking about our problems to other people is a sign of weakness.
It is a sign of strength to talk about our problems. Bottling up issues is likely to make the problem worse. It is usually helpful to talk to someone that we trust.



GENDER VIOLENCE PREVENTION PROGRAMME

ROLE PLAY

Role- players: Big T, Mzo, shop-keeper (Mr. Ngubane)

Mzo and Big T are walking home from school. They stop at the local spaza shop.

Big T: Sawubona, baba. One cigarette please.

Mr Ngubane: Haai, you already owe me for last week's cigarettes. When you pay me, you'll get another cigarette.

Big T: I told you I will pay you on Friday when my father gives me money.

Mr. Ngubane: And last Friday's money?

Big T: Aw, just one please. I'm not a thief. I will definitely pay on Friday.

Mr Ngubane: This is the last cigarette I'm giving you. A young boy like you shouldn't be smoking anyway. You boys will die young – I don't know what they teach you at school nowadays.

Big T and Mzo continue walking, with Big T smoking his cigarette. He offers it to Mzo.

Mzo: No thanks, I don't smoke.

Big T laughs and mockingly says: No thanks, I don't smoke, I don't drink alcohol. What do you do? Next you'll be saying that you don't have sex with your girlfriend.

Mzo: Actually, I don't .

Big T (laughs loudly): What? No sex? What's the point of having a girlfriend then?

Mzo: We can enjoy other things. She wants to wait until she is older to have sex.

Big T: Brother. There is no such thing as waiting to have sex. If you love someone now, you have sex now. Before you know it, she'll be seeking sex from someone else. It's up to you to satisfy her. Show her that you are a man.

Mzo: What if she gets pregnant? I can't support a child.

Big T: If she gets pregnant, it may not even be your child. Nowadays, the girls are sleeping with many boys. Why should you be responsible?

Mzo: I really love this girl. She's not like other girls.

Big T: What's love, anyway? Brother, you must wake up and live. Don't be foolish. She's probably not sleeping with you because she's doing it with someone else. You are the fool here.

Mzo is left with many questions in his head. Is his girlfriend sleeping with someone else? Should he insist on having sex? Maybe he is a sissy. Most of the boys in his class smoke and go to the drinking house (shebeen) on Fridays. Yes, a boy must show that he knows how to do it. He has not done it before. Maybe if he has a drink and a smoke, it will all come naturally. That is how most boys do it. He does not want the other boys to laugh at him.

Discussion with the group on what Mzo should do. Should he follow Big T's advice. Consider advantages and disadvantages and some consequences. Should he follow his own mind and trust his girlfriend? Discuss some advantages and disadvantages of this.

Discuss: To what extent do peers influence our behaviour? How far should we go to please peers? These influences may be positive as well. Final point: even if something feels or looks good at the time, we must consider the consequences of our actions, and whether the consequences are desirable. Can we cope with these consequences? Are they in keeping with our general goals (where we want to be in our lives).

Homework: Write your own experience of when you were influenced in your thinking and behaviour by a friend. It may be a positive or negative experience. How did you feel? Do you think you will let yourself be influenced by this person again? Why?