RISKY SEXUAL BEHAVIOUR AND CONSTRUCTIONS OF MASCULINITIES AMONG SOUTH AFRICAN TEENAGE INDIAN BOYS IN THE CONTEXT OF HIV/AIDS

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By

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<u>Declaration</u>

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<u>Dedication</u>

<u>This thesis is dedicated to:</u>

My parents Nelson & Shamala Ganas.

My sisters Lerisha & Alicia Ganas.

My partner Avishka Ramdaw.

My closest friends Shivek Inder; Randhir Bharuth; Luvern Madurai;Kishan Bhaijnath; Amith Sukran.

You have all been by my side throughout this journey. You all have supported me and encouraged me to get through this and for that I am forever grateful.

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Abstract

To guide effective responses to the HIV/AIDS epidemic that has fatally plagued South Africa, greater research targeting adolescents needs to be undertaken. Whilst a majority of HIV/AIDS studies focus on the black South African population, less work has been done focusing on the rest of the population of South Africa. HIV/AIDS does not discriminate. It affects and impacts on the lives of all South Africans.

This study set to out to explore the constructions of masculinity and risky sexual behavior by South African teenage Indian boys. Currently very little is known about how South African Indian boys construct masculinities as well how they perceive engagement in risky sexual behavior. This under-researched topic was the basis for undertaking this study. Using Connell's (1996) theory on masculinities as a framework, I delved into the lives and experiences of South African teenage Indian boys and sought to gain further insight to an understanding of the factors that influence the way these boys construct their masculinities and risky sexual behaviors in the context of HIV/AIDS.

Using a case study methodology, I interviewed ten teenage Indian boys from a co-ed high school on the Kwa-Zulu Natal south coast. Findings revealed that boys' constructions of masculinities are influenced by various factors. Some boys were influenced by boys who displayed hegemonic masculine traits. Other boys opposed the traditional ideologies of masculinities and constructed their masculinities based on their own belief systems and perform their masculinities differently on the basis of their experiences. The study also found several groupings that boys adopted in constructing themselves and other boys. When it came to risky sexual behavior, the study found that the Indian boys were misinformed about sex. Further analysis of the data identified that their construction of masculinity often developed through peer acceptance and this was informed by the desire to elevate oneself amongst the peer group. Often this led to engagements in risky sexual behavior. Multiple sexual partners, refusal to seek advice in some instances and the pressure of peers were ways in which the boys asserted their masculinities, often opening themselves up to sexual risk.

The study calls on educational institutions to increase their role in educating the youth of South Africa about sexually risky behaviours. I also suggest that these institutions amend their policies to curb bullying, violence and illegal activities.

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

1.1) Introduction

South Africa has among the highest rates of HIV infection and of AIDS in the world. The impact of this epidemic is highlighted by Statistics South Africa (2014, p. 8) which highlights the increase as follows: "HIV infections in South Africa increased from an estimated 4,09 million in 2002 to 5,51 million by 2014. For 2014 an estimated 10,2% of the total population is HIV positive." The South African government together with non-governmental organisations have acknowledged the threat that HIV/AIDS poses and have implemented various plans and campaigns such as the National Strategic Plan (NSP) as well as the HIV Counselling and Testing (HCT) campaign and the Love Life and ABC campaigns, to educate all people in the hope to eradicate this pandemic, create awareness and significantly decrease infection rates. However, this has not fully met the desired expectations since "South Africa's youth still comprise a large portion of the HIV infected population" (Zuma, Mzolo & Mkonko, 2011, p.189). Additionally, despite their high levels of knowledge about HIV and AIDS, "young people aged 15–24 years in South Africa remain affected by the epidemic" (Makiwane & Mokomane, 2010, p. 17). According to a research report by the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC, 2009), the predominant mode of HIV transmission in South Africa is through heterosexual sex.

It can be argued that the spread of HIV/AIDS is linked, but not limited to, risky sexual behavior. Risky sexual behaviours such as inconsistent condom use and sexual intercourse with multiple partners are relatively common among adolescents and youth in South Africa (Makiwane & Mokomane, 2010). These behaviours are explored by Hunter (2005) who acknowledges the relationship between patriarchy, constructions of masculinity and the spread of HIV/AIDS. Efforts to stem the spread of HIV are increasingly focused on understanding how culturally constructed notions of gender and sexuality shape and constrain individuals' behaviour as they negotiate changing social and economic realities (Brown, Sorrell & Raffaelli, 2005, p3).

According to Gilmore (as cited in Brown et al, 2005), the behaviours that require men to perform acts in the quest for power and status among other men and women are collectively defined as masculinity. The constructions of masculinity often lead to behaviours that put

men's health at risk (Gibbs & Jobsen, 2011). It is therefore important to examine the role of masculinities and its relation to HIV/AIDS if significant preventative programmes are to be developed (Brown et al, 2005). The literature indicates that the quest for masculine status begins at a young age. Therefore "Research that can enable better understanding of adolescents' sexual risk behaviours in order to contribute to stemming the epidemic is urgently needed" (Brook, Morojele, Zhang & Brook, 2006, p. 260).In this thesis I intentionally set out to explore the various ways in which Indian teenage boys construct their masculinities as well as their understandings of risky sexual behaviour. This is in a context where very little study has been made on South African Indian youth masculinities, particularly in the context of HIV and AIDS.

In this chapter, I will provide the background and rationale for conducting this study. I will further discuss the purpose, objectives and the research questions of this study. I will also explain the significance of the study.

1.2) Background and rationale

It is without question that the global HIV pandemic has tremendously impacted the South African population. According to UNAIDS (as cited in Kang'ethe, 2015), South Africa has been identified as having one of the highest HIV infection rates in the world. Evidence suggests that a high number of infections occur during adolescence or early adulthood (Peltzer & Pengpid, 2006). Further research (Brook et al., 2005; Macintyre, Rutenberg, Brown & Karim, 2003; Kenyon, Buyze & Colebunders, 2013) indicates that young people are extremely vulnerable to HIV infections and that the infection rate amongst South African youth is extremely high. Researchers together with government departments (Brook et al, 2006; Department of Basic Education, 2010) agree that it is at this level that attention needs to be drawn to if there is to be progress in the efforts to curb the spread of the virus. Over 30 years into the HIV pandemic (Kenyon, Buyze & Colebunders, 2013) South Africa has made very little headway in terms of prevention. Statistics South Africa (2014) reported that the number of people living with HIV had gradually risen to in excess of 5 million.

As already noted above, the infection rates among young people are concerning. The impact of this epidemic on the youth is further acknowledged by researchers (Marteleto, Lam, & Ranchhod, 2008; Zuma, Mzolo & Mkonko, 2011), who indicate that in South Africa, most young people become sexually active while they are enrolled in school and that this is a possible factor leading to the spread of sexually transmitted infections at a young age. While

there are many contributing factors to the spread of HIV, risky sexual behaviour is one of the dominant modes of transmission (Kenyon & Zondo, 2011). Many scholars (Richardson, 2010; Lynch, Brouard & Visser 2010; Jewkes & Morrell, 2010) have linked risky sexual behaviours such as multiple sexual partners, rape and unprotected sexual interaction, to the constructions of masculinity among men. Subsequently, it is important to adopt an understanding of the term, "masculinity," as it is the focus of my study within the context of HIV/AIDS. While masculinities are defined differently in various contexts, we will adopt a meaning given by Connell (2005, p. 12) who describes masculinity as a set of practices or behaviours by males when, *"testosterone-driven 'risk taking' becomes usual - hence those road accident statistics. Male sexual urges find expression in a natural attraction to girls and in sexual adventuring. Male energy finds expression in football, fighting, and trouble at school. Conflict with parents and police becomes inevitable as adolescent males feel their powers and try to establish their independence."* Using this definition of masculinities, this study will explore the ways in which masculinities impact and influence teenage Indian boys.

However, within the context of HIV/AIDS, research in South Africa tends to focus on the gendered pathways of HIV and the impact on women in the context of inequality. Less attention is given to men and the factors that put themselves and their partners at risk of HIV infection (Harrison, O'Sullivan, Hoffman, Dolezal, & Morrell, 2006), particularly with a racialized analysis in mind. Despite researchers (Brown et al, 2005; Jewkes & Morrell, 2010) now acknowledging masculinity as one of the links to HIV transmission, there is still paucity on how masculinity relates to race, within this area of research. Similarly, there are also insufficient studies conducted on teenage Indian male youth and their constructions of masculinity and the relationship with risky sexual behaviour in the context of HIV/AIDS. To assist in the combat of the disease, increased focus should be on youth of all races and genders.

Although there is a growing body of research on youth masculinities, existing studies tend to focus on black South Africans, thus resulting in the other racial groups remaining under researched. Consequently, there is a lack of research done on the South African Indian community in the context of HIV/AIDS (Naidoo, 2010). The studies that do include South African Indians (Reddy, Panday, Swart, Jinabhai, Amosun, James, Monyeki, Stevens, Morojele, Kambaran, Omardien & Van den Borne, as cited in Sathiparsad & Taylor, 2006; Macleod & Tracey, 2010; Makiwane & Mokomane, 2010) either concentrate on South African youth collectively or focus on other aspects rather than specifically on Indian boys

and masculinities. This study is therefore important as it will contribute to a rather limited area of research.

I find that being a young Indian male educator assists in the understanding of behaviours and attitudes of Indian school going adolescents since learners, especially boys tend to disclose their indiscreet sexual activities and other irrational behaviours to me. This is probably so because of my age and sex which allows them a certain level of confidence to reveal their behaviours. Due to this disclosure, I personally know of young male adults who engage in risky sexual behaviour despite acknowledging the campaigns that aim to promote safe sex, as well as knowing the dangers associated with risky sexual behaviour. I have observed the attitudes of these young boys who seem to associate their risky behaviour with their masculinity, seemingly with a sense of accomplishment. It appears that the more sexual partners one has, the more masculine or manly he appears to be. I have also observed some of the damaging consequences of these unsafe practices which include unplanned pregnancies, emotional breakdown, suicide and at times, death. The proposed study therefore seeks to understand the ways in which teenage Indian boys construct their masculinities and explore what they perceive as sexually risky behaviour.

As an Indian male, I feel there should be more focus on the Indian community and, more so, on young Indian males, as I believe that the Indian South African population are understudied when it comes to HIV/AIDS. The numerous studies tend to shed the spotlight on the "black" South African population creating an impression that the HIV/AIDS pandemic is mainly a "black" problem. Therefore this study will allow an understanding of the complexities and intersections between race, gender and sexuality with regards to HIV/AIDS. Additionally, by engaging in a study that seeks to explore how young Indian boys understand and position themselves as men, and also how their constructions of masculinity connect with risky sexual behaviour in the context of HIV/AIDS, this study seeks to offer a more nuanced, complex and intersectional understanding in relation to gender and race, thereby closing an important gap that exists in the literature.

1.3) Focus and purpose

The purpose of this study is to explore risky sexual behaviors and the constructions of masculinities among South African teenage Indian boys in the context of HIV/AIDS. The focus of this study is on teenage Indian boys and their experiences and views on the constructions of masculinity. It then explores these constructions and the boys' perceptions

of risky sexual behaviour. For the reasons set out above HIV/AIDS, I intentionally focus on Indian youth, specifically teenage Indian boys. The overall purpose of this study is to explore how these boys position themselves in constructing their masculine identities and then exploring their understandings and perceptions of risky sexual behaviours.

1.4) Objectives

The objectives of this study are to determine three aspects about teenage Indian boy and masculinities. Firstly, I want to gain insight into the ways in which teenage Indian boys construct their masculinities. Secondly, I wish to explore the teenage Indian boys' perceptions of risky sexual behaviour. Lastly, I want to explore how the teenage boys' constructions of masculinity relate to their perceptions of risky sexual behaviour.

1.5) Research questions

The undertaking of this research study was guided by the objectives, outlined above, which are in line with the following three research questions:

1. How do teenage Indian boys construct their masculinities?

2. What are Indian boys' perceptions of risky sexual behaviour, especially in a context of HIV/AIDS?

3. How do teenage Indian boys' constructions of their masculinity relate to their perceptions of risky sexual behaviour?

These research questions drive this study. In answering the first question, I set out to find out the possible factors and influences that are central in teenage Indian boys' constructions of masculinity. I want to find out how these boys negotiate their masculinities, particularly in the age of HIV/AIDS. I wish to gain an insight into the boys' personal experiences and views about what symbolizes masculinity and in effect find out the reasons for these views and behaviours. In the second question, I probe the participants to establish whether they engage in risky sexual behaviours and if so, I want to identify the reasons for their engagement in risky behaviours in this context of HIV/AIDS. In essence, I want to unpack what it is that the boys understand about sexually risky behaviour. The final question then draws from the previous two questions in an attempt to explore how constructions of masculinity may relate to perceptions of sexually risky behaviour.

1.6) Significance of the study

By far the greater percentage of available research on HIV/AIDS conducted on the South African population focuses on black South Africans. This then leaves a gap in the knowledge about the remaining South African population. The available research, although limited, does indirectly demonstrate the vulnerability of the under-researched fraction of the population. Therefore it is crucial that further studies be conducted on the other racial groups that make up the remaining South African population, in order to get a clearer perspective and better understanding of sexual risk in the context of HIV.

This study is important as it sheds light into a group that is understudied. It therefore contributes to existing knowledge on HIV/AIDS as well as sexual risk, while offering a more nuanced insight into a group not adequately researched. The study's focus on masculinities is important given the role that men play in the formulation of relationships. The study therefore expands the literature on masculinities and focuses on teenagers in schools thereby seeking to inform policy on how teachers and policy makers can design and develop more sensitive and relevant strategies for dealing with sexuality education.

This case study will therefore contribute to those who are involved in policy making, such as those on school management teams, as it will provide an insight into the types of behaviours and risky practices that occur within their institutions. Furthermore, information from this study will assist in developing improved preventative programmes as the high rate of teenage pregnancies in schools across the country is also evidence of unsafe sexual practices. Overall it will contribute towards the gap in the knowledge of the under-researched populace of South Africa in the context of HIV/AIDS. In addition, it will also potentially contribute to towards understanding masculinity and sexual risk more broadly.

1.7) Structure of the thesis

The remaining chapters of this research study that follow represent the systematic layout of this research study. While the opening chapters provide a brief background on HIV in the South African context, using existing literature I highlight the gap that exists within the available body of knowledge on the population of South Africa in the context of HIV/AIDS.

This current chapter, chapter one, is the introductory chapter. This chapter highlights the position of South Africa within the global HIV/AIDS pandemic. Drawing from this it further explains the background and rationale for the study as well the purpose and significance of

this study. This chapter also explains the objectives of the study and indicates the research questions that drive this research undertaking.

The second chapter presents a review of the existing literature on HIV/AIDS, masculinities and risky sexual behaviour amongst youth and boys. Within this chapter, I also explain the theoretical framework adopted by this study. Connell's (1996) theory on masculinities is explored and its relevance for this study is explained. The chapter goes on to review both national and international literature that contributes towards this study.

The third chapter presents and discusses the research approaches and methods employed to collect and analyse data for this study. This study is qualitative in design with a case study research approach. Under this chapter I also discuss the philosophical underpinnings of the study as well as the research methodology. I provide details about the research site and the sampling and data collection methods adopted for this study. Reflexivity and ethical issues are also discussed towards the end of this chapter. This chapter also highlights the data analysis process for this study.

The fourth chapter discusses and presents the data collected from the interview sessions with the participants. Here the data analysis and findings are presented. The chapter reveals the processes of organising the data and the themes that have emerged. Through the themes this chapter explains what the data reveals about teenage Indian boys, their constructions and the extent of the relationship with risky sexual behaviour.

The fifth and final chapter discusses the implications, provides a summary of the findings and concludes the study. This chapter further demonstrates how this study has answered the three research questions. Finally the implications of this study in terms of policy, practice and research are discussed. The chapter concludes by stating a brief summary of what the study has established.

1.8) Conclusion

In the above chapter, I have provided a brief overview of where South Africa lies within the global HIV/AIDS crisis. I have stated the intention of this research undertaking by explaining the objectives of this study as well as the research questions and purpose. This chapter also highlights the significance of this study and goes on to explain the structural layout of this thesis, providing a brief outline of what each chapter discusses. The following chapter will discuss the theoretical framework and review existing literature.

CHAPTER 2

Theoretical Framework and Literature Review

2.1) Introduction

This chapter of the study reviews existing scholarship on HIV/AIDS, masculinities and risky sexual behaviour amongst youth and boys. In particular it attempts to showcase what other scholars have written about the relationship between constructions of masculinity and risky sexual behaviour amongst teenage boys. Given the dearth of literature on *Indian* teenage boys, already highlighted in the introductory chapter of this thesis, much of the literature to be reviewed focuses on teenage boys more broadly. The literature review presents discussions on previous research studies conducted within the country and also abroad so as to locate quite clearly where in the existing body of scholarship this thesis fits in. As indicated previously, this study sought to explore the constructions of masculinities amongst Indian teenage boys as well as the relationship between these constructions of masculinity and risky sexual behaviour. However, given the fact that the study was conducted within the context of HIV/AIDS, it is important to briefly review literature on the impact of HIV/AIDS on the South African population generally, the youth, the prevalence rates amongst the various ethnic/race groups in South Africa and the relationship between risky sexual behaviour and masculinities within the context of HIV/AIDS. The generic focus on masculinities and teenage boys will assist in demonstrating what is already known about teenage boys and sexual risk within the context of HIV/AIDS, and will also clearly show the gap that this study sought to fill in the existing scholarship. Prior to this discussion I will elaborate on the theoretical framework that will be adopted for my study.

This chapter is sub-divided into six main sections. The first section explains the theoretical framework that will be adopted for this study. The framework will provide a lens through which the research will be viewed. The second section is a brief overview of how the HIV/AIDS virus has impacted the world and where the South African population is located in terms of infection rates. It is important to know this as this study is deals with masculinities and risky sexual behaviours within the context of HIV/AIDS. The next section goes on to define sexual risks which is followed by a fourth section that includes literature on youth and masculinities and four sub-sections on some of the factors that influence risky behaviours and the possible link to masculinities. This is relevant to this study as will provide a general

understanding of how young boys construct their masculinities since the aim is to explore the ways teenage Indian boys construct their masculinities and their perceptions of risky sexual behaviours. The fifth section thereafter looks at what the literature specifically says about South African boys and their understanding of what it means to be masculine. We also want to determine what informs their behaviours. Finally the concluding section summarises the literature and highlights the gap that this study aims to address.

In the next section, I will elaborate on R.W. Connell's (1996) theory of masculinities and why I will be using this framework for this study. I will also highlight the critiques of the framework and discuss the reasons for still using the framework despite the criticisms. Once the framework has been discussed, I will present a review of the available literature, focussing on the youth and risky sexual behaviour and masculinities within the context of HIV/AIDS. I will show the existing gap in the body of knowledge that this study aims to help fill.

2.2) Theoretical framework

Early descriptions of masculinity are discussed by Brannon and David (as cited in Lynch, 2008). They believe that there are four attributes, which are achieved through socialisation, that define the male role. These include the exclusion of any feminine qualities or behaviours, the expectation of males to be successful, the norm that males should be tough and independent and that it is expected and accepted for men to be violent and aggressive. Scholars such as Mosse, Hopkins, Noah and Morokoff (as cited in Lynch, 2008) all define masculinities as those behaviours and traits that are sharply distinguished from those that are considered feminine. In their definitions, masculinity correlates with toughness, success, knowledge and superiority over women.

However for this study, I will be focusing on Connell's (1996; 2005) extensive work on masculinities that will provide deeper understanding on why young boys behave in certain ways. Connell (2005) views adolescence as a time when boys begin to discover themselves and try to fit into the socially constructed role of being a 'man'. It is a time when boys begin to express their sexual attraction and energy is directed towards sport and physical activities. There is constant struggle for power and dominance which at this adolescent stage leads to conflict with authoritative figures. Masculinities can be termed as the expected behaviours of boys and men within society during a certain period of time (Connell, 1996). Therefore, in a study wanting to explore the how teenage Indian boys construct masculinities and their

perceptions of risky sexual behaviour amongst teenage boys, Connell's (1996) theory on how masculinities are constructed has been chosen as a framework for this study. Connell's (1996) theory on masculinities adopts an approach that considers the various constructions of masculinities generated over different periods of time by different groups of individuals. The use of this theoretical framework will assist in understanding how young Indian boys construct their masculinities and also how such constructions relate to sexual risk. Connell's theory on masculinities is premised on the contingent construction and performance of masculinities in varying contexts. For Connell (1996) masculinities can be deemed as multiple, hierarchical, collective, actively constructed, layered and dynamic. Below I provide greater details on the each of these six aspects, demonstrating clearly how this framework relates to my work. I also highlight some of the critiques, strengths and weaknesses of this theoretical body of work.

For Connell (1996), masculinities are multiple and are actively constructed through institutional and cultural contexts. Masculinities are constructed differently within different cultures over different periods of time. The theory explains that there is no one distinct mould of masculinity that exists everywhere. Connell (1996) notes that there are different forms of masculinity in any context and that there are different contributors to the formation of masculinities. Some cultures measure violence as a form of masculinity whereas in some other cultures this form of behaviour is frowned upon. This is further expressed by McCarry (2007) who argues that violence is a masculine trait and that it is a common practice among males. It is also important to point out here that culture can be viewed in terms of both collective practices among certain social groups and also among various societies. For example, Kenyon and Zondo (2011), whose study deals with sexual relationships, state that White South Africans are largely monogamous whereas Black South Africans practice polygamy. Another example of culturally constructed masculinities is given in research conducted by Varga (2003), whose study identifies masculine traits within the South African Zulu culture. The study identifies early fatherhood, social success, multiple sexual partners and dominance in relationships as being masculine or a symbol of manhood. For Connell (1996), manhood is also represented through heterosexual sexual relationships and is considered to be a masculine trait in many cultures whereas homosexual sex is seen as being emasculated. This belief that heterosexuality is typically used as a measure of masculinity is shared by many scholars (Petros, Airhihenbuwa, Simbayi, Ramlagan & Brown, 2006; Morrell, 2005; Lynch, Brouard & Visser, 2010) some of whom argue that this leads to

homophobia as homosexuality is considered a taboo. Apart from culture-constructed masculinities, Connell (1996) acknowledges that there is also a differentiation between the middle and working class, the very rich and the very poor as to what types of behaviours are considered masculine. Connell (1996) further insists that schools are one of the institutions that lead to the formation of multiple forms of masculinities. Connell (1996) believes that schools and its pupils are identified as being active players in the formation of masculinities. Morrell (1998), and Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) also acknowledge the existence of the relationship that exists between schools and masculinities and state that it is important to understand these constructions of masculinities at school level in order to identify factors which inhibit the production of citizens that contribute towards the development of society at a later stage. Therefore this theory is appropriate for my study as I intend to use school-going boys as participants. The information gathered will determine what possibly informs these boys' behaviours. As noted, different cultures construct masculinities differently, and since my focus is on Indian boys, the study will be conducted in a predominantly Indian school situated within an Indian community. This will provide a general idea of how young Indian boys construct their masculinities within the South African Indian culture.

Connell's (1996) theory argues that masculinities are not performed in the same ways and that they are hierarchical and hegemonic. Some masculinities are considered superior to others and considered to be exemplary, such as the traits of sporting heroes, while some are socially marginalized and dishonoured,. The hierarchy of masculinities expresses the imbalance of power that exists amongst the different groups of men and boys. According to Connell (1996), various cultures construct their own ideas of masculinities differently from the others and the form of masculinity that is culturally dominant over the others is known as hegemonic masculinity. Hegemonic masculinities are those that are dominant and highly visible in a given context. Connell (as cited in Brown, Sorrell & Raffaelli, 2005) states that hegemonic masculinity is the ideal that men measure themselves against. Hegemonic masculinities maintain an image that men are strong, invulnerable, powerful and authoritative, and are superior to women (Jewkes & Morrell, 2010; Courtenay 2000; Connell 1996). Dominance among hegemonic masculinities is maintained through the possession of women and also through engaging in risky sexual behaviour. For instance, several scholars have noted that young men often engage with multiple partners so as to demonstrate their manhood (Bhana & Anderson, 2013; Blackbeard and Lindegger, 2007; Brook, Morojele, Zhang & Brook, 2006; Hunter, 2005). It is through this demonstration that masculinities are

displayed and hierarchies between boys (and girls) are reinforced. However, Courtenay (2000) believes that not all men and boys have access to power or resources to construct hegemonic masculinities and this results in men having to find other ways of constructing gender that validates masculinity. For Courtenay (2000), factors such as ethnicity, economic status, education and sexual orientation marginalise certain men and inhibit their performance of hegemonic masculinities.

Several scholars (Jewkes & Morrell, 2010; Brown, Sorrell & Raffaelli, 2005; Barker & Ricardo, 2005) are in agreement that hegemonic masculinities promote risk-taking behaviours. Thus those aspiring to hegemonic masculinities will engage more in risky behaviours than those accepting non-hegemonic masculinities, to prove their manliness. Robinson (2005) highlights the presence of these dominating masculinities within the schooling system. The research shows that they are often displayed on school grounds, where boys who engage in contact sport are considered more masculine than those who compete in less physical sports, such as chess. The study indicates that boys' competency in physical activities is strongly linked to perceived masculinity and popularity amongst other boys as well as girls. However those boys who lack interest in physical sport or show an interest in the performing arts and drama are considered to be feminine and strongly linked with homosexuality. The research also found that strength, in the form of violent behaviour or fighting with other boys, is also considered as measure of one's masculinity. Connell (1996) states that one of the factors influencing masculinities through schooling is peer culture. In relation to this, a core part of this study focuses on the way boys construct their masculinities and the possible influences that play a role in their perceptions of risky behaviours.

Connell indicates that boys' interaction with their peers, especially in the school environment, constantly uses sexuality as a measure of masculinity since heterosexual success is linked to peer group prestige. This indicates that one of the ways that boys interpret their masculinities is through sexual adventures and relationships. Thus the number of relationships a boy has equates to his level of masculinity. These factors are often expressed in a schooling environment, and this study is situated in such an environment, suitable for gaining an understanding of the ways Indian boys construct their masculinities through their interaction with peers.

According to Connell (1996), society distinguishes certain types of behaviours or actions to be masculine or feminine. The similar patterns of behaviours are what society uses to

characterise masculinity and femininity behaviours amongst men and women. Connell (1996) argues that these patterns also exist at a collective level at various institutions such as governments, armies, schools and corporations. The theory also highlights how stereotyped masculinities are produced and reproduced through the media. Video games and contact sport reward violent and aggressive forms of masculinities. These stereotypical message are spread through social media, thus creating an impression that these types of behaviour are acceptable. Kehily (2001) elaborates on what is considered to be masculine or feminine characteristics within the schooling environment. The research identifies heterosexual relationships as an indication of masculinity. Those groups of boys who are considered popular due to their many heterosexual relationships and those groups who seem to be knowledgeable about sex are considered to be manly or masculine. As noted above, Epstein, Kehily, Ghaill and Redman (2001) also shed light on collective masculinities in schools as those that exist amongst boys who are part of sports teams, those who are physical and exhibit violent behaviour and those groups that are popular with the girls. In a separate study, Kehily (2001) further explains how social media in the form of pornographic images and videos of women symbolise heterosexual behaviour and are part of being masculine. However the study also indicates that some boys believe pornography to be emasculating as it is a substitute for engaging in sexual activity with real women. Therefore it would be interesting to observe the responses from the various participants in this study given the evidence from the research on the beliefs among boys as to what constitutes masculinities.

Masculinities are developed through social behaviour and exist due the actions of people, (Connell, 1996). This theory emphasises that masculinities are not fixed and that there is a continuous aim to reproduce and construct masculinities that are considered to be appropriate in society. Different groups of people view different types of masculinities as appropriate. Gangs, computer hackers, bodybuilders, managers and boys on a school playground all have different ideas as to what is considered to be masculine traits. These evolving beliefs as to what is considered masculine can be viewed through the various research studies conducted by scholars. For instance Bhana (2005) has found that masculinity can be expressed through the mastery of mathematics whereas the study by Epstein, Kehily, Ghaill and Redman (2001) report how masculinity is measured by physical sports and fighting, and that these are considered more important than academics.

The other two aspects discussed by Connell (1996) are that masculinities are layered and dynamic. Masculinities are not simple patterns and may be reproduced as a layer to hide a

deeper emotional desire. These hidden emotional desires are discussed in a study by Fouten (2006), whose research sheds light on the need to publicly display heterosexual masculine behaviours even though there may be a deep homosexual desire. The changing patterns of masculinities and the different interpretation of masculinities by different cultures through different periods of time is a clear indication of the dynamic nature of masculinities.

 The above discussion highlights the various ways masculinities are constructed and how these masculinities are viewed differently by various groups of people belonging to diverse cultural and socio economic backgrounds. The literature generally takes the view that masculinities are socially constructed and cannot be viewed as something that is fixed. Masculinities are constantly changing in the various contexts as people have different ideas of what it means to be masculine. As mentioned by Connell (1996), masculinities are also produced and reproduced within institutions such as schools. Hence the appropriateness of drawing on Connell's extensive work on masculinities. This will assist in determining how young boys construct their masculinities and provide further insight into the relationship between this construction and perceptions of risky sexual behaviours.

- **2.2.1) Critiques of Connell's work on masculinities**

Connell's (1996) work on masculinities states that masculinities are constructed through social interaction. It establishes six major conclusions of masculinities. One of these is that masculinities are hegemonic. This type of masculinity is dominant over other forms of masculinities. Connell (1996) believes that hegemonic masculinities have a distinct set of practices from that of non-hegemonic practices. This concept of hegemonic masculinities has been criticised by many scholars. One of the problems with this concept, as argued by Demetriou (as cited in Lynch, 2008) is that Connell (1996) fails to establish the relationship between hegemonic masculinities and subordinated masculinities, which has an impact on the formation of hegemonic masculinities. Connell's concept of hegemonic masculinities separates itself from non-hegemonic practices. Again, Demetriou (as cited in Lynch, 2008) disagrees with this and states that hegemonic masculinities include diverse practices that together maintain patriarchy. Such masculinities can be flexible and include various aspects of male behaviours to signify male superiority within a particular context at a given time. Other criticisms include those by Collinson and Hearn (as cited in Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005), who question who actually represents hegemonic masculinity since many men are socially powerful yet do not symbolize a perfect masculinity. Furthermore, researchers

Petersen, Collier and MacInnes (as cited in Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005) argue that the concept of hegemonic masculinity sometimes refers to a fixed type of masculinity and at other times, whatever is dominant at that place and time. In agreement, Oxlund (as cited in Lynch, 2008) believes that masculinities are fluid and should consider men moving between diverse notions of masculinity depending on their context.

Following these criticisms, Connell & Messerschmidt (2005) later decided to revaluate the concept of masculinity. Their study also established that earlier formulations of the concept of hegemonic masculinity were blurred. The research concluded that the concept of hegemonic masculinities has developed new meanings with usage and time. It must adapt with the times and the context in which it is used. Connell & Messerschmidt (2005) then acknowledge the dynamics and relationships that exist between the different constructions of masculinities and argue that these need to be taken into account when analysing the constructions of masculinities.

Despite these criticisms, Connell's work on masculinities provides an in-depth exploration of the possible ways in which masculinities are constructed and reproduced. The theory argues that gender is a social construct and that masculinities are produced by societal expectations and behaviours. Connell's extensive works on masculinities draw attention to the different patterns of masculinities that exist within various cultures over different periods of time. It is for this reason that I will utilize this theory as a framework for my study as it will show how the various boys in my study construct their masculinities. It will show which aspects of social norms inform their decisions, thinking and choices. The framework will assist in understanding how young Indian boys get to identify themselves as a group while at the same time they are able to negotiate and construct their own, individual identities. It is also helpful since the theory informs us of the constructions of masculinities occurring at various levels of society while taking into account the socio-economic status of people and the contexts within which masculinities are formed and practised.

2.2.2) Conclusion

The following two sections review literature on the impact of HIV/AIDS on a global scale as well as the impact of the virus on the South African population. It is important for us to know where South Africa lies within this epidemic as well as to have an idea of the consequences of risky behaviours. The literature also highlights some of the racial HIV statistics which will give us an idea of how affected the various racial groups are in terms of infections. This is

relevant as this study focuses on the Indian race group. This will then provide an idea of the ways teenage Indian boys' construct their masculinities and their perceptions of risky sexual behaviour within the context of HIV/AIDS. The review highlights some concerning statistics and findings on research conducted, nationally and internationally.

2.3) Literature Review

2.3.1) Overview: The threat of HIV/AIDS

The HIV/AIDS pandemic is a global threat that claims millions of lives every year. HIV/AIDS crosses the barriers of race, gender, age, class and nationality; it simply affects all people. Research in the field (Silverman, 2013; Petros, Airhihenbuwa, Simbayi, Ramlagan & Brown, 2006 ; Statistics South Africa 2014) of this epidemic is ongoing, not only to develop a possible cure and determine preventative measures, but also in an attempt to understand the reasons for people engaging in risky sexual behaviours and the other possible reasons for the high infection rates. Research indicates high numbers of new infections and due to this, numerous studies have been conducted to try and understand the various factors that influence or lead individuals to engage in risky behaviour, especially given the knowledge that they have about this disease. There are various programmes by world governments with the assistance of non-governmental organisations that inform and educate citizens around the world about preventative and precautionary measures, in an effort to curb and eventually eradicate the spread of HIV/AIDS which threatens the global population. Despite these efforts, the disease is still a global threat.

- ### 2.3.2) HIV/AIDS and the South African population

The UNAIDS 2013 Global Report on the AIDS epidemic states that the African continent was the home of 70 percent of new HIV/AIDS infections in 2012. It is evident that research on the field of HIV/AIDS and on the impact of this virus on the population, more specifically the South African population, is one that is vast. The literature demonstrates that this threat has been escalating over the years. According to Statistics South Africa (2014, p. 2), the number of infected people living with AIDS has "increased from an estimated 4,09 million in 2002 to 5,51 million by 2014." The statistics show a gradual increase in the number of people living with HIV/AIDS over the 13 year period. It is estimated that 10,2 percent of the total population is infected with HIV. This upward trend continues, as a report issued by the Human Sciences Research Council of South Africa (2014) further emphasise the drastic effect of the virus that has plagued the South African population. In terms of HIV prevalence

rates amongst the age categories, the report has established that the HIV prevalence rates has increased for the population aged 25 years and older. All but one province, the Western Cape, report a decline in the prevalence rates for the youth. The report states that there were 469,000 new infections in the year 2012. South Africa ranks among the countries that have the highest number of people living with HIV/AIDS in the world and was previously acknowledged as the country having the greatest number of HIV/AIDS infected people (Statistics South Africa, 2014; UNAIDS, 2004; Petros et al, 2006; Simbayi, Chauveau & Shisana, 2004). Given these statistics, it should also be known that they may be questioned on the basis of accessibility and stigmatization since we do not know for sure the estimated number of infected people who do not receive treatment due to inadequate health care access or get tested as there is a stigma attached to HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS, 2013; Petros et al, 2006; Macintyre, Rutenberg, Brown & Karim, 2003). It should also be noted that the HSRC (2014) has found that attitudes have positively changed over the years but there is still stigma that are attached to being HIV positive as their report found that many respondents preferred to keep positive status a secret. This consequently leads to under-reporting of HIV/AIDS cases.

South Africa is a multicultural and multiracial society. It is home to black, white, coloured and Indian/Asian citizens (Statistics South Africa, 2014). Evidently the fatal HIV/AIDS epidemic is merciless as it claims lives of all ages, races, class or genders. It affects and can infect people from all walks of life. Due to the nature of this unbounded disease, "South Africans from different racial backgrounds blame each other as either being the source of HIV or being responsible for spreading the disease" (Petros *et al*., 2006, p.70)

It is also important to note, as already captured above, that from the available research on the HIV/AIDS epidemic in South Africa, a greater percentage of the studies (Scott-Sheldon, Walstrom, Harrison, Kalichman, & Carey, 2013; Jewkes & Morrell, 2010; Lynch, Brouard & Visser, 2010; Garner, 2000; Peltzer & Pengpid, 2006; Harrison, 2008; Varga, 2003; Simbayi, Chauveau & Shisana, 2004; Lynch, 2008; Sathiparsad &Taylor, 2006; to Hoffman, O'Sullivan, Harrison, Dolezeal & Monrose-wise, 2006) is conducted in rural areas and focuses on black South Africans. Anderson, Beutel and Maughan-Brown (2007, p. 2) note that, "Relatively little attention has been paid to racial or ethnic differences in the level of perceived HIV/AIDS risk and the predictors of perceived HIV/AIDS risk." Researchers Petros et al. (2006) suggest that the possible focus on black South Africans is due to the high infection rates within the black community as compared to other ethnic groups. Further evidence of the minimal research on certain ethnic groups are displayed in an HIV/AIDS

study conducted by Kenyon and Zondo (2011, p.51), which indicates that "the differences in HIV prevalence between South Africa's racial/ethnic groups are, 19.9%, 3.2%, and 0.5% among 15-49-year-old blacks, coloureds and whites, respectively." It is noticeable that these statistics fall short in reporting an accurate account of the prevalence rates in South Africa since they do not consider all racial groups, as the country's population also includes the Indian race group. In accordance with this, the Department of Basic Education (2010), reports that the highest infection rates of HIV occur amongst black youth, followed by coloured, white and Indian youth respectively.

Clearly there is a vast amount of data that focuses on black South Africans. One of the consequences of this is "the [current] paucity of both quantitative and qualitative research of HIV and AIDS knowledge among South African Indians" (Naidoo, 2010, p. 20). The study conducted by Naidoo (2010), for instance, looks at how the HIV/AIDS epidemic has plagued the Indian community of Chatsworth in the KwaZulu-Natal province. The study focuses on the effects of HIV/AIDS on Indian women. Although minimal research has been conducted within the Indian community, there is still an insufficient percentage of research studies that focuses on young Indian males and the possible factors that influence them to engage in risky sexual behaviours.

The above discussion confirms the high rates of infections in South Africa, ranking it amongst the highest in the world. The literature further indicates the level of infection rates amongst the populace of the country. The literature reviewed evidently shows that the focus of HIV research in South Africa is mainly on rural areas which are predominantly occupied by black South Africans, thus resulting in a lack of studies focussing on the other races, namely the Indian community. This therefore suggests that more work needs to be done to provide a deeper understanding on the causes and effects of the virus on the different racial groups.

The next section of this chapter reviews literature on sexual risk, what types of behaviours define sexual risk and the possible factors that influence these behaviours which in turn contribute to the spread of sexually transmitted infections and unplanned pregnancies. Since the study aims to explore the possible ways that teenage Indian boys construct their masculinities and their perceptions of risky sexual behaviour, it is important to know what defines sexually risky behaviour.

2.4) Sexual risk among teenagers in the context of HIV/AIDS

2.4.1) On sexual risks: Definitions

Much has been written in the literature about sexual risk, with many debates and contestations from scholars as to what can be regarded as sexually risky behaviour. From the literature surveyed, it becomes clear that there is no one constant definition or understanding of sexual risk, with scholars often defining this concept differently, depending on the nature of the work being conducted. Researchers Simbayi et al. (2004) have developed a model that attempts to explain risky sexual behaviours. For these scholars, sexual risk is influenced by factors that interact which each other and occur at three levels. These are psychological factors such as emotions, physical and environmental factors and cultural factors such as beliefs and values. Many scholars, in their research, have similar determinants on what is considered to be sexually risky behaviour. This is reiterated by Silverman (2013), who states that, "sexual risk-taking has been defined in the literature in a variety of ways; however, engaging in unprotected sex, having multiple sexual partners, and an earlier age of first sexual intercourse have all consistently been shown to increase the risks of contracting [diseases]." Similarly, Harrison, Cleland, Gouws and Frohlich (2005) state that sexual risk pertains to having unprotected sexual intercourse with one or many partners and consequently places one's health as risk of infectious diseases. In agreement with these definitions, Maluleke (2010, p. 1) states that "Sexual risk behaviours are defined as sexual activities that may expose an individual to the risk of infection with HIV and other sexually transmitted infections." However there are some differing views. For example, researchers Gevers, Mathews, Cupp, Russell and Jewkes (2013) for instance, in a study of 16 year olds engaging in risky sexual behaviours, define sexual risk as participation in penetrative sexual intercourse. This is regarded as risky since it is illegal for children 16 years and younger to be sexually active. Another view offered by Varga (2003) associates sexual risk with early pregnancy which is caused by poor sexual negotiations.

From these various scholars, it is evident that there are some commonalities that inform their thinking. From these varied positions a general definition that has been summed up from studies conducted by most scholars in the surveyed literature, is provided by Avert (as cited in Maluleke, 2010, p.1), who sees sexual risk behaviours as,

"sexual activities that may expose an individual to the risk of infection with HIV and other sexually transmitted infections (STIs), for example, unprotected sex, early sexual

debut, using alcohol or drugs before sexual intercourse, multiple sexual partners, forced or coerced sexual intercourse [due to unequal gender relationships and violence as well as] sexual intercourse for reward [which places individuals at risk due to their willingness to engage in risky behaviour in exchange for material objects]."

The literature presented above shows the common ideas that inform scholars' definitions of risky sexual behaviour. The literature suggests that though there is no one true definition of sexual risk, there is a common understanding that sexual risk is directly linked to health risks.

The next section reviews literature on masculinities, the youth and their performance of risky behaviours, some of the possible causes for engaging in these ways and the consequent effects of the actions. The literature highlights the extent of the role that masculinities plays in engaging in risky behaviours. This is relevant as this study aims to find a link between the constructions of masculinity and risky sexual behaviour.

2.5) Youth, masculinities and sexually risky behaviour

"Gender, our social conditioning as males and females, is an important determinant of sexual risk taking behaviours. Gendered attitudes and beliefs like "the more sex I have, the more manly I will be" or "sometimes you have to do what your boyfriend wants, even if you don't want to, so that he doesn't break up with you," pressure many boys and girls into engaging in sexual behaviour that they may not want, and as a consequence increase their risk for unintended pregnancy and sexually transmitted infections." Rolleri (2013, p. 1)

According to Connell (1996), gender identities and masculinities are socially constructed. These social constructions often view males as powerful, dominant individuals as compared to females. Furthermore, Connell (cited in Lusher & Robins, 2009, p. 387) states that, "the objective of hegemonic masculinity is the legitimate dominance of men over women." This assumed superiority that males possess often leads to behaviours that place not only themselves but others at risk as well.

The available literature suggests that in South Africa there is a high occurrence of risky sexual behaviours. A report issued by UNAIDS (2013) states that with regard to countries in sub-Saharan Africa, there are signs of an increase in risky sexual behaviours in several African countries. The UNAIDS organisation claims that, "recent evidence indicates a significant increase in the number of sexual partners and a decrease in condom use in some countries." It is undeniable that one of the countries reported to have an increase in risky

sexual behaviours is South Africa. In relation to this, various research studies indicate that risky sexual behaviour leads to unplanned pregnancies and sexually transmitted infections and this type of behaviour appears to be common amongst South African youth (Brook et al, 2006). This is further re-enforced through the South African HSRC (2014) report that states that there has been an increase in infection rates in the 25 year and older age group. In addition to risky behaviours practised by the youth, Connell (2005) claims that the social constructions of masculinity also influence risky behaviour in young boys as they aim to achieve "macho" status amongst their peers. Furthermore these behaviours impact young girls who are then exposed to risky behaviours through violence and unequal gender power.

Drawing from the existing literature, it is clear that youth do engage in risky sexual behaviours, particularly boys. A thought-provoking finding in the research by Reddy, James, Sewpaul, Koopman, Funani, Sifunda, Josie, Masuka, Kambaran and Omardien (2010) states that risk behaviours that are developed at a young age are often continued into adult life. Within the South African context, a study conducted by Maluleke (2010) on risk behaviours by young people, identifies some of the activities that are considered to be risky sexual behaviours. "These activities include early sexual debut, unprotected sexual intercourse, using alcohol or drugs before sexual intercourse, teenage pregnancy, multiple partners, sexual intercourse for reward and forced sexual intercourse," (Maluleke, 2010, p. 2).

The literature provides substantial evidence that masculinities do play an important role in the performance of risky sexual behaviours. Researchers in the field of masculinities have highlighted how the construction of masculinities influence and facilitates risky behaviours. For example, Bhana and Pattman (2009), whose study focuses on rural boys and girls, have found that masculinities are constructed through the ability to achieve economic status. Those young boys who earned an income then acquire sexual relationships by providing material possessions to rural farm girls who are willing to engage in sexual relations for the gifts. The study emphasises the risk that the boys expose themselves and their partners to by engaging in sexual exploits with multiple girls. For Kenyon and Zondo (2011), the link between masculinities and risky behaviour is expressed by the gender inequalities exercised through the behavioural characteristics of hegemonic masculinities. Their study on the impact of HIV showed how different behavioural patterns affected the various racial groups. The study of black South African men living with sexually transmitted diseases, by Lynch, Brouard and Visser (2010), has expressed the link between masculinities and risky sexual behaviour. It found that men who were infected with sexually transmitted diseases refused to acknowledge

their health risks, as emotions and vulnerability are not considered masculine traits. This type of behaviour placed themselves and others at risk as the study indicates that, within certain cultures, black men express masculinity by having multiple partners.

The above discussion clearly indicates that masculinities do play a role in the performance of risky sexual behaviours. The literature highlights the risks involved by practices that are considered to be masculine.

The following sub-sections will review literature on practices that influence and promote risky sexual behaviours. Each sub-section will review research on each of these practices as well as review research that argues the existence of the relationship between the constructions of masculinities and these practices. The first sub-section will review literature on sexual violence while showing the link to masculinities.

- **2.5.1) Sexual violence**

Research suggests that societal expectations of what it mean to be man create an imbalance of power between men and women and this leads to violence and risky sexual practices (Jewkes & Morrell, 2010). South Africa is reported to have one of the highest rates of sexual violence in the world, (Petersen, Bhana & McKay, 2005). According to Petersen, Bhana & McKay (2005), attitudes and behaviours about sex are learned from an early age. The research claims that delinquent peer groups are a reason for the development of hostile masculinity among young boys and this may present itself during adolescence where violent behavioural patterns may be displayed which leads to the abuse of women and girls. Within the South African context, Petersen, Bhana and McKay (2005) found that young Zulu boys were socialised from an early age into traditional patriarchal roles of masculinity that promotes unequal gender relations. The findings suggest that this traditional belief of inequity amongst men and women often leads to the controlling and disciplining of women through sexual violence and abuse. However, it appears that this type of behaviour does not impact all women and is not exercised by all men. These violent forms of behaviour seem to differ according to the degree of financial inequality amongst men and women (Kenyon & Zondo, 2011). Their study found that in societies where there is income inequality, there will be stronger dominance over women. The study suggests that it is the women in the poorer contexts that will be most affected.

Violence against women and young girls is also discussed in a separate study by researchers Scott-Sheldon, Walstrom, Harrison, Kalichman and Carey (2013). Their study provides possible reasons for young girls exposing themselves to risky behaviours. Some of these reasons for being in risky situations were violence, multiple partnerships with older men and the limited power that women have in relationships due to the constructions of masculinities. Findings that also emerged from research by Petersen, Bhana & McKay (2005) were that society promotes violence and this increases the risk of men becoming perpetrators of sexual violence against women. Their research establishes that there is an existence of a strong social influence that prescribes that boys and men should have sexual relations as a marker of their masculinity. This encourages those without partners to rape in order to comply with these norms. Researchers Jewkes & Morrell (2010), agree with these associated behaviours of masculinity as their findings highlight the practices of hegemonically masculine men and their expected control of women and their violent behaviours that may be used to control these women. Their research on gender and sexuality argues that behaviours associated with hegemonic masculinity, such as power and dominance, are the reason for gender power inequity. This imbalance leaves women vulnerable to risks such as infections and abuse. The research also concludes that this has become accepted by some women to an extent as it is considered a societal norm. Hence, these findings highlight the link between masculinities and sexual violence.

The following sub-section will review literature on socio-economic circumstances and the resultant behaviours, actions and consequences of this while showing the link to masculinities.

- **2.5.2) Poverty and risky behaviour**

Poverty is another factor that contributes greatly to risky sexual behaviour (Brook et al., 2006). In their study on South African youth and the pathways to risky sexual behaviour, Brook et al (2006) highlight the vulnerability of those adolescents who live in poverty in engaging in risky sexual behaviour as compared to those adolescents who are wealthier. This links clearly with Connell's assertion that masculinities are constructed variously due to the layering which exist; class often forms an important part of this layering. The vulnerability resultant from limited financial resources is also acknowledged by Petersen, Bhana & McKay (2005), whose study indicates that poverty within a materialistic society means that having money (or the lack of money) is a key part of the world of youths, and that most young

people are tempted by money and are thus vulnerable since many people would do anything for money, making them forget the risks of sexual behaviour. In their study, Petersen, Bhana & McKay (2005) explored the issue of sexual violence and the youth in South Africa. Their study sought to find influences that leave adolescent girls vulnerable to becoming victims of sexual violence. One of the influences discussed, involved the exchange of food and money for sex. The practice highlighted above is known as transactional sex. Transactional sex occurs when sexual favours are exchanged for material objects such as gifts or money. This type of sex reduces the power of women in negotiating safer sexual behaviours (South African Department of Education, 2010). Similar findings have been presented in research by Bhana and Pattman (2011), where girls who come from poorer contexts, equate love to money and material possessions. Similarly, Hunter (as cited in Bhana & Pattman, 2011) states that provider masculinities in modern society are linked to the ability to use money or material objects in exchange for love and sex. Contrarily, the study also found many girls were willing to exchange sexual favours for a chance to escape the lower class of society by being able to enjoy certain luxuries afforded to them by men. These types of behaviours brought about by gender inequalities through the constructions of masculinities places males and females at risk, as sex is seen as a commodity.

The next sub-section will review literature on the performance of sexual behaviour at an early age. The literature will provide evidence of the risks involved with early sexual debut while highlighting the link between this risky behaviour and masculinities.

- ### 2.5.3) Early Sexual debut

One of the key markers of masculinity in relation to sexual risk is that of early sexual debut. This is acknowledged by Marteleto, Lam and Ranchhod (2008), who indicate that in South Africa, most young people (especially boys) become sexually active while they are enrolled in school, despite its being an institution that informs young people about health risks, and that early sexual debut is a possible factor leading to the spread of sexually transmitted infections at a young age. Varga (2003) believes that early sexual debut is one of the results of peer pressure, where girls seek emotional attachment and boys seek physical pleasure and social status among their peers. This, of course is one of the key markers in the construction of hegemony. Further insight into this area of early sexual debut is highlighted by Eaton, Flisher and Aaro (2003), whose study on unsafe sexual behaviour in South African youth has indicated that that a greater percentage of the youth are sexually active by the age of 16. The

study implied that the high rate of infections are possibly attributed to the following three factors, "being sexually active (as opposed to abstaining from or postponing sexual activity); having many partners (either serially or concurrently); and practising unprotected sex (which includes the irregular or incorrect use of condoms)" (Eaton, Flisher & Aaro, 2003, p.151). These behaviours are synonymous with those that characterise masculinity. This is further expressed by Reddy and Dunne (2007), whose study on masculinities informs us that masculine traits are symbolized by behaviours such as sexual aggression, multiple sexual partners and unwillingness to seek information about sexual health. Early sexual debut can also be an attempt by young boys to establish their superiority amongst their peers. This is elaborated by Bhana and Anderson (2013), whose study on gender, relationship dynamics and South African girls' vulnerability to sexual risk, states that, "sexual experiences among boys are viewed by peers as the exhibition of sexual power; sex with a virgin is the ultimate certification of manhood." As noted above, Connell's (1996; 2005) work on masculinities acknowledges that one of the representations of hegemonic masculinity is sexual conquest and heterosexuality, where boys boast about their sexual adventures with girls amongst their peers as a measure of manhood. A sense of accomplishment accompanies the evidence of the more partners one has. It seems the greater the risk, the more masculine one is and those who do not display the traditional masculine behaviours are considered to be feminine or homosexual and this leads to stigmatisation (Gupta, as cited in Lynch, 2008).

The following sub-section will review literature on dominant behaviours between genders and discuss how these dominant behaviours lead to the performance of risky behaviours in relation to masculinities.

- **2.5.4) Dismissal of condom use**

Certainly, one of the ways in which boys engage in risky sexual behaviours is through their dismissal of condom use which immediately places themselves and their partners at risk. These risks are elaborated by Foreman (as cited in Lynch, 2008) who states that men often neglect their health by engaging in unsafe sexual practices such as unprotected sex as it is considered as "un-masculine." Connell's (2005) study on adolescence and masculinities higlhlights, that for most men, to be masculine means to display toughness and adult-like stature. This often includes behaviours such as smoking, alcohol consumption and unprotected sex. In relation to this, Govender, Naicker, Meyer-Weitz, Fanner, Naidoo & Penfold (2013) associate these behaviours that symbolise masculinity as part of the reasons

for the engagement of unprotected sex. Researchers in the field of masculinities (Philaretou & Allen, 2001; Hunter, 2005; Fouten, 2006; Brown, Sorrell & Raffaelli, 2005; Simpson, 2009; Gibbs & Johnson, 2011; Courtenay, 2000) support the notion that masculinities certainly relate to issues of physical health and risky behaviour in different ways, as risk-taking is considered a masculine trait amongst young boys. As argued above, research suggests that those boys who fail to take risks often fail to exhibit the type of masculinity which is dominant and supported by peers. This informs us that despite being knowledgeable on the risks of sexually risky behaviour and the associated risks, there are individuals who disregard this and expose themselves to infections so as to prove their manhood. Furthermore, a similar finding emerged in a study on homosexual masculinities. Halkitis' (2001) study on the perceptions of masculinity amongst gay men found that sexual conquest of other men and sexual intercourse without the use of condoms symbolised masculinity.

In a study on South African adolescents, James et al. (2004), further highlights the lack of confidence and use of condoms amongst these young males and females despite their acceptance and knowledge towards the importance of using condoms. Their study also indicates that males feel that condoms removed the "fun" factor from engaging in sex. This type of behaviour is representative of gender power inequalities which is a product of hegemonic masculinities. The research provides substantial evidence of the link between masculinities and dismissal of condom use in that performance of dominant masculinities leaves women powerless in negotiating sexual behaviours. For example, in a study on South African girls' vulnerability to sexual risk by Bhana and Anderson (2013), girls were found to be dominated by men when it came to decisions about sex. Their request for the use of protection symbolised distrust or infidelity on their part. The relationship between masculinities and refusal of condom use through dominant behaviours is discussed by De Vries, Eggers, Jinabhai, Meyer-Weitz, Sathiparsad and Taylor (2014), whose study on adolescents' beliefs on forced sex found that forced sex occurs as a result of dominant controlling behaviours in the display of masculinities. This action of forced sex includes violent and hurtful behaviours by boys and compliance by girls without the ability of negotiating safe sex practices such as condom use.

The following sub-section will review literature on multiple sexual partners. The literature will highlight the risks involved with this type of behaviour and provide the link between multiple sexual partners and the constructions of masculinities.

- **2.5.5) Multiple sexual partners**

One of the defining characteristics of what it means to be a man is the ability to engage with multiple sexual partners (Connell, 2005; Brook et al., 2006; Gupta, 2000). The available literature clearly states that the engagement with multiple sexual partners is a seriously risky behaviour. For instance, a study on South African adolescents and the pathways to risky behaviours by Brook et al (2006) states that having multiple sexual partners leads to unplanned pregnancies with a significantly increased risk of becoming infected with a sexually transmitted disease. Similar sentiments are shared by several scholars (Silverman, 2013; Brown, Sorrell & Raffaelli, 2005; Lynch, 2008; Macintyre, Rutenberg, Brown & Karim, 2003), all of whom agree and acknowledge that having multiple sexual partners places individual at a high risk of becoming infected with a sexually transmitted disease. While there is a substantial literature on multiple sexual partners and the associated risks, there is also a fair amount of literature on how masculinities are linked to risky sexual behaviour. For Shefer (2009), "manhood appears to be rigidly associated with heterosexuality and the ability to be sexual with multiple women." Another example how masculinities are linked to multiple sexual partners are indicated in studies by Owino (2010) and Maluleke (2010). These shed light on some the cultural constructions of masculinities. Both studies explain how some African cultures construct their masculinities and acknowledge the acceptance of multiple sexual partners within African cultures as it is symbolises manhood. The studies also found that men are allowed to practise polygamy and this places themselves and their partners at risk. Another link between masculinities and multiple sexual partners is given by Connell (1996), who reports how young boys, within the schooling context, construct their masculinities amongst their peers. For Connell (1996), boys express their manhood through heterosexual relationships. One such behavioural characteristic of manhood is sexual conquest with multiple partners. This sexual conquest with multiple partners is also a masculine trait amongst homosexual men (Halkitis, 2001).

The local and international literature presented provides a general idea of how boys and men generally construct their masculinities. However, this study intends to target South African boys. Therefore it is also important to focus on relevant literature that will specifically assist in the understanding how South African boys construct their masculinities. The next section will look at the various studies that inform us what South African boys perceive to be masculine.

2.6) South African boys and their constructions of masculinity

From the multiple sources of literature focussing on South African boys, it appears that a majority of the research has been conducted in rural areas and has focussed on black boys. For instance, in a study by Petersen, Bhana & McKay (2005) on South African youth and sexual violence, young boys were found to be perpetrators of sexual violence due to their behaviour. The participants for this study were young, Zulu speaking, black African boys from a semi-rural tribal area in Kwa-Zulu Natal. The study found that young boys were socialised from an early age into traditional notions of dominating masculine behaviours that promote unequal gender relations. Similarly Bhana and Pattman's (2011) study on how young boys and girls give meaning to love, sampled young boys and girls from informal settlements. The study found that provider masculinities existed among African men and boys. The ability for males to provide economically sees them as privileged over women. The study highlights how young boys use this unequal gendered privilege to provide gifts and money in exchange for sex. For these boys, masculinity means to be able to provide and to engage in risky sexual practices such as unprotected sex as they believe it is an indication of their sexual prowess.

However, in a study on the associations between perceptions of school connectedness and adolescent health risk behaviours in South African high school learners, Govender et al. (2013) focus on Indian girls and boys aged between 13 and 17 years old. Some of the topics the study focused on included substance abuse, violence-related behaviours and sexual risk behaviours. In terms of violent behaviours, the study indicated that 19.2 % of learners carried weapons to school, 32% of the participants reported being involved in a physical fight. Under the topic of substance abuse, more than half of the participants reported having smoked and indulged in alcohol with a smaller percentage admitting to drug use. With regards to risky sexual behaviour, the study found that many participants engaged in sexual behaviour despite being younger than 14. The study further indicates that participants used alcohol and drugs before having sex or seldom used a condom, while a small number of participants reported being pregnant or have impregnated someone. The research concluded that a larger percentage of boys showed engagement in violent behaviour, high health risk behaviours and substance use or abuse than girls. Boys were found more likely to be sexually active, more likely to have started having sex at a younger age as compared girls and more likely to have had many sexual partners. While this study is not directly related to masculinity, it is evident that the behavioural patterns observed are similar to those expressed by scholars of

masculinities. Risk behaviours such as smoking, alcohol consumption and unprotected sex are synonymous with masculinity (Connell, 1996; Bhana & Anderson, 2013; De Vries et al., 2014). From the data presented in the study we can derive that young Indian boys' behaviours are informed by traditional notions of masculinity. However, it is also important to emphasise the point by Martin & Govender (2013) that there is a gap in the area of research that focuses specifically on South African Indian masculinities and this is indicated by the limited sources of literature on the subject.

The above literature presents an idea of how South African boys generally construct their masculinities. While there is some research into how Indian boys construct their masculinities, the area is under-researched.

2.7) Conclusion

Engaging with the literature has established that a majority of the studies tend to focus on black South Africans as many of the studies are conducted in rural areas which are predominantly occupied by black South Africans, thus resulting in a dearth of literature on the remaining population of the country. The statistics presented in this review are a clear indication of the severity of the HIV/AIDS pandemic in South Africa. The literature suggests that risky sexual behaviours are one the main reasons for the spread of sexually transmitted diseases. Drawing from the various factors that have been discussed above, it is undeniable that masculinities do play a role in young boys engaging in risky sexual behaviour. While the existing literature explains how boys generally construct their masculinities, the focus of this study requires data on young Indian boys and their constructions of masculinity. However, the available data that does focus on the Indian population is either minimal, area specific or focuses on women, youth and HIV. Thus the way young Indian boys construct their masculinities in relation to sexual risk has not been explored in greater detail, creating the gap in the literature.

Therefore by engaging in a study that seeks to explore how young Indian boys understand and position themselves as men, and also how their constructions of masculinity connect with possible engagements in risky sexual behaviour in the context of HIV and AIDS, this study seeks to offer a more nuanced, complex and intersectional understanding of sexual behaviours in relation to gender and race, thereby closing an important gap that exists in the

literature. The following section explains the procedures in which the investigation was conducted and the participants selected.

CHAPTER 3

Research Methodology

3.1) Introduction

"Methodology concerns our general approach to a field of study which is informed by philosophical assumptions about the nature of people and processes in the field, the nature of ourselves as scholars and the connections between these. These assumptions shape our role in the field and relationships to participants as well as methods of data collection and analysis,"

(Humphrey, 2013, p. 3)

This chapter presents and discusses the research approaches and methods employed to generate and analyse data for this study. The chapter is divided into three sections. The first section will discuss the philosophical underpinnings of the study. This includes the qualitative research methodology, ontology and epistemology as well as the paradigmatic framework within which the study is located. The second section will highlight and discuss the appropriateness of the methodology and the methodological approaches that were used. This includes the details about case studies, the research site, the method of sampling used, the sample size, and the method of data collection as well as the details of the interview sessions. The third section of this chapter will focus on reflexivity and ethical issues pertaining to the study. I will also discuss how the data generated for the study was analysed.

3.2) Section 1 - Philosophical underpinnings and context

The choice of research approaches that a researcher opts for when undertaking a study, should depend on the nature of the research question. The qualitative and quantitative approaches differ in that the quantitative approach is associated with measurable facts and uses graphs and charts to indicate results, whereas the qualitative approach is more about understanding phenomena in specific contexts.

This study was conducted using the qualitative research methods. According to Marshall (1996, p. 522), "The aim of the quantitative approach is to test pre-determined hypotheses and produce generaliseable results whereas qualitative research processes aim to provide a deeper understanding of psychosocial issues that are useful for answering humanistic, "why" or "how" questions." For Golafshani (2003, p. 600), qualitative research, broadly defined, means "any kind of research that produces findings not arrived at by means of statistical procedures." Golafshani (2003, p. 600) further states that, "qualitative research uses a naturalistic approach that seeks to understand phenomena in context-specific settings, such as real world settings [where] the researcher does not attempt to manipulate the phenomenon of interest." Qualitative research is associated with open-ended or unstructured inquiry where respondents are not limited to their responses (Willig, cited in Lynch, 2008). Similar views are shared by Fouten (2006) who indicates that one of the main features of qualitative research is that qualitative research is conducted in the natural setting as opposed to research conducted in a laboratory. This was therefore a suitable process that was adopted since this study aimed to explore how young Indian boys construct their masculinity and their perceptions of sexual risk behaviours within the context of HIV/AIDS. The study took place within a specific community while aiming to explore and understand the behaviours of a specific group of people.

This study fell within the interpretivist paradigm, was qualitative in design and used questionnaires as the preferred method of data collection since it involved the exploration of the construction of masculinities and the perceptions of risky sexual behaviours among teenage Indian boys in the context of HIV/AIDS. This exploration was a further reason for the adoption of qualitative research methods for this study.

- **3.2.1) Ontology and epistemology**

According to Willig (as cited in Lynch, 2008), ontology can be defined as our assumptions about the nature of the world - the question of what there is to know. In contrast, epistemology is associated with the theory of the world, the "how" and "what" we can know. In addition, Myers (1997) states that epistemology refers to the assumptions about knowledge and how it can be obtained. Furthermore the assumptions of ontology and epistemology are interrelated since a particular view of the world will then relate to what comprises knowledge about the world (Lynch 2008). In addition to this, Humphrey (2013) highlights the questions

that each of these philosophies poses. For Humphrey (2013), ontology questions the interpretation of ourselves as human beings and how we interpret the nature of things. Epistemology questions the appropriateness of knowledge about the different kinds of things or beings. This study used specific methods to interpret and understand the realities and experiences of the participants. This study therefore adopted the interpretivist approach.

The term paradigm is of Greek origin and means pattern. According to Kuhn (cited in Thomas, 2010, p. 292), who first used the term, paradigm refers to, "a research culture with a set of beliefs, values, and assumptions that a community of researchers has in common regarding the nature and conduct of research."

This research study was informed by the interpretivist paradigm. The interpretivist approach seeks to understand the attitudes, behaviour, beliefs and perceptions of the individual. The interpretivist paradigm aims to understand the world of human experience by trying to understand the individual from within (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2007). Much emphasis is placed on understanding a particular situation and contributing to the underlying pursuit of contextual depth (Myers cited in Kelliher, 2005). In addition, "Interpretivists believe that reality is not objectively determined, but is socially constructed," (Kelliher, 2005, p. 123). Similarly, Andrade (2009) highlights that interpretivism is aligned with the construction of the social world where the researcher becomes the outlet for the revelation of those constructions. Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2007) also state that the interpretive approach focuses on actions or behaviours with meaning and intentions. These scholars also state that within qualitative studies, investigators should work directly with the experiences and understandings of the individual in an attempt to build their theory on them.

Therefore the interpretivist paradigm was suitable for this study since I sought to gain an insight into the participants' lives, thoughts and experiences in order to interpret their behaviours. This was exactly what my study did. I interviewed individuals with the intention of drawing information from their understandings and experiences in order to get an idea of how they constructed their masculinities and their perceptions of risky sexual behaviour.

3.3) Section 2 - Research methodology: Case study

Qualitative researchers have a wide selection of inquiry approaches to choose from when conducting a study. These include "surveys, experimentation, ethnography, action research and testing and assessment" (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2007, p.83). However for this

study, the case-study research approach was adopted. According to Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2000), a case study is an in-depth study of a particular case, where the case may be a person or a group of people. According to Yin (2011, p. 18) a case study is, "an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon in-depth and within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident." Other definitions of case studies include those by Creswell, Hanson and Clark (2007, p. 245), who state that" "case study research studies an issue explored through one or more cases within a bounded system." According to Dobson (1999, p. 259), "the intention of case study research is generally proposed as to gain an in-depth understanding of the concerned phenomena in a real-life setting." In a case study, "the researcher aims to capture the reality of the participants' lived experiences of and thoughts about, a particular situation" (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2000, p. 182). Case studies may focus on an issue or a case which may be an individual or a group of individuals chosen to provide further insight into the issue (Creswell, Hanson, Plano & Morales, 2007).

The advantage of using case study research is elaborated by Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2000) who state that one of the advantages of case studies is that this method observes effects in real contexts while recognizing that context is a powerful determinant of both causes and effects. Similarly, Creswell, Hanson, Plano and Morales (2007) also emphasise that case study research explores issues through cases within a particular system or context. Further elaboration on case studies is given by Yin (2003), who argues that case study research builds an in-depth, contextual understanding of the case, relying on multiple sources of data. This view on case study research is also shared by Creswell et al. (2007), who acknowledge the association that case study research has with qualitative approaches, where an issue is explored through single or multiple cases through detailed data collection that includes multiple sources of information. This data generation includes methods such as observations, interviews, audiovisual material, documents and reports. Due to the interpretive stance employed for this research study and the nature of the research question, the case study methodology was considered the most appropriate approach since it provides a systematic way to generate data, analyse the information collected and report the results. This assists in the greater understanding of a particular situation.

In this study, the case was a group of Indian teenage boys from a high school located in the lower south coast district of Kwa-Zulu Natal known as Umkomaas. The unit of analysis was therefore contextual. The study explores these Indian teenage boys' ideas and thoughts about their constructions of masculinity and perceptions about risky sexual behaviour in the context of HIV/AIDS. This topic was appropriate for case study research as case studies provide "a unique example of real people in real situations, enabling readers to understand ideas more clearly than simply by presenting them with abstract theories or principles. Case studies allow readers to understand how ideas and abstract principles can fit together" (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2007, p. 181). This study aimed to explore the reasons and thoughts as to what informed teenage Indian boys in their ideas of what it meant to be masculine and their perceptions of risky behaviours due to this. Case studies involve real experiences of real people. This study indeed looked at real life experiences as this study looked at the lived experiences of teenage Indian boys and their thoughts about masculinity and what they believed was expected of them as males, as well as what their perceptions were when it came to sexual risk, especially in the context of HIV/AIDS.

- ### 3.3.1) Research site

The participants for this study were Indian boys from grade 11 and grade 12. They all live in a predominantly Indian community situated on the south coast of Kwa-Zulu Natal known as Umkomaas. They attend a local high school in the area, which was the research site. The school is a co-ed public school with mainly black and Indian learners contributing to the schooling population. Indian learners form the majority. The school offers subjects to learners from grade 8 to grade 12. The educators employed by the school are mainly Indian followed by black educators. The school also promotes various codes of sport, ranging from the most physical such as soccer, to less physical codes such as chess and drama. Since it is the only high school in the area, it services 90 percent of high schooling children. The boys come from various parts of the community; some live in a lower income area which is located a few meters from the school, while some come from more affluent and middle class areas. All of these boys live in homes where there is a stable income from either parents or guardians. In order to do a study on the constructions of masculinities amongst young Indian boys in schools, my sample included Indian boys who were mature enough to understand what this study involved and were willing to participate in the research. Permission was granted by the school principal for the research study to be conducted at the school with the selected participants. Arrangements were made to have an initial meeting with the grade 11

and 12 classes in their registration period in the morning to explain the study. This research site was appropriate for this study since it accommodates a high number of Indian learners and they were the required sample for this study.

- ### 3.3.2) Selection of participants - Sample

According to Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2007), the quality of the research being conducted is based not only on the appropriate research methods but also on the correct sampling strategy. Sampling is important for any particular research study as it is "often impractical and inefficient to conduct studies on whole populations" (Marshall 1996, p. 522). From the several existing methods of sampling strategies, I had selected two strategies that I considered to be applicable to my study. The participants for this study were selected using convenient and purposive sampling.

A description of convenient sampling is given by Mack, Woodsong, Macqueen, Guest and Namey (2005, p. 6), who state that, "Sample sizes, which may or may not be fixed prior to data collection, depend on the resources and time available, as well as the study's objectives."

This type of sampling was adopted since my study was conducted in an Indian-dominated high school which provided me with easy accessibility and availability to the students as well as convenient accessibility to the school, which is located a short distance from my residence. I had also opted for this approach since I travelled 60km daily to and from work which created time constraints to conduct interviews with learners who had limited time for extra-curricular activities after schooling hours.

"Purposive sampling is a strategy where the researcher selects the most productive sample to answer the research question. It is also one of the most common strategies adopted by qualitative researchers" (Marshall 1996, p. 523). In addition, Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2007, p. 110) state that, "Purposive sampling will exclude and limit members of the wider population since the researcher has purposely pre-selected the sample to be included in the research study. This is done so that researchers may have a sample that is satisfactory to their requirements."

In this study, I had specifically focussed on school-going Indian teenage boys. I intentionally targeted the 16-18 year old age group as I believed that they would be emotionally mature and intellectually able to speak about and discuss their experiences and thoughts on masculinities and risky sexual behaviours. To obtain these participants I had targeted the

grade 11 and grade 12 classes at the local high school which is the research site. The intention of selecting these grades of learners was largely due to their age and their (assumed) extended knowledge, as compared to the lower grades, on sexuality, risky behaviour and HIV/AIDS. I had explained the nature and purpose of the study to each class, including why the study focuses on Indian boys instead of all the races. In the process of explaining, I had to be sensitive to the multiracial nature of the classes and had to ensure that learners understood that the focus on Indian boys was not based on any prejudice. I informed the class that I intended to focus on teenage Indian boys specifically due to the under-researched area of risky sexual behaviour and teenage Indian boys. I also explained how existing literature rarely focused on Indian boys specifically. The multiracial class understood this dilemma and accepted my intention to focus on Indian boys only.

Subsequent to detailing the nature and purpose of the research, I requested all boys interested in participating in the study to meet me after school or to confidentially inform their class teacher that they would be willing to participate and the class teacher would notify me. I had made arrangements with the teachers for this to be done. A total of 14 interested boys had approached their teacher and indicated their willingness to be included in the study. The teacher then notified me and an initial meeting was arranged where I met with the boys. Once the boys agreed to participate, they were given consent forms. I had explained to them that the forms should be read thoroughly by themselves and their parents and that due to their ages, these forms had to be signed by themselves and by their parents. The boys were again briefed about the nature and reasons behind this research. I had emphasised the confidential nature of the study and reassured the participants that no names would be mentioned and that anonymity and confidentiality would be guaranteed.

- **3.3.3) Sample size**

According to Marshall (1996), an appropriate sample size for a qualitative study is one that effectively answers the research question. In addition, Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2007) indicate that in an ethnographic or qualitative study, the sample size may be small. For this study I had intended to use ten to 15 participants. The chosen number of participants was due to the desire of wanting to document a range of experiences, thoughts and feelings about how young boys construct their masculinities and their perceptions of sexual risk. As acknowledged by scholars (Marshall, 1996; Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2007), the larger the sample, the richer the data. Therefore, by opting for a larger sample, the data that would

be generated would possibly enhance the study by providing various understandings of behaviours and actions from the various participants.

- ### 3.3.4) Challenges encountered in obtaining participants

One of the issues with obtaining participants is strongly linked to the late approval from the research ethics committee. Their approval was granted rather late in the academic year which meant that many matriculants were preparing for trials. This impacted on my research as I intended for large part of the sample to be grade 12 learners. However the late approval resulted in many of the matric learners unable to avail themselves as participants for the study. However, after the initial visit to the school and meeting with the classes, I had received confirmation from 14 willing boys who were eager to be a part of the study. I then issued out consent forms to these boys and asked for them to be handed to their class teacher by the end of the same week. However, at the end of the week, I went to retrieve the consent forms and was surprised to hear that four of the boys had decided to withdraw from the study. The class teacher responsible for the collection of the forms had informed me that these boys were interested but could not participate in the study due to the unwillingness of their parents. The educator went on to say that two of those boys who withdrew from the study indicated that their parents strongly believed that the topic of sex should not be discussed with anybody and is something between parents and their children, not an outsider. I did however anticipate such issues, and it was made clear that participants may withdraw from the study at any point should they choose to do so. My sample had now been reduced to ten participants.

- ### 3.3.5) Data Generation

Data generated using qualitative research methods are in the form words rather than numbers. The focus of this study aimed to explore the constructions of masculinity among teenage Indian boys and their perceptions of sexual risk and therefore required respondents to speak freely about their beliefs, experiences and understandings of the social world. Thus the appropriate methods of data generation used for this study were semi–structured, open ended, individual interviews conducted with each of participants using a standard list of questions.

I initially opted to conduct focus group interviews but after some thought, I believed that with a topic of this nature, a focus group interview with all the participants may result in some boys feeling belittled in front of others which could influence their responses or some boys could possibly exaggerate the truth to create a false impression of themselves to appear

macho. According to Fouten (2006, p 23), "people who are acquainted to each other tend to dominate group discussions and thus influence the group dynamics." For this reason I therefore opted to eliminate focus group interviews and have two individual interview sessions with each of the participants. The first session was to establish a rapport with the participants and the second interview sessions were to generate data.

According to Kvale (cited in Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2007) an interview is an interchange of views between people, on a topic of similar interest between the interviewer and participant. The common interest between the participants and researcher for this study was their construction of masculinities and risky sexual behaviours. According to Walsham (2006), interpretive studies are synonymous with the use of interviews to acquire the interpretations of participants. Furthermore the suitability of utilising this method of interviews is highlighted by Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2007), who believe that the use of interviews allows respondents to speak about their interpretation of the world in which they live and it also considers the respondents' point of view. These scholars also describe the unstructured interview as one that is open and flexible to responses. This is what was required to achieve in-depth data from the boys. Furthermore, Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2007) indicate that using a standardized list of questions for all participants allows their responses to be compared, which becomes relevant during the data analysis process.

Each participant was interviewed twice with each session lasting about 60 minutes. The first interview was to establish a rapport. "[A rapport] involves the interviewee feeling comfortable and competent enough in the interaction, to talk back." (Blumer as cited in Miller & Glassner, 2004, p.143). Rapport also establishes trust and emphasises confidentiality. The second session involved the use of semi-structured interviews to obtain more data. All participants were interviewed in privacy in a quiet environment which was an empty classroom, so that they were comfortable and not interrupted by noise or other disturbances. The interviews were conducted at a time that was convenient for the participants. Permission was sought from all participants for the interviews to be digitally recorded. Some of the advantages of tape/digitally audio recording of an interview are offered by Walsham (2006). who indicates that by recording an interview, the interviewer is free to focus on the respondent instead of writing down every detailed description. Recordings also make it possible to specify direct quotes from the interviewee.

According to (Mack et al, 2005, p. 30), "During the data analysis phase of the research, after data collection, transcripts are coded according to participant responses to each question and/or to the most salient themes emerging across the set of interviews." This was practised in my study as the interviews were recorded digitally, with the participants' consent. This data was then analysed, interpreted, transcribed verbatim and presented through thematic analysis.

A copy of the semi-structured interview schedule has been attached. (See appendix B)

- **3.3.6) Managing the interviews**

As stated in the previous section, each participant was interviewed twice with each session lasting approximately an hour each. However, before any of the interviews could be done, permission had to first be granted by the research ethics committee. A meeting with the principal of the school (research site) was set up to obtain permission to conduct the study on school premises with the learners. Once this was granted, the interviews were then conducted after school hours so that the participants' schooling activities would not be disrupted as well as to accommodate my travelling and working hours. As agreed upon by the school principal, an empty classroom was chosen as the venue for all the participants to be interviewed. The selected venue and time allowed for a peaceful and quiet environment for the interviews to take place. I had drawn up a roster which indicated the times and dates for when these participants would be interviewed. In this way, I would be able to inform the boys in advance about their interview dates so that they knew which dates to makes themselves available. This was done by communicating with an educator from the school to remind the boys of their upcoming interviews. The interviews occurred over two sessions – Wednesdays and Fridays were the interview days. All Wednesday sessions were for the first round of interviews with the second round of interviews being held on Fridays. These days were purposely chosen to accommodate the learners and myself due to busy academic and work schedules.

As indicated above, the first session of interviews established rapport with the participants. I also used this session as an opportunity to again explain the details of the study to the participating boys despite these being highlighted in the consent forms. To reassure the boys, I had explained the importance of anonymity and emphasised that the interviews and discussions would not be discussed and that pseudonyms would be used. I also reminded them that the interviews would be digitally recorded so that all information given during the interviews would be correctly captured, to which they all agreed. Prior to the interviews, I

had decided to dress rather casually during each session with the various participants, to eliminate any impression of a formal setting so that the boys would be more at ease when responding during the interviews. After the first round of interviews, I discovered that some of the boys and I shared similar interests such as gaming, sport and music. These similar interests created a platform for trust and comfort to be established between them and me since we both were knowledgeable about these topics and could exchange ideas and thoughts about them. Some boys, however, seemed to be more reserved and shy and some boys expressed their great religious devotion. While this was not a problem, it did create an environment that was less casual than that of those boys who shared similar interests as me. These shy and reserved boys, at first, responded directly to the questions that were posed to them without offering any further thoughts and suggestions nor did they speak freely. However, I thereafter had to probe them on activities that they enjoyed and questioned them further on these and other aspects of their lives, then only did they began opening up and speaking more comfortably and freely. This initial session also shed some light on the boys' lives at home and what some of their goals and possible career paths are once they have completed their schooling. As time progressed, the boys eased up, they seemed a little less nervous after conversing with me as I was interested in them and their interests. Their body language also suggested that they had become less tense.

The second session of interviews went smoothly since a relationship had already been established with the participants during the first session. The boys seemed much more relaxed than our first encounter together. I found that this session lasted much longer than the first session for all of the boys. The probable causes for this were the number of questions posed to each of the participants as well as the open-ended nature of the questions that were used during the interview. This allowed the boys to openly and freely express themselves thus resulting in much richer responses from them without being restricted. A list of questions had been drawn up prior to interview sessions. These questions were aimed at obtaining data on how these boys interpreted masculinity and the associated behaviours. In some cases I had to rephrase certain questions in order to extract a better response. From all the respondents that were interviewed, there were evident differences in the levels of confidence that existed amongst them. This was displayed in their behaviours, responses and body language. Some boys spoke without hesitation or limitations, while some spoke softly and were afraid to use slang. Others sat upright on the chair with their hands at the side while some of the boys sat in a more relaxed manner – with folded legs and hands behind their head. These differing

characteristics also noticeably yielded different responses. All behaviours and responses from the respondents were also written down during each individual interview. Below is a table profiling each participant.

Pseudonym	Age	Number of times interviewed	Approximate duration of both interview sessions
Alvin	17	2	2 hours
Brandon	17	2	2 h 20min
Chad	16	2	2 hours
Donovan	17	2	2 hours
Eric	17	2	2 hours
Faizel	16	2	2 hours
Gerrard	17	2	2 hours
Hashen	17	2	2 hours
Indresin	17	2	2 hours
Justin	17	2	2 hours

3.4) Section 3 - Trustworthiness

Validity and reliability are associated with the quality of studies. However, the terms of reliability and validity are concepts that are strongly linked with quantitative research. This is further unpacked by Stenbacka (cited in Golofshani, 2003, p. 601) who states that "reliability is a concept to evaluate quality in quantitative study with a "purpose of explaining" while [the] quality concept in qualitative study has the purpose of "generating understanding." In qualitative research studies the term of trustworthiness is used when referring to the quality of the study.

Elaboration of the testing of quality in qualitative studies is explained by Lincoln and Guba (as cited in Golofshani, 2003, p. 601) who indicate that, "in qualitative paradigms the terms Credibility, Neutrality or Confirmability, Consistency or Dependability and Applicability or Transferability are to be the essential criteria for quality" (Cohen, Manion and Morrison 2007, p. 110). These criteria were therefore adopted in this qualitative study.

"Credibility is the fit between respondents' views and the researcher's representation of those views." (Tobin & Begley, 2004, p. 391). The credibility of this study was obtained by the researcher clarifying his understanding of the participant's view after each question to ensure the correct representation of the data. Credibility was also enhanced by allowing participants to read the transcribed data to confirm that their responses were captured accurately. Shenton (2004, p. 64) acknowledges "that ensuring credibility is one of most important factors in establishing trustworthiness."

According to Tobin and Begley (2004, p. 392), "Confirmability is concerned with establishing that data and interpretations of the findings are not figments of the inquirer's imagination." Shenton (2004, p. 72) states that "steps must be taken to help ensure as far as possible that the work's findings are the result of the experiences and ideas of the informants, rather than the characteristics and preferences of the researcher." To ensure confirmability, the researcher confirmed the participants intended meaning by questioning their responses to ensure accurate interpretations of the data generated. All methods used were explained. The reasons for using these methods were included in the research report. Any flaws identified in the research process were stated.

According to Shenton (2004, p. 71), "to address the dependability issue more directly, the processes within the study should be reported in detail..." This was addressed by accurately documenting the whole study in detail so that another researcher may conduct the same study again in the future. I kept a journal detailing the interview sessions with participants, including their body language, emotions, as well as my personal feelings during each of the sessions. I believed that every response, physical and emotional, from the participants would benefit the research study by adding depth to their responses and experiences. With permission, each of the interviews were recorded digitally and then transcribed verbatim and analysed thematically. According to Krippendorp (as cited in Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2007), thematic analysis involves putting texts into themes and combinations of categories.

After reading the transcriptions several times, themes were identified by common patterns emerging from the participant responses.

 "Transferability is the generalisability of inquiry" (Tobin & Begley, 2004, p. 392). Golafshani (2003, p. 601) states that "qualitative study has the purpose of generating understanding." This is what my study aimed to do, which was to explore behaviours and understandings within a particular context and not necessarily to achieve generalisability.

- ### 3.4.1) Ethical issues

Ethical concerns are a crucial part in any study. According to Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2007) ethical issues always arise at the various stages of the research. These issues may arise from the nature of the research, the context of the research, the research procedures adopted, methods of data collection, the nature of the participants, the type of data generated and what is to be done with the data that is generated. Therefore it is important for researchers to find a balance between themselves and their subjects' rights which may be infringed by the research.

Before any fieldwork commences, ethical clearance from the ethics office has to be obtained, according to the University of KwaZulu-Natal's Research Office. Clearance was declined at the first two attempts due to minor technical errors in the research proposal, however the approval was still withheld after the necessary adjustments had been done. This was a long process and took a few months from the application to the granting of approval. The prolonged period before approval pushed back the research study since the research plan had indicated that interviews would be conducted at an earlier stage but this evidently had to be altered due to the late approval granted by the ethics committee. It wasn't clear to me as to whether the delays were due to administrative challenges in the ethics office itself or whether this had to do with the subject under investigation. Scholars (Sikes & Piper, 2010; Irvin, 2014) highlight the difficulties that scholars of sexualities face when it comes to ethical approval. These include ethics committees being unnecessarily too sensitive and at times even seeking to block research concerning sex issues. Needless to say, the delays from the Ethics Office not only caused unnecessary frustration but also resulted in significant delays with the study.

Since the participants were considered to be children, consent was required from a parent or legal guardian in order for me to interview them. A definition of informed consent is given by

Diener and Crandall (cited in Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2007, p. 5) as "the procedures in which individuals choose whether to participate in an investigation after being informed of facts that would be likely to influence their decisions." Furthermore, Lewis (2003) maintains that in any research undertaking, sampled members' informed consent must be obtained and a full description of the study should be explained, allowing participants to withdraw at any time should they choose to. Therefore, since the interview contained questions that were of a private nature, informed consent was sought. Before the first interview was conducted, the participants were all made aware of what the study was about and what was expected of them. I had given the participants written detailed descriptions of the study and had included consent forms which had to be signed. This was an acknowledgement that they and their parents were fully aware of all proceedings. Both parent/guardian and the participant were required to read and sign these forms. Permission was also sought for the interview to be digitally recorded. The participants were informed they were not compelled to answer questions that they were not comfortable with. It was emphasised that the interview would be done in confidentiality and no names would be revealed or made public in order to protect their identity. Pseudonyms were therefore used in this study in keeping with the anonymity requirement.

Informed consent was also sought from the school principal as the research needed to be conducted on school premises with school learners. Therefore access to the schools' facilities was required. A meeting was scheduled with the school principal to explain the nature of the study and to obtain permission to go ahead with the research. A consent form was then issued to the school principal explaining the nature and purpose of the study. Consent was granted by the principal without any difficulties.

- **3.4.2) Reflexivity**

Reflexivity is associated with the role researchers play in their research. According to Cohen, Manion & Morrison (2007, p. 171), "reflexivity suggests that researchers should acknowledge and disclose their own selves in the research, seeking to understand their part in, or influence on, the research." This is also acknowledged by Smith (cited in Fouten, 2006) who indicates that it is vital for the researcher's influence on the data to be recognised since the researcher is considered to be the instrument in the study. Reflexivity maintains that the researcher, either qualitative or quantitative, keep an account of all proceedings in the

research, from the rationale for conducting the study to decisions taken during the course of the study (Rolfe, 2006).

My interest in Indian teenage boys' engaging in risky sexual practices despite the continuous warnings about sexually transmitted diseases (STDs) and promotion of safe sex by the media, as mentioned before, stems from my curiosity as an Indian educator living in an Indian community and witnessing young adults becoming teenage parents. As an educator, I have previously taught at two predominantly Indian populated high schools. I have also observed how risk-taking behaviours have become associated with popularity and are considered to be macho characteristics. Therefore, being exposed to these actions, I was interested to determine the reasons for these types of behaviours which are occurring at a time when the HIV/AIDS virus is a global threat. For that reason my study aims to explore the possible influences of these types of risky behaviours.

I do acknowledge that as the researcher for this study, I did have some influence on the research process. I found that being a male researcher interviewing male participants of the same race, made it easier to communicate with the respondents. Most of them were able to speak to me freely. This was often demonstrated by the use of slang while speaking to me. My chosen style of dressing could have also possibly influenced their behavioural patterns as I had dressed rather casually. This was done for the sole purpose of eliminating any sense of a formal setting so that the participants would feel much more at ease when communicating.

Having attended the same school during my schooling years and growing up in the same town, I had some knowledge of how certain behaviours by boys in school are viewed. I also had some knowledge of how boys who are not part of the "in-crowd" are treated. Although having completed my schooling over ten years ago, this information was useful in probing the participants to extract richer responses for some of the questions posed. However, I was cautious when speaking to the respondents and I did not let any of my previous knowledge influence the participants' responses. Reflexivity was practised by keeping a reflective journal in which I documented various aspects of the research process and some of my feelings during the process.

- **3.4.3) Data Analysis**

Data analysis involves the organising and explaining of the data generated. It also involves identifying patterns, similarities and emerging themes from the data and them summarizing

them. Qualitative researchers have a choice of many methods for analysing the data that they have generated (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2007). A common procedure in the analysis of qualitative data is the identification of key themes, concepts or categories (Spencer, Ritchie & O'Connor, 2003).

For this research study the data were analysed and presented through the use of thematic analysis. Thematic analysis aims to reveal the themes that are prominent in textual data (Attride-Sterling, 2001). This type of analysis involves the recognition of themes by carefully reading and re-reading the data. "It is a form of pattern recognition within the data, where emerging themes become the categories for analysis" (Rice & Ezzy as cited in Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006, p. 82).

The data generated were transcribed verbatim with the aid of the digital audio recording to ensure that an accurate account of the participants' responses was captured. Notes were also written down during the interviews, to summarise responses but also to note attitudes and physical reactions towards each question. The data were analysed using the inductive process. The inductive process looks at categorising the data and then identifying patterns across the data (Snape & Spencer, 2003). However, before extracting themes from the data, the data was firstly reduced to ensure that they contained only the relevant information that was needed. This is also part of the inductive process where the data needs to be summarized. According to Miles (cited in Spencer, Ritchie & O'Connor, 2003), data reduction is an essential part in the data analysis process since the data obtained from qualitative research studies are large, awkward and messy. These data may be in the form of "interviews or focus groups, documents, photographs or videos, and the researcher must find a way of getting a handle on the data" (Spencer, Ritchie & O'Connor, 2003, p. 215).

In my study, I reduced the data by summarizing the interview responses in terms of relevant links to the objectives of the study. The individual transcripts were read numerous times to identify themes and categories.

3.5) Conclusion

In the above chapter I have explained the details of my study. This concluding section provided an overview of what was discussed throughout the chapter. This methodology chapter was divided into three sections with each section having sub-sections. The first section highlights the philosophical underpinnings of the study. This section provides insight

into the qualitative nature of the study as well as the ontological and epistemological underpinnings of the study. The paradigm informing the study is also explained.

The second section explains the methodology and the methods used in this research study. This section explains the case-study approach and then provides reasons as to why it was adopted for this study. It goes on to provide details about the research sight, the type of sampling method used and the reason for the size of the sample. This section also provides a full description of the methods employed to generate the data. The chosen method of semi-structured interviews is explained with reasons for the adoption of this method. The section is concluded with a detailed description of the interview process. The third and final section in this chapter begins with the aspect of trustworthiness and indicates how this study aims to achieve trustworthiness. Ethical issues are also discussed, providing details of some of the challenges faced as well as how ethical issues were addressed. The section also explains reflexivity and how this was achieved for the study. The last part of this section looks at the data analysis aspect of the study. It explained what methods were used to analyse the data and the reasons. In the following chapter I will present the findings from my study and discuss the responses from the interviews.

CHAPTER 4

Findings and Data Analysis

4.1) Introduction

In the previous chapter I have discussed the methods and approaches adopted to generate and analyse the data for this study. This chapter will discuss and present the data generated from the interview sessions with the ten Indian male participants. The digitally recorded interviews were transcribed into textual data. The data were then analysed and interpreted; they will be presented through thematic analysis. The analysis was done using the inductive process of data analysis. The inductive process looks at categorising the data and then identifying patterns across the data (Snape & Spencer, 2003). The patterns were identified through thorough reading and re-reading of the transcripts. All comparable experiences were grouped accordingly. The themes were then recognised through this recurrence of information and experiences that were obtained from the various participants. The themes were informed by this study's three research questions:

1. How do teenage Indian boys construct their masculinities?
2. What are Indian boys' perceptions of risky sexual behaviour, especially in a context of HIV/AIDS?
3. How do teenage Indian boys' constructions of their masculinity relate to their perceptions of risky sexual behaviour*?*

After engaging with the data, the chapter was divided into two parts under which the patterns were recognised and the subsequent themes emerged. In Part I: Teenage Indian boys' general construction of masculinities, the following themes emerged: Reconstituting masculinities and appealing to girls; The performance of masculinities by teenage Indian boys. In addition, the following sub-themes emerged: Social interaction and popularity; Violent and aggressive behaviours towards other boys and Physique and dress. The second part of this chapter, Part II: Teenage Indian boys: Masculinities and risky sexual behaviour, the following themes emerged: Sex as a marker of masculinity; Sexual risk and multiple sexual partners; Boys, dominance and condom usage and Misinformation and Sexual risk.

This chapter makes use of pseudonyms to protect the identity of the participants and the institution in which this research study was undertaken. The following pseudonyms were used to represent the participants: Alvin, Brandon, Chad, Donovan, Eric, Faizel, Gerrard, Hashen, Indresin and Justin.

4.2) Presentation and Data analysis

The presentation of the data is divided into two parts. The first part: Teenage Indian boys' constructions of masculinity as one major theme with three sub-themes that will discuss and explore the general construction of masculinities of Indian boys in their attempt to appeal to females. The second instalment: Teenage Indian boys: Masculinities and risky sexual behaviour, is discussed through themes two to five of this chapter and will focus on how sex, risk and sexuality are implicated in the type of masculinities the boys adopt. The reason for mapping out the chapter in this way is to highlight the boys' own experiences and perceptions of masculinities in their conquest for girls and then show how their constructions of masculinities affect and influence their behaviours when it comes to sex and sexuality.

4.3) Part I: Teenage Indian boys' general construction of masculinities

This first part of this chapter will discuss what has come through the study about the way teenage Indian boys generally construct their masculinities. This section will highlight some of the behaviours and practices that teenage Indian boys consider to be markers of masculinity. This will be explained further in the following themes and sub-themes.

Connell's (1996) work on masculinities became particularly useful in the data that emerged during the data generation process. Connell (1996) indicates that schools play a major role in the formation of masculinities. Elements of schooling institutions such as the curriculum, sporting activities as well as the learners themselves are all actively involved in constructing masculinities. In this study, the first theme that emerged from the analysis of the data was that of how Indian boys negotiate the masculinities that exist within their schooling environment. This is because from the interview sessions with the boys, I found that many of the participants shared their own varying ideas of what represented masculinity. This was generally based from their encounters and interactions with other pupils from the school. This study found that, for many of the boys, masculinity was represented through a series of behaviours and actions that they had witnessed and the subsequent approval or disapproval of these actions by other boys or girls.

4.3.1) Theme 1: Reconstituting masculinities and appealing to girls: The performance of masculinities by teenage Indian boys

A set of male attributes and behaviours that are socially accepted and are generally considered to be the social ideal is referred to as heterosexual masculinities (Connell 1996). Butler (cited in Bhana, 2014, p. 370) argues that, "the expression of masculinity and femininity is embedded within heterosexuality so that normality involves desiring the opposite sex." Through the analysis of the interviews, it was found that the conquest for women emerged as a major theme in this study as it was considered a highly valued endeavour amongst boys within the schooling environment. However, it also emerged in this study, that some of the participants had highlighted alternate methods in their quest for girls by expressing their dissociation from engaging in traditional masculine practices exercised by other boys within the schooling environment to get girls. The boys that were identified as a representation of dominant masculinities were classified as the gymers; drug dealers/users; and the fearless. The teenage Indian participants however, had subscribed to their own ideas of masculine practices. For example, some participants avoided resorting to violence, while

some participants subscribed to metrosexual philosophies of manhood. However, despite the participants' arguments that they were different from those boys who displayed hegemonic forms of masculinity, their narratives indicate that although they believed themselves to appear anti-normative, they still subscribed to patriarchal norms. For example, while some claimed to be non-violent, some participants aspired to the possession of women, they aspired to popularity, some aspired to dress and muscularity whilst some aspired to sporting prowess. Therefore, while they believe they are oppositional to hegemony, some of the teenage Indian participants are still caught up in understandings of patriarchy. The following sub-themes demonstrate how teenage Indian boys aspire to conquer women through their own understandings and interpretations of masculine practices.

- ### 4.3.1.1) Social interaction and popularity

Connell (1996) argues that masculinities are actively constructed and are a result of social practices that are performed by people who believe they are reproducing appropriate masculinities. They do so in an attempt to conform to social pressures. One of the crucial aspects of adolescence deals with the integration into the peer group where popularity indicates acceptance (Kessels, 2005). This study found that one of the ways teenage Indian boys believe that they have achieved masculine status is through the attainment of multiple peer relationships. Through these relationships, many of the participants enhance their social status and popularity amongst the other boys and girls at their school. To the Indian participants, to be well known equates to being well liked and this means adoration from both girls and boys.

Wanting to know how the participants viewed themselves in the social context of the school, they were questioned about their friendships and social standing. This is what some of the participants had to say:

> *"Ya .. I have a lot of friends. I would say I am more of a girls' person...my social life and my life is just...like go around the school and like "what's up my nigger?" You know [what]I'm saying? well..how we got popular? The variety concert..it was for school...well we did that..and that made us popular.. and we got the women..you know they liked it...so we said you now..we can carry on doing this..and in grade 10 we did a play for the school... that was outstanding... and in grade 11 we did a play again for*

the variety show that they had... the variety concert..... it was for school...well we did that... and that made us popular... like people saw us... and they call us by the name we had in the play... it's like you know... what's up?... and that jus made us popular... like you see the guys... and the friends just introduce you to that friend and that friend... four years ago to now, I have way more friends in school... in high school."

(Brandon)

"I would say that I am in between all the groups that you get in school; the gymers, sports guys, academics, Romeos.... because I like a little bit of everything... I like to focus on my studies, I like to fool around, I like to have fun... what can I say?... To me a guy would be a person that is cool that is level headed... got your friends around... (laughs) and of course you want a girl, there's no denying that there..."

(Faizel)

"Yeah I do [have many friends]... I get along with all guys and all girls ...and I am quite popular... I don't mean to be egotistical but I don't try hard and I am popular ... I'm very easy to talk to... like anybody can come up to me and I can have a conversation easily... and I'm not like a harsh person... I won't pick on anyone and stuff like that... I would say there's very few people that don't know me... like even when I'm out of school I see people greeting me and I don't even know who they are."

(Alvin)

"Many people know me almost the whole school is my friend... some of them know me from out of school, they talk... some are friends... when they come to the school some just come up and talk to you..."

(Donovan)

Donovan also stated that:

" ... to be a man, you must respect everyone [and] mostly be friendly... I have a lot of friends because I play soccer in the school."

<div align="right">

(Donovan)

</div>

Brandon expressed how he considered himself to be a girls' person, indicating his preference of friendships and that he has many friends who are girls. He further indicates how being popular through participating in school events had won him the admiration of many girls and boys and for that reason he enjoyed being well known and attempted to keep up his fame through participating in more events. Faizel had made us aware that he was well known by the various groups of boys that existed within the school. He mentions his ability to make many friends due to his outgoing personality. For Faizel, friendships and having a girl by your side, implying being in romantic relationship, signified manhood. This was emphasized in his response. Alvin's response indicated his effortless ability to form friendships. His denial of being egotistical about such ability is indeed an indication that the skill of forming numerous friendships is an achievement and a difficult task for some. Alvin further emphasised his popularity by claiming to be so well known that he himself failed to recognise people that knew him. Alvin attributed his popularity to his comforting and easy going persona. Donovan claimed he was friends with most of the schooling population and that his popularity had extended to people from out of the schooling environment, emphasising his wide range of friendships. Donovan cites his involvement in sport as one of the reasons for him having many friends. He further stated that to him, being a man meant being respectful and friendly. An additional response that highlights the impact of popularity, is shared by Hashen:

"... When it comes to girls, in school you have many girlfriends, it just happens… people think that if you are popular you have many girlfriends, people talk to you differently, they respect you… and if you don't have many girlfriends then you're just like any other normal person… come to school, do your work and go home."

<div align="right">

(Hashen)

</div>

Based on Hashen's experiences, the reasons are clear as to why boys strive to achieve popular status. Being popular meant being associated with having women and earning the respect of others. It also meant being treated differently, being seen as superior by other people. Hashen

also highlighted the implications of being unpopular. The consequence of this was being viewed inferiorly or ignored altogether. These responses from the participants signify the extent to which the participants considered themselves to be popular through their ability of forming multiple relationships. As Hamlall and Morrell (2009) note, popularity is associated with admiration and respect from other school learners. In this study it is evident that many of the participants considered themselves to be well known and well liked. The narratives from the participants are an indication of how, to some of the boys, manhood is measured by the ability to form numerous friendships while simultaneously earning admiration from girls and other boys, as this is considered a feat that not all can achieve. The participants' narratives also highlight some of the behaviours and performances that contributed to the boys' popularity; for example, participation in shows, public performances, involvement in sport as well as being an extrovert were all methods used to form numerous friendships. The benefits of popularity were also highlighted and provided a reason as to why boys strive to be popular – for the adoration from women, respect and elevated status amongst the peers. Furthermore, the boastful manner in which these participants spoke about their popularity during the interviews suggests that it is indeed an accomplishment and it is a status that sets them apart from others. Therefore, the analysis of the data generated from this study suggests that one of the ways in which these teenage Indian boys constructed their masculinities was through achieving popular status by multiple peer relationships that were achieved by the performance of certain attitudes and behaviours that elevated their status amongst their friends. This was done in the quest for women and stature. However further analysis of the data collected also revealed the consequences of not being able to easily "fit in" with the popular crowd.

Kessels (2005, p.310) argues that "the performance of certain behaviours will lead to popularity and acceptance amongst peers and that there are those performances that will decrease acceptance and this constitutes an important area of knowledge for adolescents." In this study it was found that those boys who were not considered to be popular or outgoing or did not subscribe to socially expected behaviours but were known to be rather quiet, shy and reserved were often labelled as nerds. Note the following statements by some of the participants:

> *"Well the quieter guys…well I am friends with some, well, I call them*
> *nerds… I'll play chess with them..."*
>
> *(Brandon)*

"[Some guys] they either think you don't fall under their category and things like that... like when it comes to the guys... like just say if you don't... I'm just giving you an example… if you don't smoke or anything, they think no, this guy is a nerd, don't come here… and stuff like that."

(Chad)

"And I do notice that other (quieter) boys get picked on, especially the so called "nerds." You know the bigger boys pick on them because they know that they're not going to get challenged... they do this to make themselves look cool but they don't realise its not cool.

(Alvin)

The nerd is an academic who is not very athletic and is often alone with no complete membership in a friendship group (Lyng cited in Walker 2014). In this study, the participant responses suggested that those boys who seldom engage in social interaction and who did not conform to the masculine ideologies that were present within the school environment, which valued being admired by many, known by many and being associated with the popular groups, were marginalised and labelled as nerds – someone who is considered geeky. Their focus does not include physical sporting abilities and participation or social status but rather intellectuality and academics. The participants also mention the harassment endured by these quieter boys. This is an example of how boys maintaining dominant masculine ideologies subordinate those boys displaying non-normative masculine ideologies by taunting them with verbal and emotional abuse. As Hamlall and Morrell (2012) assert, one indication of hegemonic ideology involves provoking fellow learners to demonstrate boys' masculine credentials while affirming their own superiority over other boys. Through the narratives from this study we are also given an example of how the participants claim to be anti-normative while they are still display patriarchal ideologies. For instance the participants claim to be different by befriending and accepting of those who are not popular but still refer to them as 'nerds' which this study found to be a term equalling inferiority.

The above sub-theme highlights the expectations of boys to perform dominant heterosexual masculinities. Those boys that do conform to the social demands are "rewarded" with stature, woman and admiration. Those that do not subscribe to the dominant masculine ideologies are

sidelined, ridiculed and considered inferior to the popular groups. This theme also highlights the assumed behaviours that are represented by dominant heterosexual masculinities that are exercised by some of the boys to prove their manhood. In the next sub–theme I focus on the boys' strategic use of violence and aggression towards other boys in the quest for women.

- **4.3.1.2) Violent and aggressive behaviours towards other boys.**

"Globally, constructions of masculinities and their relationship to violence and risk behaviours are prominent on most schools' agendas around the world and South Africa is no exception" (Basterfield, Reardon & Govender, 2014, p.101). Intimidation, bullying and violence are often used by boys to produce and reproduce dominant masculinities (Hamlall & Morrell, 2012). However, in this study, many of the participants acknowledged that violent and aggressive behaviour was a representation of dominant masculine ideologies but they themselves had expressed their disapproval of such behaviour and stated that men should resolve conflicts without the use of violence. The following narratives highlight their observations and experiences about the many fights that occurred at school:

> *"...fighting at school is seen as something that is normal... it's like five in one day or two in two months."*

> *(Brandon)*

> *"Some of my class friends have been involved in a fight, usually it's not even them getting involved but because of their friends getting involved, they have to step in the fight. This happens because they're good friends, they think that they have to have their friends back (protect them). Those friends are fighting for like maybe... uuhmm... this guy doesn't like another guy or…(they are fighting because of) girls mostly.*

> *(Chad)*

> *"Yeah (I have witnessed fights), especially the grade 8s because they get influenced by the big ones (the older learners). Yeah they fight, they think they're big now they came to this school so they fight... it makes them look big if they fight... I think in the past 3 weeks there were 4 fights and all involved grade 8s..."*

> *(Donovan)*

"(I have never been involved in a fight) but sometimes you get these guys you know? The ones that people are scared of....they're like big in size and stuff...and they bully people for money and they tease you ...or to show they're strong and no one can mess with them. It's is usually the gymers or the drug addicts...smokers... that people are scared of."

(Justin)

" Yeah I have,(been involved in fights) I think about three times, one time it was with my friend, he got jealous because I was talking to his girlfriend in school, he wanted to literally fight, he slapped me then I slapped him back and then he called his cousins."

(Indresin)

From the above responses it is apparent that the performances of violent behaviours are to symbolize masculinity. Some of the participants have mentioned that boys usually fight to protect their friends. One of the boys did admit that he had actually been involved in fights. However not all participants had physically been involved in a fight but some of them were involved indirectly through their peers, either as bystanders or by being a part of a certain group from which one or more members of that same group had been caught up in a violent brawl. As indicated by Hamlall and Morrell (2009), during violent situations, boys seek to prove themselves to their peers and avoid humiliation by reacting in an aggressive, overtly violent, manly, way. According to the participants' narratives this type of behaviour was demonstrated in this study by those boys who sought to prove their masculinity by engaging in fights alongside their peers, irrespective of their individual role in the matter. Violence seemed to solidify friendships. Those groups of boys believed to represent dominant masculinities were again identified as those who subordinated the physically weaker and reserved boys.

Several studies (Hamlall & Morrell, 2009; Robinson, 2005; Hamlall & Morrell 2012; Schrock & Shwalbe, 2009) have previously noted the intricate connection between violence and the possession of women. Men often use violence as a means to demonstrate their manhood so as to 'win over' women. In this study, it became clear that violence between the

young men was intricately caught up with women, with young men often fighting over women. The following detailed accounts are given by the participants:

"I have witnessed a lot of fights over a girl, majority of the fights that happen over here (at school) are over a girl... two of my buddies were fighting about one girl, coz she left one guy to be with another guy, and the one guy, in his head he believed that the other guy stole her away from him and whatever, they were fighting on the grounds and then push came to shove and then someone else came from out of the blue kicked the one guy in the nose and his nose got bust and whatever and till today his nose is like off placed..."

(Gerrard)

Some of the other responses reiterate the causes for the fights:

" Yes I have seen many fights, sometimes girls fighting for boys....boys fighting for girls... it's a bit ridiculous at times... I'm like what the hell is wrong with them.."

(Alvin)

"Most of the fights are about girls... sometimes girls fight about guys."

(Brandon)

"I think yesterday there was a fight in a class room, I think it was two guys fighting over a girl..."

(Donovan)

"...most probably the fights are over girls or something like that cos that's how the fights start..."

(Faizel)

"I have never been involved in a fight but I have seen boys fight to prove that they are manly and cool and to be brave in front of girls..."

(Eric)

What became apparent in the various responses from the participants was the role of violence and dominance in the various fights that the boys engaged in. As established above, violence is a marker of manhood, and often men use this violence to demonstrate their worth and power as men. This is further supported by the response from Eric who indicates the reason for boys engaging in violence, and that is to impress girls through displaying physical prowess. Conflict situations often arise amongst boys where girls are concerned and it usually ends in violence (Hamlall & Morrell, 2009). As clearly evident in this study, it is when young men see the need to prove themselves to women and other men that they resort to violence. Note for instance the responses from Brandon, Gerrard and Donovan. It is when young men feel threatened by other young men who are attempting to take what does not 'belong' to them, in this context, some young men believe that girls belong to them and are their possessions. When these "owned" girls are being enticed by other young men then the need to defend one's manhood and property occurs and this results in violence. Gerrard's response further solidifies the argument that females are regarded as possessions. The idea that females can be 'stolen' from men illustrates the masculine ideology that women are controlled and owned by men. An explanation for the above actions by boys is explained in a study by Schrock and Schwalbe (2009). These researchers assert that in order to signify manhood, females become props and are seen as conquests that are used by men to assert their heterosexual identity and masculinity. As noted above, the experiences shared by the participants were common in that most of them expressed the boys' repeated feuding over females. However, it was interesting that none of the participants reported boys blaming girls for the altercations that arose but sought to feud with boys. This again is an indication of boys wanting to demonstrate their power and strength to prove their manhood in an attempt to impress girls and other boys. In this study, we see that Indian boys' perceptions of masculinities are no different from black and white adolescent masculinities within South Africa. As noted in a study on masculinities and gender by Morrell (1998), black youth masculinities are asserted by violence and that black and white masculinities are marked by dominance over women. Similarly this study found that Indian boys view violence and possession over women as a marker of masculinity.

What was interesting however was that although many of the participants acknowledged violent and aggressive behaviours to be a marker of dominant masculinities, they continually emphasized their disapproval of such actions. This is explained by Connell (cited in Hamlall

& Morrell, 2012, p.485), who states that, "not all boys subscribe to hegemonic versions of masculinity and in any gender regime there can be found alternative, non-hegemonic, expressions." This is what has come through the narratives from the teenage Indian boys. Note the following sentiments:

"I think there's other ways to solve problems like sitting down and speaking."

(Alvin)

".. I don't think fighting is acceptable because a day or two after that you still going to see the same person, you going to talk to them, everything is back to normal."

(Hashen)

"I think there's a way you come at a situation… there's always a solution… another way, a solution other than fighting, to just resolve it. I would never or... personally I would never fight... over something that's… that's... that can be sorted out without any violence."

(Chad)

"Hmm fighting is not the way really, violence is not gonna solve anything…ok but sometimes I do get angry and I do tend to fight... I am not going to lie to you but I try to stay away…"

(Faizel)

"..being masculine... is firstly not getting involved (in a fight)... that is it... I'm a talker... you talk."

(Brandon)

These responses highlight a view shared by some of the participants. While the study has reiterated evidence of the construction of masculinity through violent and aggressive behaviour, there is also evidence to suggest the existence of a non-hegemonic form of masculinity where a small number of boys do not conform to the violent ideologies of hegemonic masculinities. Instead, this minority believes in the non-violent approach to

pacifying violent scenarios. As noted by Connell (1996), certain types of behaviours and actions may be considered masculine to a certain group of people, yet completely different types of behaviours and actions could be considered masculine to another group. In this study, the boys' narratives suggest that they do not want to be classified with those boys who display hegemonic tendencies and want to distance themselves from them. Here again is another example of the participants' claiming of anti-normativity yet still subscribing to patriarchal norms through the other ways in which they attempt to acquire females. The reason for some of the boys refraining from violence could possibly stem from strict family upbringings with a strong focus on morals and values. Another reason could be wanting to appear different from those with common and repetitive masculine ideologies within the school setting. However, such counter-hegemonic tendencies are not uncommon and certainly not limited to Indian masculinity. Similar findings are highlighted in a local study on conflict and fights in a South African high school by Hamlall and Morrell (2012) who found that within a school setting some boys distanced themselves from violent boys and thought of themselves as real men for doing so while also making it know that they were capable of violence if they wanted to fight. This was evidently the case in this study.

This sub theme has highlighted the participants' perceptions about the practices and ideologies that constitute hegemonic masculinities. This study has found that boys use violence as a marker of dominant masculine status. They aim to present themselves as superior to others as well as to impress and make girls aware of their dominant nature. This sub-theme has also highlighted the existence of counter-hegemonic masculine traits practiced by some of the participants. I will now pay attention to Indian boys' attitudes towards girls in their conquest for females.

- ### 4.3.1.3) Physique and dress

Through the analysis of the data, it became apparent that a few Indian boys construct themselves as men through dressing, participation in sport and maintaining a muscular physique. As indicated in a study on South African School boys, Martin and Govender (2011) have noted that within the South African school environment, boys who subscribe to traditional masculine ideologies view their bodies as a measure of self-worth. Similar, such belief was expressed by Brandon. This was his view on having a muscular body:

> *"... if you're chilling with your chick like...you must be... like...... also masculine men... they look cool and the women like it... like having big*

biceps and traps (muscles) and chest… fine you can wear a vest and flaunt it… and I would love to have it."

<div align="right">

(Brandon)

</div>

Brandon's response suggests that muscularity appeals to women. The fact that he indicates his love for such a physique and that he would show it off by wearing a vest also suggests that it is a sign of manhood. Similarly, as noted by Martin and Govender (2011), black, Indian and white South African boys adhering to traditional masculine ideologies perceived the ideal body to be increasingly muscular with the belief that girls desire those boys with more muscular physiques.

Through participant observations and experiences, it became clear that muscularity in boys were believed to be a representation of masculinity. Note the following narratives:

"But there are certain clicks in school, like the gymers, they think that they go to gym, they buff, they think they cool like, umm like nobody would approach them because… they big."

<div align="right">

(Chad)

</div>

"…the boy that doesn't like me… hmmm you can say he is a gymer… and he likes going around and bullying people…"

<div align="right">

(Eric)

</div>

"… you get the gymers, they think they strong, they think they buff, they big and people say they think they got it all.."

<div align="right">

(Faizel)

</div>

"…there's not much gymer guys in the school, but they try sometimes (to show the dominance) to push their weight around…most of the girls consider the gymers more manly and the other boys also want to be like them so they also do gyming…"

<div align="right">

(Hashen)

</div>

The above responses suggest that boys use their muscular physique to subordinate those boys who are physically smaller and weaker by harassing them. Boys who do not live up to the ideal of possessing a muscular body are seen as weak or feminine (Martin & Govender, 2011). These participants also suggest that due to the attitudes of these gymers, they are disliked by many. Hashen's response reinforces the belief by these boys, that girls like muscular bodies and therefore boys begin to attain a muscular body by lifting weights.

Another defining aspect of masculinity that came through the analysis was the way boys present themselves through their dressing. Fashion provides a platform for young men to express themselves and their sexualities through dress. However, this expression is "continually scrutinized and policed" (Msibi, 2012, p.243). In this study, the participants had highlighted the various ways in which they individually believed a real man should dress. For instance, note the following narratives:

> *"..Men should dress like smart casual, jeans, formal, maybe a formal shirt and tie."*
>
> > *(Indresin)*

> *"... If someone says, "oh no look at him, he's so neat and tidy ... I say this is my definition of being classy... like tie up, shirt in your pants, like neat – prim and proper... well that's the way that I like it... I don't need to change for someone that I want to impress... basically that's the impression that I have of a G (G – meaning gangster)."*
>
> > *(Brandon)*

The above responses suggest that a representation of masculinity is a neatly dressed man. For Brandon and Indresin, a combination of smart and formal attire is the definition of a man. Furthermore, Brandon's association of dress and gangsterism also suggests the strong connection between fashion and masculinities since gangsters are believed to be tough and violent – ideals of traditional masculinities. However, not all boys were in agreement with this. Note the response from Eric when questioned about dress:

> *"..uhhm to be a guy is to be cool... you don't dress properly... I won't say properly... (means guys are supposed to be untidy) like your shirt will be*

out of your pants... your tie will be hanging, your buttons will be open...
you'll be having outrageous hairstyles... showing your strength…"

<div align="right">

(Eric)

</div>

For Eric, a man is defined through his untidy appearance. This is a contrast from the views of Brandon and Indresin. As noted by Msibi (2012) different groups of men appeal to different styles of dressing. Similar to Msibi's (2012) findings, this study has found that within a particular environment, in this case the schooling context, there are various and contradicting ideas of how men should dress that co-exist.

What also came through the narratives were the boys' ideas of what types dressing symbolized homosexuality. Note the following narratives:

> *" [It is]considered gay is if a boy has anything that is pink, also if you*
> *straighten your hair and if you have long hair, that you know usually guys*
> *don't have, then they think you gay… and if you wear straight leg or skinny*
> *school pants then that also… some boys also act, like you know?, not*
> *normally, like the way he walks the way his hand moves, like when he walks*
> *and his hand moves all around and when he talks to you his hands move*
> *and his eyes… you see the ones that you think are gay."*

<div align="right">

(Hashen)

</div>

> *"I don't think pink shirts are gay, it's like fashion but I think tight shirts,*
> *skinny jeans and I don't like those boots you get, you know like those*
> *pointed ones?! I think that's like out of the question... also long hair with*
> *like a pony tail and all, that's like a girl."*

<div align="right">

(Indresin)

</div>

A point that clearly emerges through all these captions is the policing of young boys' bodies, in order to meet the desired heterosexual identities. The boys police each other and themselves in order to not be seen to be like the 'macho,' aggressive 'untidy' and soft, too tidy gay masculinities. Their intention is to be what is desirable. These two narratives again suggest that different boys have different perceptions about the ways boys should dress. Long hair, tight clothing are markers of homosexuality according to some of the participants. This is similar to findings highlighted in the South African study by Msibi (2012) which found that men who wore tight clothes were thought to be homosexual; they were also discouraged

from hairstyling. This suggests that the teenage Indian boys in this study are not entirely exclusive in their constructions of masculinities.

This sub-theme has highlighted some of the ways teenage Indian boys construct their masculinities. This study has found that Indian boys construct their masculinities through dressing and muscular physique in an attempt to impress girls. Through engaging with literature, it was also discovered that some of the teenage participants' constructions of masculinities are not unique and do not differ from other masculinities that exist within the South African context since similar findings have emerged in other local studies.

This first instalment of this chapter has highlighted some of the ways teenage Indian boys generally construct their masculinities in an attempt to appeal to girls and prove their manhood to other boys. The following instalment of this chapter focuses on how sex, risk and sexuality are implicated in the type of masculinities that boys adopt.

4.4) Part II: Teenage Indian boys: Masculinities and risky sexual behaviour

Sexual risk behaviours are defined as "sexual activities that may expose an individual to the risk of infection with HIV and other sexually transmitted infections, for example, unprotected sex, early sexual debut, using alcohol or drugs before sexual intercourse, multiple sexual partners, forced or coerced sexual intercourse and sexual intercourse for reward" (Maluleke, 2010 p.1). In this study, the participants revealed their attitudes and behaviours towards sex. The study found that the teenage Indian boys do engage in risky sexual behaviour and the participants' narratives further provided the reasons as to why some boys engage in sexual risk. When it came to the topic of sex, many of the participants spoke openly and freely. Some did feel shy and reserved in the beginning but eased in to the topic as the interview progressed. Many of the participants informed me that they were sexually active, although some of them were not involved in any romantic relationships. The participants spoke about their personal experiences as well as the experiences of their friends. It was interesting to gain an insight into how teenage Indian boys perceived sex and sexual risk in relation to masculinity. This will be discussed further under each of the following themes.

4.4.1) Theme 2: Sex as a marker of masculinity

Harrison, Cleland, Gouws and Frohlich (2005) argue that early sexual debut amongst young South Africans is one of the main causes for a high rate of HIV infections amongst the youth

of the country. Among boys there is a strong peer pressure for them to engage in sex (Anderson, Beutel & Maughan-Brown, 2007). In this study it became clear that some of the Indian boys felt pressured into early sexual experimentation and to engage in the performance of sexual intercourse with girls since this contributed to their masculine status and cleared them of any suggestion of being homosexual. Due to these pressures some boys had to create a façade to avoid being mocked and labelled as gay since virgin status is considered a taboo amongst boys. "Virginity is seen as a virtue in women but as a stigma in men" (Reddy & Dunne, 2007 p.9). The following responses from the participants highlight their views on and their personal observations and experiences of their friends in relation to virginity:

"In school some guys tell the other guys that they're still virgins and that they waiting for the right girl. They get laughed at ... called stupid... get asked why they wasting time. I act like I'll do stuff like if I was with a girl, "I won't waste time" I'll "dala" (slang for have sex with) that thing...but I know for sure that I'm not really gonna do that but sometimes you have to pretend or act like you will do it so that you don't get picked on and I don't want to be in that situation."

(Alvin)

"Most of those boys are the nerdy ones...but you see the friends talk and you feel bad if you're a virgin... some of the boys act like they not virgins but they are... and I you can see by the way they talk to girls, by the details they give... and some guys come and say that they're were with a different girl every week but you know they don't go anywhere or they were at home...I think they do this to be popular or be the hero of the group... be the man... and in our group we do have one guy like that."

(Hashen)

"People do get teased if they are virgins."

(Eric)

"I think it's ok for like the nerds... school is more important than that for them... relationship wise, it's ok to have [a relationship] in high school but not anything serious..."

For Alvin, pretending to be sexually active protected him from being ridiculed. It is clear that within the schooling context boys are subjected to heterosexual pressures in order to fit in. This suggests that boys are sometimes forced into early sexual encounters as a result of peer expectations and to avoid being sidelined by peers. Similar findings from a study on youth masculinities are shared by Richardson (2010) who noted that boys often engaged in sex because of social pressures rather than their own sexual urges. The responses from Hashen and Eric further suggest that boys pretend to be sexually active to appear masculine for fear of being rejected and teased by other boys. Again the impact of sexual engagement is highlighted in that sex is equated to heroic stature. The term "nerds" comes through again in some of the responses by the participants, suggesting the disapproval and emasculate nature imposed on those who are not sexually active. In line with the findings in this study, researchers, Frosh et al. (cited in Bhana & Anderson, 2013), also noted that boys often viewed sex as a marker of masculinity. It is also important to note that the findings in this study are not dissimilar from previous studies on sex and masculinities. Teenage Indian boys' constructions of masculinity are no different from that of existing masculinities within South Africa. According to Barker and Ricardo (2005), for young African men, sex is seen as an initiation into manhood and this creates the perception of sex as a performance to indicate masculine prowess. Similarly the Indian boys in this study believed sex to represent manhood and thus was seen as a marker of masculinity. This ideology is reinforced by Faizel's observation:

> *"...some of my friends feel like they the man if they have sex... so they tell people [about it]..."*
>
> *(Faizel)*

This again highlights the masculine stature attached to sex. To publicise the act also suggests that boys want their peers to acknowledge their achievement. These circumstances surrounding masculinities and sex promote sexual risk since boys are rushed into sexual engagements, often with misguided and incomplete information. Evidence of this is displayed through the significant number of teenage pregnancies at the school. Note the response from Faizel:

> *"There a few girls in this school that are pregnant... and it was unplanned definitely... that's just teenage hormones... and I know that they are aware*

of the risks of sexual behaviour because from grade 7 they have been teaching us about it…"

<div align="right">

(Faizel)

</div>

Faizel's response reinforces the notion that boys (and girls) are sometimes misinformed and pressured into sexual relationships since there are girls being impregnated. This outcome was likely unplanned since at this school-going age, pupils are unemployed and uneducated on the topic of parenting.

However, despite the social pressures on boys to conform to dominant heterosexual masculine practices, this study found that some boys resisted the expectations imposed on them. A few of the participants had no problems in disclosing their virginity status. These are some of their responses:

"Well I am still a virgin and I am proud of it… and my friends admit that they are virgins… and no nobody teases him about it… I think that boys should be virgins in school... even in matric… once they are 18, they free on their own… because if you go make a girl pregnant now, who's going to look after the child."

<div align="right">

(Faizel)

</div>

"I know a lot of guys lie (about not being a virgin) when they are actually like me… they're waiting for that one special one."

<div align="right">

(Alvin)

</div>

(laughs loudly) "... nobody teased me… I think being a virgin in high school is kind of very good especially at this school."

<div align="right">

(Chad)

</div>

The above narratives are an indication that there are some boys who go against traditional hegemonic practices despite the possibility of being marginalised. However, these participants were also not ridiculed for being virgins; this could also stem from their choice of peers, who like these boys, believe in abstinence, thus creating a comfortable relationship amongst each other with no expectation or pressure to have sex. Other reasons for abstaining from sex included the fear of getting a girl pregnant and wanting to wait for a particular girl, most likely the one they marry. However, during the initial interview, interaction with the participants had allowed for greater understanding of their individual personalities and

backgrounds. Gaining insight into the Indian boys, their lives and backgrounds, had provided possible reasons for their choice to remain virgins. For instance, Alvin comes from a strong religious background and until recently has always attended a school that has had religion included in the curriculum. Topics of sex and relationships were most likely encouraged in line with the religious principles of marriage and this could have been a deciding factor in his choice for remaining a virgin. Similar findings have emerged in a study by Barker and Ricardo (2005), where participant interviews had revealed that for some god-fearing individuals, virginity was precious and should be kept for someone special. While there is a dearth in the research of religion and its impact on safe sex, Loening (cited in Garner, 2000) has also noted that active religious youth camps reduce levels of sexual activity. We see that Chad also prides himself on being a virgin. He comes from a family that openly communicates about sex and relationships. Chad has a strong bond with his mother who has warned him about hurting girls emotionally. These strong ties to values and family are probable causes for these boys preferring to remain virgins until marriage. This can be explained by Makiwane and Mokomane (2010), whose study on high risk sexual behaviour has highlighted that one of the influential factors that impact on sexual behaviours and decision-making is family. For Faizel the thought of becoming a parent at a young age is daunting enough to convince him to abstain from sex until older.

Here again, the findings from this study showing that some Indian boys prefer to remain virgins and subject themselves to possible social rejection for doing so, is not an experience limited to Indian boys only. As noted by Varga (cited in Barker & Ricardo, 2005), a small minority of young Zulu men in South Africa reported that they would prefer to remain abstinent till marriage but also indicated that they often felt obliged to have sex before marriage as they feared social rejection.

The above theme indicates that boys often use sex as a marker of masculinity. The study found that boys often have to lie to present themselves as masculine for fear of peer rejection and labelling. This study also hinted at the risks of such practices, such as teenage pregnancy. What was interesting though was the strong belief in abstinence by some of the participants which suggests that not all boys succumb to social hetero-normative pressures. In the next theme I focus on teenage Indian boys and multiple sexual partners.

4.4.2) Theme 3: Sexual risk and multiple sexual partners

Several scholars (Silverman, 2013; Bhana & Anderson, 2013; Harrison, Cleland, Gouws & Frohlich, 2005) agree that engagements with multiple sexual partners greatly increase the risk of contracting sexually transmitted diseases. However, in society, a defining feature of successful manhood is having multiple sexual partners (Varga cited in Jewkes, Levin & Penn-Kekana, 2003). Similarly this study found that, when questioned about multiple sexual partners, some of the participants expressed the normality of engaging in multiple sexual relationships. Note their narratives, which include their personal views as well as observations made during conversations with their friends. This was Brandon's response when questioned about his current relationship:

> *"Well not at the moment [I am not in a serious relationship]… but I have a lot of (girl) friends (big smile)… three of them are from school… and they know each other… and some of them are best friends… but they all don't know about me... they know we all are close... but they don't know what I have with each of them, you know what I'm saying? And I have two out of school, well I have three out of school…"*
>
> *(Brandon)*

Brandon's body language that accompanied his response suggested that he is proud to be in simultaneous relationships. One of the characteristics of masculinity is the number of girls that are interested in a boy and for Brandon it appears that many girls like him as he is able to be romantically involved with several of them. He also boasts about his ability to hide his relationships from the various girls. Such type of behaviour is thought to elevate one's social and masculine status as suggested by Blackbeard and Lindegger (2007), and as Brandon clearly projects himself (note for instance the consistent big smile as he shares this story). Another reason for engaging in numerous relationships is offered by Pattman (2005), whose study looks at the ways in which boys and girls construct their identities in terms of sexuality. Pattman's (2005) research notes that one of the ways that defined being a boy or young man was the ability to have multiple relationships rather than being obligated to one relationship. Brandon emphasises that these girls do not know about each other and that he doesn't take these "friendships" seriously. However, deeper scrutiny of his response suggests that these "friendships" go beyond friendship. For instance note Brandon's response when asked further about these relationships:

"Well I have casual relationships... well it's not really a relationship... it's fun in the sun…"

<div align="right">*(Brandon)*</div>

This suggests clearly that he is delighted at not being obliged into a committed relationship. The use of the term, 'fun in the sun' further refers to his lack of seriousness about the girls he is involved with and implies his physical relationships with the girls. Note the following statements by Brandon, describing the sexual nature of his relationships:

"I prefer the older(girl) because... well the older one was mature…but she was… how do I put it?... errr like an indoor plant… she never used to get out more... like…I used to "handle" (implies touch her all over, including genitals) her in school…I am not a person to feel shy... the one girl I hit (implies touching genitals and kissing) it right on the gate…it was home time."

"..and some of them (girlfriends) come visit me…and well my parents think we're friends... we go up to my room and I'll like get a blow (implies oral sex) or something...   well with the casual ones I do everything besides [having sex]..."

<div align="right">*(Brandon)*</div>

These responses clearly indicate Brandon's intimacy with each of these girls. The tone of his voice was indicative of bravado, that he was proud to be able to perform these acts with three different girls. He also mentions that he does not have penetrative sex but does do everything else, which includes oral sex and masturbation. When questioned about sharing the details of his intimacies with the girls, this was his response:

"... the only thing I'll say is "I hit that" like him (notions to his friends standing outside) they know all the girls I have had... and I'm like I hit it (snaps fingers and smiles) and they're like oh luka (indicative of a good thing) shot (implies: okay good)…"

This response suggests that he shares intimate details with the intention to impress his peers. He wants them to know what he has done and with who he has done it with as this is a sign of masculinity, thus boosting his status amongst peers. As mentioned by Marsiglio (cited in

Barker & Ricardo, 2005 p.16), "these sexual experiences may be viewed among peers as displays of sexual competence or achievement, rather than acts of intimacy." However, such engagements with multiple partners are considered highly risky sexual behaviour (Silverman, 2013). Brandon offers an insight into the way dominant masculine practices has shaped young boys' actions towards girls and relationships. Brandon had no reservations about divulging his many conquests to his friends. As noted by many scholars (Barker & Ricardo, 2005; Blackbeard & Lindegger, 2007; Pattmann, 2005) this elaboration of multiple engagements with girls is linked to peer group supremacy. When questioned about the risks of his behaviour, this is what Brandon had to say:

__Researcher:__ And the risks [with being with many girls]?

__Participant:__ "Well the risk is the girl's brother could find out and the girl's brother and I could be friends…"

__Researcher:__ And what about other risks, like health risks?

__Participant: "__What do you mean health risks?"

It was shocking to find out that Brandon only associated sexual risk to penetrative sex. He was unaware of the possible risks associated with oral sex. This suggests the lack of knowledge about health and sexual risks amongst the youth. Brandon was however, able to acknowledge STDs and pregnancy as possible risks for penetrative sex but believed himself to be safe from such risks as he considered himself a virgin. This again further demonstrates his lack of knowledge about sexual risk. He was of the belief that oral sex practices do not pose a health risk and considers the only risk to be getting caught by other girls which would expose his unfaithfulness. This conversation between the researcher and the participant provides an example of how ill-informed some boys are about sexual health risks. Such misleading understanding could have an adverse effect on a greater number of young boys since information and advice about sex is often shared by or sought from peers (Harrison, 2008).

Hashen shared similar beliefs to Brandon, that it was acceptable to be intimate with more than one partner. Note the following reasons Hashen cites for having many partners:

> *"I think have one steady one and a few on the side so that if anything happens you still have that one person there… most of my friends have these friends with benefits… It's ok to have many partners but maybe when you older than one stable one is ok, that's why it's better to have many when you are young so when you are married you already experienced all the things you wanted so you won't do it when you're older…"*

His response also suggests that some boys enjoy and find multiple engagements a norm. Girls are regarded as friends with benefits, which further highlights how girls are used and subordinated by the boys. Boys who treat girls as sexual objects are often seeking to prove their manhood before their peer and social groups (Barker & Ricardo, 2005). Hashen cites experience before marriage as one of the other reasons for having multiple partners at this young age. This thinking is no different from that of other boys. Similar ideologies were discussed in the study conducted by Peltzer and Pengpid (2006) who found that within their research, boys were of the notion that multiple premarital sex and partnerships were considered to be trials before marriage. Hashen has multiple partners yet he claims to be in a serious relationship with one of them. This suggests his lack of faithfulness and his disregard for females and their emotions. Note the details about his relationships with the girls:

> *"..some of them (girls) live near my house…if I want to see them alone then I tell them and then it depends if their parents are at home or not or my parents are not at home... there are about 3 other girls... I think they do know about each other, I think they're friends. But each of them don't know that we do things physically when we're alone…and I do enjoy what I'm doing because it's fun."*

For Hashen, having multiple partners is fun and enjoyable. Again this suggests the hegemonic nature of both Brandon and Hashen who view girls as sexual objects. Such behaviour increases the risk for sexually transmitted infections (Maluleke, 2010). This is Hashen's response when asked about the risks of having multiple partners:

> *"I am sexually active,, and I know some of the risks like STDs, HIV, AIDS, making a girl pregnant... if I make someone pregnant, I won't say I'll leave them…[but] I have always been safe, I always use a condom.."*

Hashen believes that he has always been safe by using a condom. Similar to the case with Brandon, Hashen's response suggests that only a condom can prevent sexually transmitted diseases. This is problematic in a sense that, while he does not explicitly describe his sex life, the fact that he engages with multiple partners leaves the door open for us to believe that he also does engage in oral sex practices and is unaware that this is also a pathway for sexually transmitted diseases.

Just like Brandon, Hashen also admitted to discussing the details of his relationships with his friends. Note his response:

> "It's like a daily thing, if I say I did something today then two days later another guy will come and say what he did, it's like a competition… they always want to be better than the other person."

The fact that Hashen has acknowledged the competitive nature of boys about their sexual lives suggests that it is indeed about boosting ones masculine status. The boys want to outdo each other in order to impress and appear masculine in the eyes of their peers. As expressed by Connell (2005 p.14), "sexual experience is often a source of pride, and a claim to masculine honour, among teenage boys."

On the contrary, there were a few participants who expressed their desire to refrain from multiple partnerships and have just one partner. However some boys did mention that they would consider having multiple partners if they knew they wouldn't get caught. These were some of their views:

> "Well I think one (partner), and some of my friends also believe in having one (partner), but some of them don't... they have more…there are like a bunch of guys that I know that have many girls…they act cool, like no one is like them now because they got so many girlfriends…"
>
> (Donovan)
>
> "One girl is fine for me because you only feel one way about one woman that's the difference… but if you don't get caught it's a different story… if your girlfriend doesn't find out then it's alright."
>
> (Faizel)

"I would say one because at this age you mature and you understand things better and not have like many girlfriends... the main reason to have one girlfriend is not getting caught... and then the other girlfriend will find out... I would have a maximum of two girls."

(Indresin)

With the exception of Donovan, It is surprising how some of these boys want to appear to be different by pretending to be faithful yet are secretly wishing to be similar to those boys who have multiple relationships. This suggests that boys want to be like those boys who represent dominant masculine characteristics yet keep it hidden in order to maintain certain reputations.

In this theme we see that Indian boys' constructions of masculinity in terms of sex and sexual risk are no different from black South African youth masculinities. For example, the numerous studies conducted on black South African youth (Bhana & Anderson, 2013; Sathiparsad & Taylor, 2006; Hunter, 2005) have all indicated similar findings. For instance, the engagements with multiple partners to impress peers for masculine status and display of sexual prowess are similar to the findings in this study, where Indian boys have multiple relationships to enhance their status and impress their friends. In the next theme, I will explore another way in which friends are a factor in ways leading to risky sexual behaviour.

4.4.3) Theme 4: Boys, dominance and condom usage

A study that looks at South African adolescents' pathway to risk sexual behaviour by Brook, Morojele, Zhang and Brook (2006, p.259) states that, "Risky sexual behaviours such as inconsistent condom use and sexual intercourse with multiple partners are relatively common among adolescents and youth in South Africa." As this study has already established, teenage Indian boys engage in multiple sexual relationships; it has also found inconsistent condom use amongst these boys as well. When questioned about engaging in unsafe sexual practices, this was Gerrard's response:

"Uhm I wouldn't want to[again] because, I have been in that situation once, but luckily enough nothing happened... we did partake in unsafe sex

but there was no STD's there was no AIDS, she didn't get pregnant... and stuff like that there."

<div align="right">

(Gerrard)

</div>

Gerrard had had sexual intercourse without using a condom. He comforts himself by stating that there was no life changing outcome from that experience. Gerrard does not realise the seriousness of the possible consequences of having unsafe sex. It was surprising however that Gerrard was well aware of the consequences of unsafe sex yet still continued to engage in risky practice. These were his views on pregnancy and the risks of unsafe sexual practices:

"I know all the risks with it (being sexually involved) and actually my one uncle, he like properly got me full on with like... this is what's the risks and this is what you got to do to keep yourself safe and whatever...when it comes to sexual things... I know there's uhhmm STDs, AIDS, there's um pregnancy.... Teenage pregnancy is something that is really disturbing honestly... it's a tragedy that it is happening because why would you be so stupid enough to be pregnant at such a young age."

It is ironic that Gerrard would make such statements, when he himself could have impregnated a girl or been infected with a sexually transmitted disease. He mentions that girls who are pregnant at a young age are stupid. This suggests the double standards that boys exercise over girls. It also suggests the unequal implications that teenage pregnancy has for girls. Furthermore Gerrard has stated that love was not the motive for his sexual encounter:

"...I have slept with someone without loving anyone..."

Gerrards attitude and actions suggest that boys continually use girls as objects of gratification. It also suggests that boys will have sex when the situation arises regardless of whether or not contraceptives are available. This consequently results in sexual risk. This is also supported by the narrative from Indresin about unsafe sex:

"Yeah I did once, I didn't use a condom because it just happened all of a sudden, and I was scared and stressed and all... then she asked her aunty to

give that one pill the next morning... and the thing helped and she took the
test and it was negative…"

<div align="right">*(Indresin)*</div>

This was Indresin's response when asked about sex and love:

No [I don't think you need to love] I think it's about the experience."

<div align="right">*(Indresin)*</div>

It appears that some boys are so determined to engage in sexual conduct that they disregard all consequences at that moment. Indresin believed that the solution to his problem was the emergency contraceptive that was taken the following day. As mentioned above, an explanation for boys rushing into these sex situations could possibly stem from peer pressure as well as the risk of potential humiliation as experienced by some boys who are virgins. The fact that both these boys indicate that love is not needed for sex further solidifies the notion that boys use girls for sexual pleasure and enforce their dominance over girls when it comes to sexual decisions. Such behaviour could also be explained by Connell (1996) who notes that hegemonic masculinity lends into patriarchy, which guarantees the dominant position of men and the subordination of women. In addition, Connell (2005) acknowledges boys' authoritarian behaviour over girls and links this to male figures, such as their fathers or male peers.

The above theme indicated boys' attitudes to girls when it came to sex. Sexual risk was caused by the boys engaging in sexual acts regardless of the availability of contraceptives. Despite being aware of the risks, boys still engaged in risky sexual practices. This also suggested the dominant masculine ideologies of boys being in control over sexual decisions.

4.4.4) Theme 5: Misinformation and sexual risk

Through analysis of the interviews, this study found that many of the participants sought information and advice about sex from their peers in most cases, while some were comfortable speaking to their parents about sex. A few also cited visual aid resources that were put up around the school in an effort to promote awareness about the dangers of unsafe

sexual practices. The following responses provide an idea of how boys learn and/or were informed about sex:

"Well as you can see, it's all over the place in our school, posters and stuff. And a lot of friends I know, they watch a lot of pornography and they try to learn from there… and also if you go on Google there's a lot of information you can get. Actually I don't talk to anyone, everyone comes to me for advice."

(Alvin)

"Well if it's a sexually related question... like in a non-joking way... then mom... and dad... and my family is open... we are very open…and well if it's a joking question... like how do you give me a blow (sexual act) … (laughing) that question you not going to ask your mom and dad... that question you going to ask your bras (friends)…"

(Brandon)

"Uhhm (laughs) my dad and I joke about things... we used to talk about it, but not like in depth, just like general... but mostly I talk to my friends... sometimes I think they're talking nonsense but…like one of my friends he told me he did it (had sex) like more than once…I trust him.."

(Eric)

"My friends of course… hmm my parents… what can I say, my parents never spoke to me about it but obviously they know that I know about it…"

(Faizel)

The above statements provide a glimpse into the ways boys' seek information about sex. The above responses reveal that, peers, parents, schools and the media were all sources of information. The remaining participants also cited similar means of obtaining information about sex. From the responses it is evident that some boys have an open relationship with their parents to ask them questions of a sexual nature. It is also evident that not all boys have this type of relationship with their parents and refrain from asking sexual orientated

questions. While the internet, posters and pornography were also quoted as sources, friends were the most common sources of information for many of the participants. The possible reason for this is that boys find it easier to speak about such matters with a friend rather than an adult. Such circumstances have been documented in a study by Peltzer and Pengpid (2006), focused on the sexuality of South African teenagers, that found that many adolescents cannot openly discuss sex with their parents as it is considered a taboo subject, thus resulting in their sexual education being obtained from other sources. In accordance with this, this study thus far, has found that teenage Indian boys do engage in risky sexual practices. Multiple sexual partners, teenage pregnancy and inconsistent condom use are unsafe practices that have all emerged in this study. A possible motive for this unsafe behaviour is given by Harrison (2008) who argues that young people are often dependent on their peers for sex information rather than reliable sources and this may lead to unsafe practices rather than promoting accurate knowledge. An example of can be drawn from Gerrard's narrative:

"Majority of all my friends both guys and girls, they always come to me for advice… majority of them that ask me for advice in sexual terms... and well I've never had to ask anybody anything, I learnt from… well you can call it experience, experimenting... learning with my partners…"

(Gerrard)

Gerrard prides himself on being a source for sexual advice. However, he also adds that he is knowledgeable on sex due to his experiences with his partners. This immediately indicates that Gerrard himself is an unreliable source informing others since his information is based on his personal experiences and as previously highlighted, he had engaged in risky sexual practices by not using a condom during penetrative sex. Such circumstances suggest that this is indeed one of the ways through which boys are misinformed, thus resulting in risky sexual practices. The above discussion, as well as the following response from Justin, reiterates the dependence on peers for sexual advice. Note the narrative from Justin:

"...honestly if I want to know anything, I would rather ask my close friends... not those ones that would laugh at me... but I won't ask my parents... we don't have those conversations... and I don't feel comfortable..."

(Justin)

Justin claims that he would rather ask his friends for advice as he feels he is comfortable speaking to them. A possible reason for Justin as well as Faizel being unable to speak to their parents about sex is probably due to the topic of sex and sexual diseases being taboo in the Indian household. A similar observation is made by Naidoo (2010) who highlights the stigma attached to sexual transmitted diseases within the Indian community.

Based on Gerrard's narrative, it is easy to see how people like Justin may well be misinformed and fed unreliable information based on a person's own experience. Similar to Gerrard, Hashen has also expressed his independence in seeking information about sex. This is his response on how he gets his information:

> *"I would say experiment... I just tried it on my own... and well you hear people talking... and the friends talk... well you see most of them (the friends) think they're better than everyone else so they don't ask each other..."*

> *(Hashen)*

The fact that both these boys rely on themselves for information suggests that they do not want to seem uninformed on such topics. This also suggests a strong inclination towards masculine practices where boys refuse to seek information from others as they do not want to appear unknowledgeable. In South Africa, social norms of masculinity are marked by very limited help- seeking behaviours (Blackbeard & Lindegger, 2007).

The above theme has highlighted the issue of boys engaging in sexual risk behaviour due to the misinformation spread by peers or by refusing to ask for advice as it is not considered masculine. This is a major concern in this age of HIV/AIDS as this study found that the Indian boys do engage in unsafe practices despite widespread global media coverage and campaigning.

4.5) Conclusion

In this chapter I have presented findings that have emerged through the analysis of the data. From the findings it is clear that teenage Indian boys construct their masculinities through various experiences and influences. While there is an ever present influence of hegemonic masculine ideologies represented by some boys, there is also the presence of a minority of boys who resist and challenge those hegemonic practices and construct their masculinities

against such notions. However, the study did highlight the presence of patriarchal norms. The data presented serve as evidence that many boys are highly influenced by their peers and the social pressures to conform to the ideologies of hegemonic masculinity. Those who do not conform are emotionally abused and ridiculed. The data has also established that more needs to be done to educate adolescents about sex. Greater emphasis needs to be placed on schools to ensure such facilitation occurs as it is an environment in which adolescents spend a great amount of time. It is also the place where relationships are formed and sexual curiosity is stimulated. The findings from this study further indicate the way teenage Indian boys construct their masculinities is no different from other racial youth masculinities in South Africa and abroad. Finally, the findings suggest that race plays little role in the ways in which boys construct their masculinities and perceive risk as similar findings have emerged in other studies. In the next chapter I will present a summary of the key findings for this study and highlight how these findings respond to the critical questions. The next chapter will also map out the implications for the study.

CHAPTER 5

Summary, Conclusion and Implications.

5.1) Introduction

The previous chapter presented the findings of the analyzed data. Various themes emerged throughout the analysis and these were presented and discussed in response to this study's main research questions.

The intention of this study was to gain an insight into the way teenage Indian boys construct their masculinities and to then explore these constructions and the boys' perceptions of risky sexual behaviour. In this chapter, I will provide a summary of the key findings of this research, with the aim of showing how this study has addressed the main research questions.

 This study was guided by the following three research questions:

1. How do teenage Indian boys construct their masculinities?

2. What are Indian boys' perceptions of risky sexual behaviour, especially in a context of HIV/AIDS?

3. How do teenage Indian boys' constructions of their masculinity relate to their perceptions of risky sexual behaviour?

5.2) Summary of the findings

This research study was driven by three questions that were motivated by the paucity of literature and studies that focused on teenage Indian boys, their construction of masculinities and their understandings of risky sexual behaviour in the context of HIV/AIDS. I wanted to know the possible factors that influenced these boys in their constructions of masculinity and their negotiation of risky sexual behaviour. The following sub-topics will demonstrate how each of the study's research questions was addressed through the findings from the data analysis process.

Research question 1: How do teenage Indian boys construct their masculinities?

The data has revealed that multiple factors contribute to the constructions of masculinity in teenage Indian boys. Teenage Indian boys from this study had various beliefs and understandings as to what defined being a man. From the data, it was also established that boys' constructions of masculinities had very much to do with appealing for the affection of girls. The data further indicated that the boys constructed their masculinities through violent and aggressive behaviour towards other boys, through physique and dress and through social interaction and popularity. They did this in an attempt to display their manhood while trying to appeal to girls. These findings reaffirm the findings of existing studies on masculinities (Msibi, 2012; Martin & Govender, 2011; Schrock & Schwalbe, 2009) in terms of the performances of masculine behaviours while attempting to appeal to girls. This suggests that teenage Indian boys are no different from other boys in their constructions of masculinities.

It was clear that the boys did not all perform the same type of masculinity. The data suggests that two groups of boys within the research setting were considered to be the representation of dominant masculine ideals. The first group of boys were those boys that were perceived to be bodybuilders, boys that possessed muscular physiques and were athletically gifted. The second group of boys were those that were considered to be drug users/merchants, those that

engaged in substance abuse that consequently led to their deviant behaviour such as bunking, disrespect towards educators and other learners. These were the two groups of boys whose actions were believed to symbolize dominant masculine characteristics. The data suggested that most of the participants positioned their constructions of masculinity against the behaviours and actions demonstrated by these two groups. For instance, many of the participants were against violent and aggressive behaviours towards others. Some of the participants also believed that respect and faithfulness towards girls constituted masculine behaviours. This was in opposition to the ideologies of the two abovementioned groups of boys.

However, the research has also discovered that there were instances where some of the participants' actions were in line with the ideologies of the two hegemonic groups of boys. For example, some of the participants stated that violence should be used when necessary, some participants also labelled negatively those who were academic and not very athletic while a few other participants viewed girls as sexual objects. This indicated that although most of the participants wanted to be different by opposing certain behaviours performed by the two groups of boys, they were still adhering to patriarchal norms through displays of violence, marginalization and the objectification of females. Similarly, Connell (1996) notes masculinities are actively constructed and are a result of social practices that are performed by people who believe they are reproducing appropriate masculinities. They do so in an attempt to conform to social pressures.

The study also found that social interaction and popularity were one of the ways that teenage Indian boys constructed their masculinity in an attempt to impress girls and other boys. Scholars (Basterfield, Reardon & Govender, 2014; Hamlall & Morrell, 2012) have acknowledged the relationship between popularity and masculinity, where the admiration from peers and others within the schooling environment results in being well-known. Similarly, this study found that the boys strived to achieve social status as they believed that to be known by many, equalled admiration and respect, thus enhancing their masculine status amongst their peers. Therefore, the more friendships and relationships a boy had was seen as a way to signify his masculinity. The data had also suggested the boys' constant need to impress other boys and girls as another way to boost and signify masculinity.

The performance of violent and aggressive behaviours towards other boys was another aspect that boys engaged in to display their masculinity. The participants in my study noted that violent and aggressive behaviour towards other boys was used as a display of strength by many boys in the school in order to exhibit their prowess and dominance over other boys. Schrock and Schwalbe's (2009) study on men and masculine acts claims that aggression and violence are significant in the attainment of masculine stature. This was also the case in this study; the boys noted that many boys in the school used intimidation and aggressive tactics to display their masculinity. Further, analysis of the data revealed that boys also fought to 'prove' themselves amongst their peers and to showcase their strength in an attempt to enhance their masculinity and impress girls. However, this study also did find that many of the participants were against violence and believed in peaceful resolutions. This suggests that while boys still seek to perform hegemonic masculinities (Connell, 1996), there exists a presence of oppositional masculinities. Many scholars (Gard, 2008; Walker, 2005; Walker 2014; Way, Cressen, Bodian, Preston, Nelson & Hughes, 2014) have observed the phenomenon where boys construct their masculinities in opposition to the normative hegemonic masculine practices. This study has found that many boys opt to oppose the traditional masculine ideologies and construct their masculinities according to their ideas and principles, possibly informed by images in the media of 'metrosexual' and 'progressive' men. The data analysis revealed that the construction of masculinities through non-violent and passive behaviour was favoured by most of the boys interviewed.

Another aspect derived from the data analysis is the ways in which men construct their masculinities through physique and dress. The data analysis from this study revealed that teenage Indian boys have varied ideas about what kind of clothing and body shapes represent a masculine man. To some boys, formal attire, facial hair and a toned body represented a masculine man. However, to some, an unkempt appearance, untidy hair and dressing were what represented a masculine man as being interested in one's appearance was considered a feminine quality. Some boys categorized as 'homosexual clothing and habits' skinny pants, ironed hair and pink items of clothing. This suggests a presence of desired masculinities and the not so desirable ones (see Connell, 2005). Many boys did not want to be perceived as "gay" and often noted how they policed their own clothing and mannerisms so as to not be placed in this undesirable masculine category. This is consistent with many other studies which have found that boys monitor and police their own behaviours so that they are not seen

as 'gay' (Kimmel & Mahler, 2003; Poteat, Kimmel & Wilchins, 2011; Kimmel, 2012; Barker & Ricardo, 2005). One can therefore conclude that while there were different beliefs as to what type of dressing and physical appearance represented a masculine man, masculinity was constructed by the way boys dress and look, with the aim being to be considered a desirable man.

Ultimately this research study has found that boys construct their masculinities according to their perceptions stemming from relationships, cultures and society. The data indicates that the role of peers in the quest for masculine prestige is highly important. As indicated by previous studies (Barker & Ricardo, 2005; Bhana & Anderson, 2013; Hamlall & Morrell, 2012), the need to impress peers and constantly prove one's self worth is the driving force behind many of the factors that influence the constructions of masculinities for teenage Indian boys. On the other hand, the data analysis also indicated that more boys are challenging hegemonic norms and constructing masculinities on their own terms based on their own beliefs and influences. For example, some boys believe a man should be non-violent and faithful to his partner. This is an indication of the diversification of masculinity. The existence of multiple masculinities reaffirms Connell's (1996) masculinities theory which states that masculinities are multiple and are susceptible to change with different contexts and over time. However, as stressed above, such oppositional masculinities worked so long as one was not considered "gay", suggesting that heteronormativity (Shefer, Kruger & Schepers, 2015) plays a big role in the ways in which boys construct their masculinities.

The above findings have emerged through the responses from young teenage Indian boys within a schooling environment. Their responses have revealed their personal experiences, thoughts and observations which have provided an indication as to how they construct their masculinities. I will now explore the perceptions of Indian boys when it comes to engaging in risky sexual behaviour.

Research question 2: What are Indian boys' perceptions of risky sexual behaviour, especially in a context of HIV/AIDS?

It is evident that many of the participants and some of their friends had engaged in risky sexual practices. The participant narratives highlighted the boys' perceptions about sexual risk. For most of these boys, sexual risk meant impregnating a girl or contracting HIV. The possibility of contracting other sexually transmitted diseases was not considered. Despite

knowing about pregnancy and HIV, some of the participants still engaged in unsafe sex. Many of the boys also failed to realize that sexually transmitted diseases could also be contracted through oral sex practices and believed that this was a risk-free engagement. Thus, the participant responses, their experiences and the revelation of teenage pregnancies occurring within the research environment are major indicators that boys are indeed engaging in unsafe sexual practices. However, the data also provided evidence to suggest that there are also those boys who are fully aware of sexual risks and prefer to remain faithful to one partner.

According to Peltzer and Pengpid's (2006) study that dealt with South African adolescents' sexuality, the topic of sex and sexuality was found to be taboo in many cultures and thus a forbidden subject of discussion in many households. Similarly in this study, it was pointed out that many of the teenage Indian boys found it difficult to speak to their parents about sex. For this reason, they had to acquire their knowledge from other sources such as peers, media and the internet. This included misguided stories told by peers to impress others, pornographic material and random bouts of information from advertisements and posters. This consequently led to misinformation which was found to be one of the possible reasons for the boys engaging in risky sexual behaviour. Some of the boys considered pregnancy to be the biggest risk in sexual behaviour while others knew about the possibility of being infected with sexually transmitted diseases. However, as the interviews show, many of the participants do not understand the serious nature of risky sexual behaviour. Their continual engagements with multiple partners and occasional usage of condoms as well as their belief that oral sex carries no sexual risk is enough to suggest the limited awareness of participants' sexual risks.

The lack of sex education coupled with misleading information had been a catalyst in the engagement of risky sexual behaviour by the boys. As revealed by the data, many of the boys pursued multiple relationships with a disregard for safe sexual practices. Some of the responses indicated that some of the participants had more than one relationship in which they were sexually active but were ignorant of the associated risks. Again, one of the reasons for this type of behaviour is linked to the lack of knowledge and awareness on the subject. Also, a further possibility for teenage Indian boys engaging in risky sexual behaviour could stem from the misconception that HIV/AIDS is disease predominantly suffered by black South Africans, thus creating the impression that other race groups are highly unlikely to be infected or carry the disease. Furthermore, as highlighted above, the data established that

some boys were clueless when it came to the risks contracted through oral sex, with some of the boys citing only pregnancy and infidelity through multiple sexual partners as some of the risks from sexual practices. It can be argued that the lack of education about sex and sexual risks is one of the reasons for teenage Indian boys engaging in risky sexual behaviours. Although the participant narratives had indicated the existence of HIV education within the school curriculum, it is disturbing that such a scenario exists within a schooling environment given the fact that educational institutions that are supposed to empower adolescents on life skills, particularly focusing on HIV and AIDS. This indicates the ineffectiveness of such initiatives and a possible overhaul of the curriculum strategies and implementation.

Further analysis of the data showed an additional reason for teenage Indian boys engaging in risky sexual behaviour. According to Bhana and Anderson (2013), sexual experiences among boys are viewed as a display of sexual prowess by peers and are recognition of manhood. Similarly, this study found that many of the boys were concerned about how they were viewed by their peers. One of the reasons for being involved in numerous simultaneous relationships was to impress peers to elevate their masculine status. In line with this, the study found that boys also engaged in negligent risky sexual behaviours by engaging in sexual behaviours for the sake of abolishing their virgin status. For example, if a situation arose where the boys were about to engage in sexual acts and did not have condoms, then they would continue without any form of protection rather than "lose the opportunity". It is argued here that this type of behaviour can again be linked firstly to the need to prove one's masculinity, including misinformation, poor levels of sexual knowledge as well as the failure to determine what constitutes risky sexual behaviour.

The above reasons for boys engaging in risky sexual behaviour have been established from the participant responses. It is clear that boys do not perceive themselves as being at sexual risk. As argued above, this may have to do with the way in which HIV/AIDS have been positioned in this country. The boys also perform risky behaviours due to their unawareness about the seriousness of the effects of risky sexually behaviours, as well as the pressing desire to appear manly. The role of peers also surfaced as one of the contributing factors for this type of behaviour, with boys wanting to appear manlier in front of their peers.

I will now explain what the research as found on how the constructions of masculinity through various behaviours, actions and ideologies, have impacted on the boys' performance of risky sexual behaviours.

Research question 3: How do teenage Indian boys' constructions of their masculinity relate to their perceptions of risky sexual behaviour?

The research has found that boys construct their masculinities through various understandings, interpretations and behaviours. One of the significant findings from this study was the need by most boys to radiate heterosexual masculinities. The reason for this stemmed from wanting to impress peers and distancing themselves from homosexuality which is considered forbidden and unmanly within the research context.

The findings show that one of the easiest ways to divert the homosexuality status was to pursue heterosexual relationships and thus claim a masculine status. Blackbeard and Lindegger's (2007) study highlights that masculine status is attained through multiple relationships. In this study, it was found that teenage Indian boys often indulged in several simultaneous heterosexual relationships and were proud to reveal and publicise them as such achievements signified masculinity. It was through these heterosexual relationships that risky sexual behaviours were performed. Many scholars (Barker & Ricardo, 2005; Blackbeard & Lindegger, 2007; Pattmann, 2005; Basterfield et al, 2014) have linked multiple relationships to peer group prestige. Similarly many of the Indian boys were excited to reveal their unfaithful ways as it was considered to be an accomplishment. The pressure to achieve masculine status amongst peers had affected the way in which some boys viewed girls and relationships. Having sexual interactions with multiple girls was seen as an achievement and earned respect and status from peers. The consequences of such actions were not realized. This study can therefore conclude that one of the ways risky sexual behaviour is linked to the constructions of masculinity is by Indian boys striving to achieve peer group male supremacy through engaging in multiple sexual relationships.

According to Basterfield et al (2014), boys are susceptible to health risk behaviours as a result of their efforts to gain masculine prestige amongst their peers. This has been reiterated in my study, which found boys to engage in sexually risky behaviour such as multiple sexual relationships, engaging in unsafe sexual practices and disregarding the dangers of such behaviours despite being aware of the consequences. The data analysis revealed that one of the ways boys constructed their masculinity was through their engagement in sexual relationships. The boys engaged in sexual practices with or without any protection. Safe sex was not deemed a priority but rather the urgency to engage in sexual relationships to eliminate "virgin status" was prioritised. Thus the construction of masculinity through sexual

interaction is linked to risky sexual behaviour since the urgency to have sex overrides the priority to be safe.

According to Harrison's (2008) study, unsafe sexual practices are the probable result of inaccurate information obtained from peers. In line with this, the data from my study has revealed that many boys sought sexual advice from unreliable sources, and in addition themselves provided sexual advice to others based on their personal experiences instead of reliable sources. The constant desire to impress peers to boost masculine standings resulted in boys fabricating experiences and knowledge about sexual topics. Such misleading information and advice contributed to risky sexual practices by the participants themselves and their peers. Some of the participants understood safe sex as only the ability to prevent pregnancy and not the prevention of disease. The construction of masculinities by claiming to be experienced and knowledgeable on the topic of sex consequently led to risky sexual behaviours.

The research has shown that there is an influential relationship between the constructions of masculinity and risky sexual behaviour. As boys struggle in their quest to attain masculine status they embark on a perilous journey that pressures them into performing actions and behaviours that are often hazardous to their health. Their judgments are often clouded from the pressure of society (other boys and girls) and the urgency to meet the social expectations of what is means to be a man.

5.3) Implications: School Policy and practice

This study discovered that boys are ill-informed about sex and sexual risks. While some boys were aware of a few risks, they did not appear to be entirely confident in their explanations when questioned about the consequences of risky sexual behaviour. The current school curriculum deals with issues of sex and sexuality through the Life Orientation (LO) learning area. Evidence from this study suggests that this alone is inadequate. Schools need to play a bigger role in educating and informing learners about sex and sexual risks other than relying on a single learning area. Schools should work together with parents and various role players in the community to establish campaigns for this cause. It is clear also that the way in which LO is taught needs to be more exciting and interesting to capture learners' attention and make them more interested and participative. Educators should be properly trained to teach topics of sex and risks and provide support and counselling should the need arise. Schools also need to prioritize the debunking of hegemonic representations of masculinity in schools. While the

study suggests that some progress has been made on this front, it is clear that patriarchy and heteronormativity still dominate. As such, schools need to also focus on the teaching around this.

As explained by Connell's (1996) work on masculinities, schools are active in the formation of masculinities. Similarly evidence from this research study reaffirms the link between schools and the constructions of masculinities. This study has found that boys construct their masculinities through a series of behaviours, abilities, appearances and thought processes.

The aspects that contribute to the constructions of masculinity that occur within the schooling environment such as bullying, intimidation and violence are daily occurrences and are methods employed by some boys to attain and display their masculine dominance over others. While the boys in this study distanced themselves from these actions, it was clear that such actions were present in the school environment. Although schools adopt a code of conduct that condemns this type of behaviour, it still happens. Schools should therefore enforce stricter measures and harsher penalties to those found guilty of such behaviour. Alternatively, support could also be given in the form of counselling to both victims and perpetrators.

It has also surfaced that illegal activities such as gambling and substance abuse are happening in schools. These practices were also found to influence the constructions of masculinities. While the school code of conduct prohibits such activities, it is evidently still happening. Schools should participate in regular searches conducted by police and teachers to curb this problem. Awareness campaigns and motivational speakers should address these matters to make learners aware of the dangers of their illegal activities.

Overall, schools need to revisit their policies and make the necessary adjustments to curb school violence and illegal practices. Schools need to improve their role in informing youth about the dangers and consequences of risky sexual behaviour. While schools, on paper, do promote and encourage the well-being of all learners, such efforts must be effectively implemented to ensure all learners are safe from prejudice and discrimination.

5.3.1) Implications for future research

This was a small scale study that focused on Indian boys and how they construct their masculinities and then explore these constructions in relation to the boys' perceptions about risky sexual behaviour. Since there is a lack of research done on South African Indian

masculinities and the impact of HIV/AIDS on Indian communities, I propose that more studies be done in those areas.

Many Indian boys fail to realise that diseases such as HIV/AIDS affects all people. Most school going boys lack reliable sources of information as sex is a taboo topic within the Indian community. Therefore more focus needs to be placed on the Indian community within the context of HIV/AIDS. Issues of negligent sexual conduct, sexual violence and teenage pregnancy also need to be addressed within the Indian community.

Although this study focused on Indian boys, more exploration into Indian girls and their sexuality is needed. We need to know more about the roles Indian girls have in making their own choices and their positions as females within Indian cultures. More studies and in-depth research on South African teenage Indian boys and girls will help us to better understand the reasons for teenagers engaging in certain behaviours and possibly equip organisations with the necessary knowledge to provide support to existing structures. It will also assist in addressing the current racialisation of HIV/AIDS present in South Africa.

5.4) Limitations of the study

Limitations do exist when conducting research. One of the limitations in qualitative research is that the results obtained from the study may not be generalizable to other people or contexts. The findings in this study are therefore limited and cannot be generalized beyond the experiences of the ten Indian participants within the research setting. While the reduced sample size of ten participants does allow for rich details and description in personal experiences, the findings cannot be extended to the wider population. As my intention was not to generalise, the sample size is therefore not a major limitation in this study.

One of the limitations of the study was that the sample consisted of predominantly grade 11 and 12 learners. Thus the experiences may not be a true reflection of the rest of the schooling population. More studies consisting of a larger sample with more schools should be conducted so that the results maybe more conclusive for generalisation.

Due to time constraints, participant interviews had to be spaced out. This meant that only a few participants could be interviewed in a day, thus stretching the interviews over a period of days. This meant that the participants could communicate with each other about their personal interviews with me, resulting in a competition between them to impress me with their responses.

Being an Indian male researcher interviewing Indian male participants meant that participants shared similar cultural experiences to my own. This may have created a desire for the participants to impress me when divulging their experiences, possibly resulting in inaccurate and fabricated experiences. A larger sample with studies conducted in different schools may have provided much more accurate findings.

Another limitation was the types of research questions asked during the interview. As a novice interviewer, I felt that certain questions could have been posed differently to elicit information from the participants. This was realised only during the analysis process.

Despite these limitations of my research, there were also some strengths highlighted in this study. The open-ended interview structure adopted in my study allowed for the participants to speak freely and provide rich descriptive details about their experiences. This provided in-depth information in relation to the research questions. This also allowed some of the participants to reflect on some of their previous decisions and question their own morals and critique their own judgments. The boys were eager to participate in this study since they have not been included in a research project before. They displayed eagerness to share their experiences and disclose personal stories.

5.5) Conclusion

My research study sought to explore the perceptions of risky sexual behaviour and the constructions of masculinities among South African teenage Indian boys in the context of HIV/AIDS. I also explored the ways in which teenage Indian boys constructed their masculinities as well as their perceptions about risky sexual behaviours, revealed through their experiences and actions.

The findings from my research suggests that race plays a minor role in the way teenage Indian boys construct their masculinities and perceive risk as this study reached similar conclusions to other studies conducted previously. This study also suggests that some boys construct their masculinities according to the traditional masculine ideologies whilst some boys oppose traditional masculine practices and construct their masculinities according to a different set of rules and practices. The research notes that while heterosexual masculinity is dominant within the research setting, there are different ideas, beliefs and influences as to what constitutes masculine practices. The study further found that Indian boys within this setting were often misinformed about sex and sexual practices thus resulting in risky sexual

behaviour, often not perceiving themselves as being at risk. I therefore suggest that educational institutions revisit their policies on sex education, school violence and illegal activities as this has an impact on the boys' constructions of masculinity and their perceptions of sexual risk. I also suggest that the Indian community play a greater role in educating their youth about the dangers of risky sexual behaviours and practices.

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Interview Questions - 1st session - Biographical Questions

(structured questions were also used in the interview sessions as triggering questions to elicit specific answers from participants in order to guide them to the open ended questions that follow)

1) How old are you?

2) What grade are you in?

3) Do you enjoy school?

4) What subjects have you chosen?

5) What are your plans after matric?

6) Where do you live?

7) Who do you live with?

8)) Who is employed in your home?

9) Describe the area you stay in?

10) What are your hobbies?

11) How would you describe yourself?

12) Tell me about some of your close friends (the friends you spend the most time with).

(structured questions were also used in the interview sessions as triggering questions to elicit specific answers from participants in order to guide them to the open ended questions that follow)

Appendix B

Interview Question – session 2

1) Being a boy, how is a boy supposed to behave/act?

2) What are some of the things you consider to be unmanly?

3) Are you currently in a relationship?

4) How many relationships have you been in previously?

5) Do you prefer steady relationships or casual ones?

6) Do you think it's good for men to have steady relationships? Why?

6.1) Would you consider yourself to be like other guys?

7) Are you aware of the risks of being sexually active?

7.1) Can you tell me what are some of these risks?

7.2) Where have you learnt about these risks from?

8) Are you sexually active?

8.1) Do you use protection? why/why not?

9) From what age have you been sexually active?

10) Do you think it's important to delay having sex?

11) How many partners have you been with? Have you engaged sexually with all of them? Why/Why not?

12) How do you feel about being with just one / many partners?

13) Do you think it is acceptable for boys to be virgins at your age?

14) When it come to sex and relationships, who do you seek advice from?

15) When it comes to sex and relationships, what do you think is considered manly?

16) Do you think it's easier for guys to have sex at an earlier age than girls? Why?

17) Do you think you need to love your partner to engage in sex?

18) Do you think it is better to have one partner or many ? why?

19) In a relationship, who do you think should make the decisions about being intimate?

20) Do guys discuss their sexual relationships/ the number of girls they have been with, with their friends?

Appendix C – Parent Consent Forms

Dear Parent:

I am a M.Ed student at the University of KwaZulu-Natal; I wish to ask for permission to undertake the research described below at the University of KwaZulu-Natal Edgewood Campus. This form outlines the intention of the study, a description of participants' involvement and participants' rights. The supervisor of this project is Dr. Thabo Msibi and he may be contacted on 031 260 3868.

Purpose of the study:

- To explore the ways South African teenage Indian boys construct their masculinities and their perceptions of risky sexual behaviour in the context of HIV&AIDS.
- To complete the thesis portion of the Masters in education Degree at the University of the KwaZulu- Natal, Edgewood Campus.

Procedures:

If the participants decide to participate in this study, I will ask them to spend some time in an interview which will give us an opportunity to become comfortable with each other. The last interview will be needed to allow me to ask questions which to obtain the data I require. I will use pseudonyms in my transcripts and all information will remain anonymous and confidential. Participants are free to withdraw at any stage of the research process should they feel uncomfortable. This study in no way implies that your child /ward engages in any type of risky behaviour but rather their understanding of it. By conducting this study, we are aiming to assist the Indian community in determining the possible factors influencing the spread of sexually transmitted diseases and HIV/AIDS. The interview will be audio taped or digitally recorded and then transcribed.

- - - - - **Return Slip**- -

I (full name) _____the parent / guardian of _____ fully understand the above information and will allow / will not allow my child/ward to participate in this study.

Participant's signature _____   Date: _____

Contact number: _____

> Contact details of researcher: Mr. J Ganas; Tel: 0735064563, email: jeromeganas07@gmail.com; Research superviser: Dr Thabo Msibi;   Tel: 031 2603686 ; Email: msibi@ukzn.ac.za ; School of Gender and Education (UKZN): Dr. Shenuka Singh; Tel: 0312603587 ; Email: ximbap@ukzn.ac.za

Appendix D – Participant Consent forms

Dear Participant:

I am a student at the University of KwaZulu Natal. As part of my dissertation, I am conducting research under the supervision of Dr. T. Msibi. I am inviting you to participate in my study.

 All information obtained in this study will be kept strictly confidential and anonymous. The results of this study will be presented collectively and no individual participants will be identified.

Purpose of the study:

- To explore the ways South African teenage Indian boys construct their masculinities and their perceptions of risky sexual behaviour in the context of HIV&AIDS.
- To complete the thesis portion of the Masters in education Degree at the University of the KwaZulu- Natal, Edgewood Campus.

Acknowledgement of Study, Consent, and Agreement to be recorded:

I have been informed of and understand the purpose and procedures of this study and the purpose and procedures of this interview/these interviews. I have been informed that I will be interviewed more than once with each session lasting approximately 60 minutes each.

I understand that I am free to withdraw my consent and discontinue my participation in this interview or study at any time. I understand that I can choose to answer only the questions that I wish to answer. I understand that the interview will be audio taped or digitally recorded and then transcribed.

- Return Slip

I (full name) _____ fully understand the above information and agree /disagree to participate in this study.

Participant's signature _____   Date: _____

Contact number: _____

Contact details of researcher: Mr. J Ganas; Tel: 0735064563; email: jeromeganas07@gmail.com; Research supervisor: Dr Thabo Msibi;   Tel: 031 2603686 ; Email: msibi@ukzn.ac.za ; School of Gender and Education (UKZN): Dr. Shenuka Singh; Tel: 0312603587 ; Email: ximbap@ukzn.ac.za

Appendix E: Request for permission to conduct research: Principal

Dear Principal:

I am an M.Ed student at the University of KwaZulu-Natal; I wish to ask for permission to undertake the research described below at the University of KwaZulu-Natal Edgewood Campus. This form outlines the intention of the study, a description of participants' involvement and participants' rights. The supervisor of this project is Dr. Thabo Msibi and he may be contacted on 031 260 3868.

Purpose of the study:

- To explore the ways South African teenage Indian boys construct their masculinities and their perceptions of risky sexual behaviour in the context of HIV&AIDS.

- To complete the thesis portion of the Masters in education Degree at the University of the KwaZulu- Natal, Edgewood Campus.

Procedures:

I will use 10 – 15 participants to participate in this study. The nature and purpose of the study will be explained to them thereafter those that wish to participate will be selected. They will be made aware of anonymity and there will be no deception in any form. I will ask them to spend some time in an interview which will give us an opportunity to become comfortable with each other. The last interview will be needed to allow me to ask questions which to obtain the data I require. I will use pseudonyms in my transcripts and all information will remain anonymous and confidential. Participants are free to withdraw at any stage of the research process should they feel uncomfortable.

- - - - - **Return Slip-** -

I Mr./Ms./Mrs _____the (managerial position held at the school)_____of (full name of school) _____

_____ fully understand the above information and approve /

disapprove of the above mentioned research to be conducted at this institution.

Principals signature _____   Date: _____

School Contact number: _____

Contact details of researcher: Mr. J Ganas; Tel: 0735064563, email:
jeromeganas07@gmail.com; Research superviser: Dr Thabo Msibi;   Tel: 031
2603686 ; Email: msibi@ukzn.ac.za ; School of Gender and Education (UKZN): Dr.
Shenuka Singh; Tel: 0312603587 ; Email: ximbap@ukzn.ac.za

Appendix F: Approval from Humanities and Social Sciences Ethics Committee

UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL
INYUVESI YAKWAZULU-NATALI

01 September 2014

Mr Jerome Ganes (206520897)
School of Education
Edgewood Campus

Project reference number: HSS/0055/014M
Project title: An exploration of the relationship between risky sexual behaviour and constructions of masculinities among South African teenage Indian boys in the context of HIV & AIDS.

Dear Mr Ganas,

Full Approval Notification – Committee Reviewed Protocol

This letter serves to notify you that your response to our letter dated 24 March 2014 in connection with the above was reviewed by the Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee and has now been granted Full Approval.

Any alterations to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/Interview Schedule, Informed Consent Form, Title of the Project, Location of the Study, Research Approach/Methods must be reviewed and approved through an amendment /modification prior to its implementation. Please quote the above reference number for all queries relating to this study.

PLEASE NOTE: Research data should be securely stored in the school/department for a period of 5 years.

The ethical clearance certificate is only valid for a period of 3 years from the date of issue. Thereafter Recertification must be applied for on an annual basis.

Best wishes for the successful completion of your research protocol.

Yours faithfully

Dr Shenuka Singh (Chair)

/md

cc Supervisor: Dr Thabo Msibi
cc Academic Leader Research:
cc School Administrator: Mr Thobe Mchenu