



**An exploration of young men's understanding of
manhood and manliness:
Wembezi Township**

Samukelisiwe Lily Hlophe

214585674

Supervisor

Dr Moya Bydawell

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University of KwaZulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg, South Africa

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Declaration

I, Samukelisiwe Lily Hlophe, declare that this dissertation is my own original research work and effort. I certify that this dissertation has not been by accepted for any degree in my name in any other university. Where other sources have been used, it is clarified through referencing.

Signature:

Date:

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Abstract

This study aimed to describe the identities of manhood and manliness according to the young men of Wembezi Township through qualitatively collected interview data. It also aimed to identify meanings attached to manhood and manliness by the participants. The study employed the concept of hegemonic masculinity as a theoretical lens for interrogating the construction of manliness and manhood in Wembezi Township. Fifteen young men aged between 18 and 25 were recruited using a purposive sampling strategy. Data was collected through semi-structured interviews and analysed thematically. The research findings revealed that manhood and manliness among young men in Wembezi is primarily understood in terms of 'man' as the breadwinner, provider, and head of the family. However, the study found that there was no uniformity in the young men's conceptions of manhood, as certain ideals upheld by some young men conflicted with those held by others. There was also a significant level of ambivalence between participants in these findings which supports the general perception and notion that the concept of manhood is fluid, unstable and multiple. This was seen in behavioural patterns, views and attitudes of the men to portray particular masculinities, such as strength in the face of illness, which at the same time posed challenges to the construction of masculinities. Social institutions such as schools and family homes emerged both as significant sources of and platforms for the construction of manhood identities and manliness in Wembezi Township. It is recommended that male gender construction and practices that promote and reinforce hegemonic masculinities be investigated further in order to better understand the phenomenon.

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Acronyms and definitions

| | |
|----------------|---|
| AIDS | Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome |
| ANC | African National Congress |
| Blesser | An older and rich man who gives mainly financial support to a younger lady. It is said to be a new term for ‘sugar-daddy’. It is expected that the young lady engages in sexual intercourse with the older man who financially ‘blesses’ her. The term is colloquial and normally used in a township setting by adolescent and older males and females. |
| Fun girlfriend | A woman in a relationship with a man, which the man perceives as merely for having fun without being committed to her; the fun is inclusive of engaging in sexual intercourse. The fun girlfriend is not always aware that there are no commitments from the male side, although some women are told from the beginning that they are ‘sidekicks’. |
| HIV | Human Immunodeficiency Virus |
| Homophobia | Dislike of, hatred, negative attitudes or prejudice against homosexual people |
| <i>Ilobolo</i> | A Zulu concept of bride’s worth. The worth is monetary and materialistic in terms of cows. It is the price that is paid by the prospective husband to the wife’s family when asking for her hand in marriage. Ilobolo is normally calculated according to the level of education for the bride to be, whether or not she is employed, the number of children she has out of wedlock, parental finances linked to her upbringing. The criteria differ from family to family. |
| <i>Indoda</i> | A Zulu word for a ‘real man’ who is respected for having reached the that manhood encompasses. It is supposed to represent the ultimate state of manhood; it is an achievement. |
| <i>Imbizo</i> | A Zulu term referring to a social or political gathering, a platform for dialogue which usually ends with food and drinks |
| <i>Isoka</i> | A Zulu term for a man with multiple female sexual partners |
| Township | Formerly segregated place within South Africa which was designated for black occupation by the apartheid legislation. While this is no longer formally legislated, historic settlement patterns persist. |

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|-----------------|--|
| Shebeen | A slang term referring to a drinking establishment. A place or club where alcoholic beverages are sold; in the past, these were informal and without a liquor licence. |
| STI | Sexuality transmitted infection |
| Straight woman | A woman in a relationship with a man, which the man perceives as the 'wife' even though unmarried to her. She is the favourite of all his girlfriends. |
| UDF | United Democratic Front |
| <i>Ukujola</i> | To date casually |
| <i>Umunzane</i> | Homestead head. A father, family leader head. It is similar to ' <i>indoda</i> ' and is used interchangeably. |

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Introduction

This chapter defines manhood and manliness. It outlines the research problem, which explains the rationale behind the study, the aims and objectives of the study. It also states the research questions of this study. The chapter offers a general background to the study by contextualising masculinity and South African township living. This chapter also aims to enhance background understanding and engagement with subsequent chapters and themes.

1.2 ‘Manhood’ and ‘manliness’ defined

‘Manhood’ is a state of being a man, a certain stage a man reaches attainment; it is male adulthood, maturity and responsibility (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005, 832). Manhood is distinguished from womanhood or childhood (Connell, 2008a). Manhood is a functional reality in a man’s achievement of leadership in his context. Connell (2008b, 132) further explained manliness as the qualities, traits or abilities that the society considers appropriate to men. Qualities of manliness are often constructed as including being strong, independent, assertive, tough and domineering, and it is these qualities that qualify one for manhood (Connell, 2008b, 132; Walker, 2005). The manhood acts in this study are those that claim and emphasise male privileges and mark the men as different with unique important assets.

1.3 Research problem and study rationale

Wembezi Township was regarded as a crime ‘hotspot’ in 2014, in need of constant monitoring due to the high crime rates in the area (Estcourt News, 2016; Manda, 2014). The National Minister of Defense, Nosiviwe Mapisa-Nqakula launched an anti-crime campaign to tackle the problem in the area (Manda, 2014). In addition to crime, Wembezi township also has high levels of political and social instability, which often also find expression in criminal activities (Manda, 2014). The instability is characterised by politically motivated killings, child and women abuse, substance abuse, unemployment, poverty and burglary (Manda, 2014). While there may be a link between concepts of manliness and these community ills, this has not been established with certainty. Media reporting on crimes in Wembezi (Estcourt

News, 2014) agrees with studies which show that most criminal and social offenders are male (Connell, 2005, 2; Omar, 2011, 1). As Barker and Ricardo (2005) observed in their study of masculinities in Africa, expectations of men in Africa can cause pressures that lead to criminal activities, unhealthy behaviour and personal conflicts as men attempt to respond to assigned gender roles. For example, the expectation that a man should provide, based on the construction of the man as 'provider', can cause significant tension for a man in the face of poverty and unemployment (Barker and Ricardo, 2005). Hunter and Davis (1994, 20) considered numerous studies on manhood and were concerned with the struggles of men, especially linked to the need to achieve the role of provider. There are also challenges that men are said to face by being 'black' including unemployment, poverty and general pressures (Wilson, 1987). Scholars have come to believe that there is a crisis in manhood construction.

What society expects of men, and what men expect of themselves, have been identified as sources of crisis (Walker, 2005, 226; Jefferson, 2002). Other factors that contribute to the identity and expectation crisis include contemporary uncertainty and instability in relation to gender roles, identity and sexuality (Walker, 2005, 226).

There are different expressions of masculinities and manliness and these depend on culture, space and time (Longhurst, 2000, 440- 441). However, these different ways of being men also share common characteristics such as toughness, competitiveness and being domineering across differing groupings (Connell, 2005, 3). Violence is openly accommodated as a known male characteristic, across all ages and age groups (Omar, 2011, 32). While these links have been established in several studies on masculinities, the rising rates of crime and other social problems have been said to be associated with men in such townships, although there are no definite links. There may, however, be other causes of crime. This uncertainty calls for deeper and more context-specific research on masculinities, especially how young men understand their own gender identity as men and how this impacts on their social attitudes and behaviours. This study attempts to make a contribution to the body of knowledge regarding this aspect. The study also wishes to describe deeper identities and develop an understanding of manhood which could assist in intervention planning. The study also hoped to reveal new data in manhood construction that is specific to young men in Wembezi Township.

1.4 Study objectives

This study had the following objectives:

- To describe the prevailing construction of manhood and manliness by means of a sample of young men in Wembezi Township;
- To identify the meanings attached to manhood and manliness in a sample of young men in Wembezi Township;
- To classify the processes of the construction of identities of manhood among young men in Wembezi Township; and
- To explore the challenges that emerge from the meanings associated with manhood identities and their construction in Wembezi.

1.5. Key research questions

- What are the characteristics of manhood and manliness among young men of Wembezi Township?
- How is male identity constructed among the young Wembezi township men?
- What do Wembezi township men see as challenges in manhood identities and their construction?

1.6. Outline of chapters

This research thesis is organised into six chapters. The first chapter offers a general introduction to the study in terms of research questions, problems and objectives of the study. In the second chapter, the theoretical framework for this study, namely, hegemonic masculinities, is explained as well as its relevance for the study. Chapter Three reviews relevant literature on the subject of study and Chapter Four details the research methodology, processes and tools used to achieve the objectives of the study. The findings of the study are presented and discussed thematically in Chapter Five, and finally, Chapter Six offers concluding thoughts and recommendations based on the findings of the study.

Chapter 2

Theoretical Framework: Hegemonic Masculinity

2.1 Introduction

To critically analyse and understand the ways in which manhood and manliness are constructed among young men in Wembezi Township, the concept of hegemonic masculinity was used. This chapter describes hegemonic masculinity and explains why it was chosen as a framework for this study. The chapter also offers a brief account of gender identity and gender construction generally in order to locate the concept of hegemonic masculinities within a broader theoretical context. The different sections in the chapter explain various aspects of hegemonic masculinities including its patterns and features, as well as the ways hegemonic masculinities operate to activate certain ways of being men or expressing manhood and manliness. What many scholars have called a ‘crisis’ in masculinity, which can be attributed to the gender roles, is also discussed. Some criticisms of hegemonic masculinity are also explored. Due to masculinity being a fluid concept, various manifestations are explained. The contributions of the study to the academic field are also outlined.

2.2 Patriarchy and masculinity defined

Patriarchy is defined by Scott-Samuel (2009, 159) and Stanistreet, Bambra and Scott-Samuel (2005, 873) as a social system or ideology where men dominate by holding power and control over women. It is also referred to as a form of segregation (Stanistreet et al., 2005, 873). The power that is held by men is created, exercised and sustained through the dominant roles that men play. It appears to be a form of gender inequality created by society for male gain as society operates within male defined values. Patriarchy is a system that has been said to perpetuate oppression against women (Schwartz and Dekeseredy, 2000, 556).

Heterosexuality has become institutionalised to support patriarchy and male domination over women. It is believed that many of the negative aspects of masculinity, such as aggression and domination, are a result and function of patriarchy. Based on this, one may assume that patriarchy sets the rules and boundaries of hegemonic masculinity as an identity. There is also the notion that patriarchy with the male ‘rights’ to control his context, brings with it male privileges of power, sex and status (Christ, 2013). Men tend to desire the abovementioned privileges, which then form part of their identities.

Masculinity as a field of study is interdisciplinary and focuses on what it means to be a man (Morrell and Ouzgane, 2005). Masculinity focusses on social roles, behaviours, biological factors and social relations of men within their communities and significances ascribed to them (Morrell and Ouzgane, 2005; Connell, 2008a). The male gender is expressed in different ways or 'masculinities' (Scott-Samuel, 2009, 159). Due to masculinity not being a conscious process, it is maintained through social institutions and is reciprocally prescribed and regulated (ibid.). Individual women are subject to individual men; this then becomes broader experience and the pattern becomes entrenched.

2.3 Hegemonic masculinity background and definition

The term 'hegemony' was introduced by Gramsci in the 1970s to explain the maintenance of class relations in society (Swain, 2006, 336; Connell, 2005, 831; Jefferson, 2002, 68). It focussed on the democratic societies and aimed to understand how the upper social class validated and maintained its dominance in societies characterised by class inequality (Jefferson, 2002, 68). The concept was later employed by scholars to understand gender relations in terms of power and inequalities (Connell, 2005, 831). This was based on an understanding of the concept such as Connell's (2005), which views hegemony as dominance by one social group over another. The concept of hegemonic masculinity is helpful in addressing societal struggles in relation to power and leadership, violence, family changes and sexuality (Connell, 2005, 830).

Hegemonic masculinity is a gender order theory or concept, which shapes masculine practices which assert male power over women subordination and marginalised masculinities (Demetriou, 2001). It is a form of masculinity which is culturally and politically embedded and is time and place specific (Scott-Samuel, 2009, 159). Within hegemonic masculinity are male sex roles and prescriptions and expectations of power relations (Connell, 2005, 830; Morrell, 2005, 85), as discussed on gender roles below (see section 2.10). The power embedded in hegemonic masculinities is held at the cost of women, children and any males that do not meet the hegemonic masculinity prescriptions (Pattman, 2007; Morrell, 2005, 85). Connell (2005) described masculinity as a configuration of practice, which is the prescription of how men should socially and hierarchically behave. Although hegemonic masculinity allowed male dominance, Connell (2005, 832) argued that it did not permit violence; other

scholars disagree that violence has always been part of manhood (Seedat, Van Niekerk, Jewkes, Suffla and Ratele, 2009; Nagin and Tremblay, 1999).

The concept of hegemonic masculinity allows an investigation into how a 'real man' has often been constructed, and the adherence to its canons prescribe how men are expected to be and act (Pattman, 2007; Connell, 2005, 832). The concept also enables an examination of the practices that promote a hierarchy between men and women and enable male dominance over women (Morrell, Jewkes and Lindegger, 2012, 12; Hearn, 2007, 19; Connell, 2005, 832; Demetriou, 2001, 340) as well as those that embed a hierarchy among men based on a scale of manliness (Connell, 2005, 831; Jefferson, 2002, 68). It has been argued that heterosexuality and homophobia are the foundation of hegemonic masculinity (Donaldson, 1993, 645). As such, the concept encompasses several forms of subordination, including the subordination of women to men where the former must always be submissive to please the latter, as well as younger men having to respect the older men. Race has been said to partially produce a dominant social hierarchy (Duster, 2001) where the white men have dominated black men (Bucholtz, 1999, 444) and where white men had social control (Hughey, 2010, 1290). This was ultimately labelled 'hegemonic whiteness' which sustained racial cohesion by positioning the 'white' as different and superior to the non-white and promoting 'white' practices (ibid.). It was also against such ideals that cultural behaviours and values were measured (ibid.). This led to the black men not being viewed as 'real men', in contrast to white men. Whilst this may not have visible bearing on the Wembezi youth today, it is important to the way South Africans construct their world. Homosexuals have been viewed as 'less men' in comparison to heterosexual men (Connell, 2005; Demetriou, 2001, 341; Jefferson, 2002), because the latter have been perceived as superior 'real men'. The hegemony has also been observed in higher and lower classes (Jefferson, 2002), where the former is seen as more powerful than the latter. Black men were viewed as lower class, which may have contributed to the solidarity of black men. Previously black men were kept out of the mainstream economy, but now there are some wealthy, middle class black men. This may disrupt black men's solidarity: even though they may all be black, their socio-economic status differs. There has been unequal distribution of wealth.

2.4 Why the hegemonic masculinity framework for this study

Hegemonic masculinity has been widely used in gender research in South Africa and abroad to examine issues related to masculinities (Morrell et al., 2012; Hearn, 2004, 50; Demetriou, 2001, 337). For instance, the concept has been applied in criminology to attempt to explain why males commit more serious crimes than females (Connell, 2005, 833, Jefferson, 2002). It has also been applied when studying male representations in the media, where men are portrayed as materialistically successful, physically attractive, sexual, and always in control (Tan, Shaw, Cheng, and Kim, 2013; Connell, 2005, 833), which for some men may be intimidating. The concept was also used to understand men and their health, specifically to examine risky health related behaviours among men (Connell, 2005, 833; Courtenay, 2000).

The framework is relevant to this study because it identifies social pressures and expectations by society on men, also pressures from men themselves to adhere to hegemonic masculinity ideals (Green, Omar and Piotr, 2011, 3). The hegemonic masculinity as a theoretical framework is appropriate because it has proven useful in analysing gender power relations. These include the male hierarchy that does not only promote male dominance over women, but also inequalities and various relations of dominance and subordination among men on a gendered level (Morrell et al., 2012, 12; Pattman, 2007; Connell, 2005, 832; Demetriou, 2001, 340). The theory tries to explain the nature, the form and different dynamics of male power (Morrell et al., 2012, 12; Hearn, 2004, 51). Hegemonic masculinity assists in understanding the forms that contribute to mechanisms of patriarchy (Demetriou, 2001, 340). Hegemonic masculinities have characteristics which attempt to define what 'real manhood' is, distinguishing from what 'real manhood' is not (Connell, 2005, 832). Thus, it serves as a useful framework for interrogating understandings and constructions of manhood and manliness in Wembezi Township. It makes visible the different aspects and manifestations of manliness, as well as the different ways in which power is played out among men based on specific meanings and expectations associated with gender identities. Since this study focuses specifically on young men and a context with several issues associated with men, such as crime, hegemonic masculinity helped bring out the relevance and role of such factors as age, peer pressures and contemporary social conditions and cultures in how young men construct their gender identities.

2.5 The crisis in masculinity

There seems to be what many scholars call a ‘crisis’ in the gender order which continues to intensify (Jefferson, 2002; McDowell, 2000; Connell and Messerschmidt, 1995, 84; Carrigan, Connell and Lee, 1985). Research shows that there are ‘transformations’ in male behaviours, beliefs and appearances (Bridges and Pascoe, 2014, 246). The changes happen unevenly and are not always linear. Men are experienced and constructed as domineering, fearless, emotionally strong and in control of themselves and their environment (Walker, 2005). Yet, most men are unable to attain these characteristics (Connell, 2005). This could indicate that hegemony is not something all men enjoy, although they benefit from it by virtue of being men. Different men embody different expressions of masculinities, which are sometimes contradictory and cause crises within themselves. Certain manhood ideals portrayed by the media place pressure on men (Ashcraft and Flores, 2003, 2). The contradictions could be the result of their own feelings in comparison with what is expected of them. They may not desire what is expected yet they will work towards such expectations in order to be accepted. One can also assume a possibility of ‘secret admiration’ for the men presented in the media, with the awareness that they cannot achieve such ideals. There can be imbalances of male privileges and obligations, and the frustration of their own preferences and possibilities. They therefore might choose a course of action that satisfies society, rather than themselves. This translates to incompatible cultural definitions of their context; it also engenders mental conflict (Komarovsky, 1946, 184).

Some scholars have adopted the term ‘hybrid masculinities’, which they believe accounts for the materialisation and significance of shifts in masculinities (Bridges and Pascoe, 2014, 246). Hybrid masculinities refers to the selective integration of elements of identity that are related with various marginalised and subordinated masculinities, and femininities into privileged men’s gender presentations and characteristics (Demetriou, 2001). It is difficult to ascertain clear criteria by which specific masculinities are selected and integrated. It does not appear to be a deliberate rational choice but something that happens in specific situations and is determined by specific contexts. Thus, a particular identity may be salient in one situation but insignificant in another.

The male identity comprises what society expects from the male gender (Bridges and Pascoe, 2014, 246), which may not always reflect what men personally agree with or desire. Hybrid masculinities asks if the transformations in masculinities are liberal (ibid.). ‘Liberal’ in this study is defined as being open to new and unconventional behaviours that were historically

not accepted as manly, which is inclusive of men's incorporation of some aspects of gayness (Demetriou, 2001, 350), which has been viewed as marginalised, and something that hegemonic men clearly distance themselves from, because it is perceived to be 'feminine'. Bridges and Pascoe (2014) argued that hybrid masculinity assists in investigating the processes of the revolution among powerful and authoritative men in the current gender order, which mainly compromise of hegemons. Demetriou (2001) believed hybrid masculinities have blurred the boundaries of gender differences creating an impression that the current gender order poses no challenge. The scholars enhance an understanding of the extent to which hegemonic masculinity is naturalised in Wembezi Township and how hybrid masculinities are manifested and possibly blur problematic masculinity practices.

Hegemonic masculinity has for many years been taken for granted as the dominant and accepted form of masculinity (Connell, 2008a). As the primarily accepted form of maleness, hegemonic masculinity entails the definitions of the so-called 'real manhood' (Connell, 2005, 832). The ideals and prescriptions of 'real manhood' has led to uncertainties and confusion on what being a man means or should mean (Walker, 2005, 226), partly because the manhood prescriptions of hegemonic masculinities are challenging and difficult to attain by many men (Swain, 2006, 338; Connell, 2005). Men who are unable to attain these hegemonic masculinity standards have been said to feel anxious (Gee and Jackson, 2012, 87), which is a vulnerable feeling that 'real men' are not expected to feel; thus, they feel like failures. This, forms part of the masculinity crisis. Connell and Messerschmidt (1995, 84) argued that other outcomes of the confusion and the manhood crisis have partly resulted in some loss of the legality of patriarchy; some men are trying to adjust for the loss, through different means (Connell and Messerschmidt, 1995, 202).

2.6 Patterns of masculinity

Connell named four different masculinities in his hierarchy of masculinities, namely dominant, complicit, subordinate and marginalised masculinities (Casey, Masters, Beadnell, Wells, Morrison and Hoppe, 2015). The dominant masculinity is the hegemonic masculinity, it is accepted as the main and leading masculinity (Casey et al., 2015; Light and Kirk, 2000, 174; Connell, 1992, 745). Other masculinities are described in relation and comparison to hegemonic masculinity which is associated with characteristics such as being unemotional, aggressive, and strong (Connell, 2005).

Complicit masculinity draws its identities from hegemonic masculinities without fully endorsing the dominant ideals (Casey et al., 2015). Masculinity in this category is that which possesses some qualities of hegemonic masculinity such as sporty and self-controlled, but does not possess enough to attain the status of hegemonic masculinity (Swain, 2006, 338). Swain (2006, 338) argued that complicit masculinity imitates hegemonic masculinity without exercising authority and influence. Examples would include men who have no desire to use violence to express their dominance, nor desire the leadership roles, yet are comfortably benefiting from the dividends of hegemonic masculinity (ibid.). Another example of men belonging to this category are the men who engage in house chores, which is an activity that is viewed as being feminine.

Marginalised masculinities are less appreciated and are at odds with dominant masculinity (Casey et al., 2015; Harris III, 2008, 458; Light and Kirk, 2000). Examples of marginalised masculinities are inclusive of gay masculinities, racial minority masculinities, and feminist masculinities (Harris III, 2008, 458; Connell, 2005; Light and Kirk, 2000, 174). Marginalised masculinity endorses hegemonic masculinity. These are, for example, the masculinities that are scrutinised for their physical appearance and the way they speak (Swain, 2006, 338). Marginalised masculinity are also those masculinities that do not have access to the hegemonic masculinity because of certain characteristics such as race (Connell, 2005), in this instance the black race. Although marginalized masculinities are rejected by hegemonic masculinities, marginalised masculinities still subscribe to standards that are emphasised in hegemonic masculinity such as aggression, physical strength and suppressing of vulnerable emotions such as sadness (ibid.). Disabled men are additional examples of men that experience marginalised masculinity (ibid.).

Subordinated masculinities are also at odds with hegemonic masculinities. Subordinated masculinities are viewed by heterosexual men as 'wrong' and having failed to be 'proper men'. They are criticised for being too feminine as they can be too polite or too correct and proper (ibid.). Males who are seen as having a subordinate masculinity exhibit qualities that are opposite to those that are valued in hegemonic masculinity such as physical weakness and exhibition of emotions like sadness (Connell, 2005).

Swain (2006, 331) introduced another masculinity category which he called 'personalised masculinity'. The men in this category do not necessarily wish to be subordinated or to subordinate others (Swain, 2006, 341). These are the softer masculinities, who are less

misogynistic than the hegemonic masculinities. Men with concepts of personalised masculinity design their own maleness ideals and are comfortable in themselves. Their comfortable-ness in themselves could be what makes them accepted by hegemonic masculinity, because it is said to coexist with hegemonic masculinity without challenges (ibid.). They share and express some of the hegemonic masculinity characteristics which are control and boldness. Contradicting what is expected represents bravery – a hegemonic masculinity characteristic. Personalised masculinity includes men that are dominant, not accountable, and to a large extent, do what suits them. Patriarchy represents control; personalised masculinity seems to be absorbed into patriarchy, because it owns the main character which is control. Furthermore, it shows that men are part of a hegemony and are in control of their context.

2.7 Subject position and gender (masculine) Identity

Positioning is commonly referred to when addressing issues of identity and subjectivity (Phoenix, Frosh and Pattman, 2003, 180). Positioning specifically highlights the identity position that people create for themselves and others within social interaction (Harris III, 2008, 458; Phoenix et al., 2003, 180). This too refers to how men position themselves as men, and more so, as dominant within their environment.

Language is one of the instruments used to achieve positioning (Kiesling, 2007; Pattman, 2007, 40; Crawford, 2003; Phoenix et al., 2003, 180). It is used because it is key to the setting up of expectations about how people should behave, and how people support or fight these expectations (Phoenix et al., 2003, 180). Language includes the specific words, phrases, tones that men use to position themselves. Language, through speech patterns, phonological and intonational structures are understood to reflect gender roles (Zimmerman and West, 1975, 106). Foucault (1979) named language as one of the tools used to construct personal identities in everyday living (Kiesling, 2007, 653; Pattman, 2007, 37). Identities are accomplished in dialogues and produced as men demonstrate customary forms of particular social interactions with their families, partners, peers and community members (Kiesling, 2007; Pattman, 2007; Phoenix et al., 2003, 180). People behave and talk differently and even contradictorily with different people in varying contexts (Pattman, 2007, 40; Phoenix et al., 2003, 180). Such contradictions lead people to sometimes become troubled with their positions (Pattman, 2007, 41; Phoenix, 2003, 180). How a young man interacts with a peer

whom he is trying to impress can differ to how he relates to a friend, parent or partner. They behave based mainly on what they believe is expected by the recipient. People have different roles in different contexts as well as different relationships to power.

There is a belief that men and women use language differently (Crawford, 2003, 1414). It is through language that women are portrayed as weak and men as strong (Kiesling, 2007, 654). Some scholars hold that language is merely a tool that men use in order to maintain power and resist change (Johnson and Hannemeinhoff, 1998, 107). Men's language, claimed Crawford (2003, 1417), is what 'does manliness'. Language does not only imply spoken words, but also performances, emotional tones, body language, laughter and silences (Pattman, 2007, 38; Phoenix et al., 2003, 180, Crawford, 2003). Language includes how one behaves and negotiates within different relationships (Pattman, 2007, 38; Robinson, 2005, Crawford, 2003). Men are considered 'real man' if they speak in certain ways.

Some young men are said to forge their identities of power and hedonism by talking impersonally about women (Pattman, 2007, 40; Robinson, 2005). Men sometimes talk about sexual relations in order to be perceived as men by their peers (Patman, 2007, 40; Phoenix et al., 2003). They joke about sexual relations with young girls, and can be angry about 'sugar daddy' relations with young girls (Pattman, 2007, 40). The anger would not be necessarily directed at the sugar daddies, but came from the feeling that young girls 'prostitute' themselves for money and status (ibid.). The anger was also sometimes directed at themselves for not being able to get the girls as they were out of their reach; these girls could have boosted their self-esteem as men (ibid.). The young men sometimes labelled such girls as 'salad girls', because they wore provocative clothes and they felt that the girls were violating their own culture by trying to emulate western styles (Pattman, 2007, 40). Language used in their conversation formed part of constructing and presenting their identities as being tough in all aspects of their lives (Pattman, 2007, 41; Ampofo and Boateng, 2007). Thus, such identities appear not only to be for the self but for the audience as well. Language in the construction of manliness and manhood is significantly about the outer appearance, which may not always be a true reflection of the men who use such language.

Wood and Eagly (2015) and Morrell et al. (2012) described gender as culturally based and as having meanings that are attributed to male and female social categories. Furthermore, gender becomes part of one's identity when people integrate cultural meanings into their beings (Wood and Eagly, 2015, 461; Morrell et al., 2012) affirming that identities are not necessarily

shaped by the biological aspects of a man but by their culture (Morrell and Ouzgane, 2005, 9). As identities are constantly being fitted into culture, they are dynamic (Pattman, 2007, 15, 37; Morrell and Ouzgane, 2005, 9). There are cultural meanings that are attached to gender and people feel the need to think and act accordingly (Wood and Eagly, 2015, 461). Gender is constructed over one's lifespan (Morrell et al., 2012; Connell, 2012), therefore it can never be said to be fully complete (Itulua-Abumere, 2013, 44).

Masculinity in general, and hegemonic masculinity more specifically, are forms of identity that encourage and prescribe attitudes and behaviours; they form an ideology that embodies the cultural ideals of the expected roles and values that men must obey (Morrell et al., 2012; Connell, 2005). These masculine identities are constructed politically, socially and historically (Itulua-Abumere, 2013, 44; Connell, 2005). It is through different hobbies and everyday activities that people are gendered as masculine or feminine (Wood and Eagly, 2015, 464). Individuals accept specific definitions of themselves which are in alignment with a specific gender group (Wood and Eagly, 2015, 464; Connell, 2012), such as the male group in this instance. They acknowledge gender identity based on social category, and use this to define themselves (Wood and Eagly, 2015, 464; Morrell et al., 2012; Pattman, 2007).

2.8 The self and identity

The self is what a person makes him- or herself to be and not necessarily what a person is (Giddens, 1991,75). The term 'self' can be viewed as an empty content; it is after psychological and sociological processes that the self is formed through social engagements (Giddens, 1991,75). Mead (1934) viewed the self as a multifaceted and developing phenomenon which is continuously produced through transactions with others within their cultural world. It is within social interactions and symbolic forms that the self is made (Giddens, 1991). One can say that the emphasis is on active internalisation which happens at two levels, the inter-psychological level and intra-psychological level. The inter-psychological level is between people and their context; it is the outer semiotically mediated social processes through the use of signs and tools such as language. The intra-psychological level is within a person. This happens after social interactions are personalised. It is the transformation process where a social phenomenon is transferred into a psychological phenomenon, thus becoming part of the self. People are cultural and social beings and community forms part of defining one's personhood (Mohanty, 1993, 68).

The self is not merely the clothes that one wears or one's assets; it is the soul (Foucault, 1988, 25). Foucault believed the self to be the result of power which could be understood specifically through historic discourses (Callero, 2003, 117). Foucault also believed that the self is forced into existence by the mechanisms of control where systems of discourse work from the inside to the outside by creating self-regulating entities, which aim to confirm their identities (Stets and Carter, 2012). It is therefore important to analyse the institutions within which the self operates. The self is structured into multiple identities. Self-categorisation is the process whereby the self can be viewed as an object and can be classified in relation to other social categories (Stets and Burke, 2000, 224). It is through these processes that one's identity is formed. The self is defined through the messages conveyed to others through behaviour and it is through those social interactions that identities are formed (Warde, 1994, 878).

Identities are theoretical constructions that enable people to read the world in specific ways (Mohanty, 1993, 49). Gecas and Burke (1995) partially defined identity as a human self-definition. Identity formation is the development of distinctiveness in one's personality where one possesses characteristics which differentiate and separate one from another (Stets and Burke, 2000). It is the uniqueness of a person. Erikson (1968) in his psychosocial development theory, believed identity to be mainly formed during adolescence, calling it 'identity diffusion versus role confusion'. This was attributed to his belief that the adolescent is characterised by uncertainties in trying to figure out who they are, especially for their occupational and social identities. Once the confusion had been settled, the person would have achieved the formation of an identity. Identity can be viewed as an attainment of a persona within social interactions, making identities social products. People hold different identities within different social contexts, as identities are meanings that an individual has as a person, group member and a role holder (Stets and Burke, 2000, 226).

Marcia (1966) elaborated on Erikson's concept by classifying four statutes of identity during the identity formation process in adolescence. The first statute, he called 'identity diffusion or role confusion'. This is when teenagers are in crisis with their identity, uncertain about their goals, values and experience disorganised thinking (Berger, 2014). Second is 'identity foreclosure' which is characterised by teenagers' failure to determine their own values; they opt for accepting societal values and norms (ibid.). 'Identity moratorium' was the third statute, which was about exploring life and where one could fit (ibid.). Lastly there is

‘identity achievement’, where the adolescent solves and commits themselves to a certain identity through having goals, belief system and values.

Gender organises identities and self-concepts; it also structures interactions, and is one basis upon which power and resources are allocated. Social identity, which is rooted in the individual’s position with their social context (Cote, 1996, 420), is gender specific. There is also personal identity which is based on tangible aspects of individual experiences within their social interactions and institutions (Cote, 1996, 420). Personal identity is heteronomous as it is based on acceptance of other’s assessments and prospects which lead to conformingly blending into the community (ibid.). Identity is verified when self-perceptions match identity ideals (Charmaz, 1983, 170). This is further supported by Callero (2003, 118) who observed that the self is local rather than universal; it is context based. Cultural identity is continuously constructed through ongoing processes involving emotional and cognitive efforts. Cultural identities also explain how identities are socially, linguistically and theoretically constructed (Mohanty, 1993, 69).

Gender stereotypes are some strategies and meanings that are used in the construction of identity in general (Courtenay, 2000, 1387), specifically male identity for this study. These are based on collective and organised meanings of gender which are shared and accepted by the society (ibid.). It is the adherence to gender stereotypes that reinforce the society-constructed gendered meanings. It is also the boys who are more socially pressured to adhere to the male-stereotypes, in forming their identity. As much as the gendered beliefs and behaviours are socially prescribed (Mahalik, Burns and Syzdek, 2007), men are not just victims (Courtenay, 2000, 1387). Instead they are also active agents in the constructing of masculine norms (Connell, 2005; Courtenay, 2000, 1388).

2.9 Gender roles

The role theory elucidates power of tradition and social conformity while gender roles explain patterns which correlate with social norms that are prescribed appropriate behaviours for males and females (Connell, 2005). There are widely recognisable hegemonies within different social interactions (Zimmerman and West, 1975, 105). These interactions are based on power and dominance, and sometimes gender roles. Gender roles are behaviours that are learned, expected and perceived as appropriate for a certain gender. It is societal norms which dictate gender specific behaviours (Meeker and Weitzel-O’Neill, 1977, 91). The gender roles

and behaviours are based on societal expectations therefore associated with social pressure (Demetriou, 2001, 338); they also assist in making sense of experiences. There are two types of gender roles. There is the feminine role which focus on womanly, homey attributes (Komarovsky, 1946, 184) and the male role which portray men as mainly aggressive and strong (Komarovsky, 1946, 185). Social and cultural factors partly coerce people to behave in certain ways aligned to their specific gender roles and expectations (Komarovsky, 1946, 184). Such ideals have been said to discourage individuals from their own personal path as they pursue what society expects of them. When people do not adhere to the gender-specific roles, they sometimes suffer feelings of guilt to the extent that they conform to these gender roles unconsciously, even if they contradict personal preferences (ibid.).

Young men desire to be accepted by their peers, and this sometimes requires conforming to identity norms and practices that an individual may not necessarily agree with (Pattman, 2005). Identity is constructed through institutions and spaces such as schools, homes, churches and communities (Blackbeard and Lindegger, 2007, 38; Connell, 2005; Wise, 2001, 6). These make boys and men acceptable to their peers and their communities (Blackbeard and Lindegger, 2007, 38; Wise, 2001), as they adhere to what the institutions prescribe. When socialisation and established identity construction ways are rejected, boys become isolated and unacceptable to their peers (Blackbeard and Lindegger, 2007, 38; Pattman, 2005). Their isolation by their peer groups still requires them to accept criticisms and ‘take it like a man’ (Blackbeard and Lindegger, 2007, 38). This is paradoxical because boys who are criticised for not being men enough, and are still expected to behave like men. Boys are often forced to conform to the set unattainable standards of masculinities even if stressful and unpleasant, in order to gain approval and acceptance of their peers (Blackbeard and Lindegger, 2007, 38; Holland, 2005).

2.10 Features of hegemonic masculinity

Since hegemonic masculinity is not fixed, it changes and is conveyed over time through cultural and social influences (Burnard, 2008, 14; Blackbeard and Lindegger, 2007, 30). Hegemonic masculinity is not a fixed type of a character or personality that is the same across time and space (Swain, 2006, 337; Bucholtz, 1999, 444); this is due to hegemonic masculinity being dynamic because of its fluid nature. Hegemonic masculinity is not something that one has but something that one does (Haque, 2013, 62). This masculinity is seen in behaviours, more so the expected behaviours of men; therefore it includes guided,

synergistic and perceptual deeds. It is safe to assume that it is not possessed through birth, but it involves acquired behavioural patterns and responses to social expectations associated with the male. It is also the maleness that dominates the hegemonic position within a given form of gender relations, a position that can always be disputed (Bucholtz, 1999, 444). The idea that it can be disputed shows its fluid nature. Failure to attain hegemonic masculine characteristics raises insecurities in men, and leads to performances that are meant to portray them as 'real men' (Burnard, 2008, 15; Connell, 2005). Many of the features of hegemonic masculinities have been highlighted in the foregoing discussion; however, this section focuses on some of these characteristics more specifically.

2.10.1 Risk-taking

Risk-taking is a feature embodied in hegemonic masculinity. Risk-taking involves behaviours that are considered dangerous or the outcomes of which are unknown. The aim is to achieve a goal, in the present context, to reinforce notions of one's manliness (Thompson and Langendoerfer, 2016; Pattman, 2007, 42), which includes the possibility of having undesired consequences such as harm or injury. The focus is sometimes on adrenalin and excitement, heaviness and physically demanding activities which men find attractive or are conditioned to find attractive and desire to be associated with (Burnard, 2008; Light and Kirk, 2000, 167). Risk-taking is about being dominant and appearing to be a 'real man' (Thompson and Langendoerfer, 2016; Burnard, 2008, 16). Such behaviours are more commonly seen in men than women and are associated with aggression (Thompson and Langendoerfer, 2016; Burnard, 2008, 16; Light and Kirk, 2000, 167). Risk-taking is a display of bravery – as opposed to fear which is seen as a weak characteristic (Thompson and Langendoerfer, 2016, 122; Burnard, 2008, 16).

2.10.2 Control

Hegemonic masculinity requires men to always be in control of all that pertains to them (Thompson and Langendoerfer, 2016; Burnard, 2008, 17; Bennett, 2007). Thompson and Langendoerfer (2016) and Burnard (2008, 17) strongly believed that hegemonic masculinity was about controlling one's context, oneself as a man and others. They based this on the idea that men are not supposed to need assistance, meaning they are able to manage whatever situation they find themselves in (Thompson and Langendoerfer, 2016, 127; Burnard, 2008, 17).

There are also symbolic gestures such as language that men use to display and prove their control over themselves and those around them (Shrock and Padavic, 2007, 629; Kiesling,

2007). These are endorsed by the people in the men's lives, through their submissiveness to such gestures (Kiesling, 2007, 653; Shrock and Padavic, 2007, 629; Johnson and Hannemeinhoff, 1998). This has consequently led to reproduction of control and male hegemony (Shrock and Padavic, 2007, 629). It is these gestures that create and maintain subordinated positions within a society (Kiesling, 2007, 653). It appears acceptable and even expected for men to use certain gestures and language, to the extent that non-use of these by some men makes them non-masculine and lacking in control. These are societal and structural expectations which become part of self-expectations.

2.10.3 Strength

Strength, toughness, success and determination are essential qualities of masculinities (Thompson and Langendoerfer, 2016, 127; Burnard, 2008, 17; Bennett, 2007, 348; Bucholtz, 1999, 444). Gilmore (1990, cited in Burnard, 2008, 17) argued that manhood is accomplished through various macho practices (Pattman, 2007). Hegemonic masculinity is also strongly associated with physical and emotional strength, as well as competitiveness (Burnard, 2008, 14; Light and Kirk, 2000, 167). Examples include competitiveness in sports where men strengthen their male-identity, to the extent of tolerating physical pain and the ability to hide feelings (Light and Kirk, 2000; Longhurst, 2000; Burnard, 2008, 17). As Miedzian (1991, in Burnard, 2008, 17) stated, "the greater the risk, the greater the proof of manhood". Some believe that acting and looking tough is masculine, they believe this proves one to be a 'real man' (Blackbeard and Lindegger, 2007, 38, Pattman, 2007). This is so because it shows invulnerability and the ability to handle any harshness of life (Blackbeard and Lindegger, 2007, 38). It includes a non-caring attitude, 'cannot be let down' and the ability to 'get over things' quickly (ibid.).

2.10.4 Man and his penis

Physical growth, appearance and maturity in manhood acceptance is important to men (Brubaker and Johnson, 2008; Morrell, 2006, 16; Morrell and Ouzgane, 2005, 13). Male bodies, their strength and virility are also a key focus of hegemonic masculinities (Brubaker and Johnson, 2008; Morrell and Ouzgane, 2005, 9; Light and Kirk, 2000). This includes being highly sexually willing and capable with a huge penis and a voracious sexual appetite (Morrell and Ouzgane, 2005, 9). A man requires a mature body to qualify as a man (Morrell, 2006, 16). This is crucial, especially in the heterosexual world, where boys attach meaning to their ability to ejaculate (Morrell, 2006, 16; Hunter, 2005, 390). Society has encouraged men to release their sexual needs with the other (in this case, a women) (Basdeo, 2013). The

ability to ejaculate implies physical maturity, and it is through ejaculation that a man can father a child, thereby becoming a 'real man' (Morrell, 2006, 16; Morrell and Ouzgane, 2005). Certain cultural beliefs and male perceptions of women greatly influence how men see themselves and the masculine behaviour they exhibit (Shefer, Stevens and Clowes, 2010; Smiler, 2006, 586). The media has been said to encourage men in this regard (Smiler, 2006, 586); for instance, it was in the media that it was said 'breasts are for men', more than they are for breastfeeding children (Smiler, 2006, 587). Due to appearances being important, there may be more pressures by peers which may influence boys to be sexually aggressive towards girls in order to validate themselves as men (Ampofo and Boateng, 2007, 57; Morrell, 2006, 16; Hunter, 2005, 390). Thus, it may be due to such ideals that Ouzgane (2000) stated that violent heterosexuality forms part of the foundation of hegemonic masculinity (Hunter, 2005, 390; Morrell and Ouzgane, 2005, 13).

2.10.5 Homophobia

Hegemonic masculinity perceives the concept of homosexuality as unmanly. Hegemonic masculinity is also identified as primarily heterosexual – in opposition to homosexuality. Despite homosexuality being protected by the South African Constitution, homosexuals are still in the minority in terms of social acceptance (Plummer, 2001). The languages used to label homosexuals communicate homophobia as they are generally negative, such as the terms 'moffies', 'faggot' and 'queer' (Plummer, 2001, 15; Wise, 2001). Men are said to generally struggle with homosexuality (Harris III, 2008, 456). The label 'faggot' and other homosexual terms are usually learnt in primary school and when they are learnt at that stage, they do not necessarily have sexual inferences (Plummer, 2001, 15), yet are received by the children as negative. Primary school children and adolescents learn to avoid anything or anyone homophobic (ibid.). It is normally a clear case of 'us' against 'them' (Plummer, 2001; Wise, 2001; Heaven and Oxman, 1999, 108). Homosexual men are stereotypically represented as weak, feminine and are not perceived as real men (Plummer, 2001, 15; Heaven and Oxman, 1999, 108). Homosexual men are also able to be sexually charged and can ejaculate (Morrell and Ouzgane, 2005). However, this does not mean much because their methods or means of ejaculation are considered 'wrong', more so because they do not make babies (ibid.), even though they have the ability to do so. This makes the homosexual man 'less of a man' based on social standards. Thus, homosexual men are referred to as marginalised masculinity (Casey et al., 2015; Connell, 2005) because they do not live up to the standards of hegemonic masculinity.

2.11 Manifestations of masculinities

Due to masculinities being fluid in nature, they can mainly be observed through their manifestations. The manifestations assist in presenting the processes, behaviours, signs, experiences, relationships and attachments that are associated with manhood. Below are some of the various ways that masculinities are manifested.

2.11.1 Figurative level

According to Smiler (2006, 585), this level of manifestation is about people and things which are connected to masculinity. The obvious manifestation is men themselves, but also their environment, women and other men (ibid.). Consequently, masculinity at the figurative level is an association of beliefs and behaviours (ibid.). It is important to consider how conforming to masculine norms influence men's choices in the way they live their lives, how they treat their women (if they nurture or abuse), their health (if they seek health treatment when sick), and their professions (Smiler, 2006, 586). Masculinity at a figurative level constitutes manhood principles and performances that men portray (Smiler, 2006, 585). It is metaphoric with the usage of figures of speech that imply manhood.

2.11.2 Symbolic level

This levels deals with attachments and meanings of what it means to be a man (Smiler, 2006, 585). This level includes definitions and causal relations that show manhood. Smiler (2006, 585) argued that this level is about inferences and reasons that someone is called masculine – it is certain gestures and aspects which symbolise manhood. Language (Kiesling, 2007), self-presentation and interactions are said to 'qualify' one to be a man (Smiler, 2006, 586). At this level, images form part of social identity and are acceptable as masculine (ibid.).

2.11.3 Literal level

The literal level considers masculinity in its most basic sense; it considers the representation of masculinity without being metaphoric. This level is concerned with the origin of manhood, the biology. It focuses on those who fit in with the standard and accepted conceptions of being male due to biological and physical explanations (Smiler, 2006, 586).

2.12 Criticisms of hegemonic masculinity

Hegemonic masculinity has been criticised by many scholars. The high standards of hegemonic masculinities are said to be the cause of confusion and are also harmful to the self

and others (Whitehead, 2002). If men cannot meet the hegemonic masculinity prescriptions, they will usually see themselves as failures (Burnard, 2008, 15). The result is gender role strain which is the discrepancy between the man's real self and the prescribed gender role (Burnard, 2008, 15).

Certain male gender roles have been criticised because they are tyrannical not only to women, but also to other men (Connell, 2005, 831). Some of these male gender roles have been discussed above. Such roles and attributes makes hegemonic masculinity appear as a typical and fixed single character. This has limitations because it excludes the complexity of diverse and contending forms of masculinity. Even though hegemonic masculinity is widely accepted, many scholars have agreed that its male prescriptions are not met by most men (Connell, 2005), thus potentially causing conflicts and feelings of failure within the male selves. Society is also left uncertain as to what to base its manhood criteria on or possibly wondering whether or not their judgements are realistic or fair, hence the birth of hybrid and personalised masculinities. Men ultimately experience pressure to attain hegemonic masculinity ideals.

Connell's understanding of hegemonic masculinity has also been accused of neglecting the subjective processes of identity and power (Blackbeard and Lindegger, 2007, 26). It is said to be based on structuralist assumptions which disregard identities as plural and context-based (Blackbeard and Lindegger, 2007,26). Thus, the complexity and uniqueness of each man makes it difficult to sustain any fixed and singular notion of masculinity. The researcher believes this to support the generally known idea that each person is different; identical twins are, for example, not exactly the same. It is important not to merely group or identify different people as the same; there is always an element of distinctiveness in people's identities.

Others have criticised the hegemonic concept for reducing the character of men and imposing reality that is contradictory (Peterson, 2003). This concept has also been criticised for oversimplifying the distinctiveness between the male and female, and suggesting that each gender has its natural and prescribed roles in life. One cannot say that roles are natural; rather, they are socially constructed.

2.13 Conclusion

The concept of hegemonic masculinity has been very influential in research across fields because of its usefulness in understanding hierarchical and other forms of gender patterns and relations. This has also informed its usefulness as a framework for understanding young men's construction of manhood and manliness in Wembezi township, the focus of this particular study. This chapter has examined the concept and its various applications in literature. Patterns and manifestations of hegemonic masculinities were examined, as were the relationships between the concept and personal/group identities. A critique of the concept was also offered. This has positioned the researcher to fully engage the research objectives. Some of themes discussed in this chapter also emerged as important themes in literature, and were further examined within the context of literature review which is presented in the next chapter.

Chapter 3

Literature Review

3.1 Introduction

This chapter will describe the historical background to masculinities and hegemonic masculinities in South Africa. It will then explore literature on hegemonic masculinity in Africa and globally. The chapter will describe the influences and processes that have been operating in the construction of the manhood identities. The discussion will address such topics as identity constructions, rights, violence, control, masculinity and families, acceptability, sexuality and health. Lastly, it will discuss attempts to understand masculinity in South Africa in order to understand the context and historic influences regarding the study. The literature reviewed is organised and presented thematically in this chapter. This has enabled a focus on specific themes that were considered relevant to the study and central in literature on masculinity, manhood and manliness.

3.2 Global, African and South African masculinities

Power relations and masculinities have been understood and analysed through gender characteristics of modern societies and global politics and at the heart of the analysis is the concept of hegemonic masculinities (Monaghan, 2005). The hegemonic masculinity concept has globally been accepted and referred to as the transnational business masculinity of the elite dominant men (ibid.). There have been debates to rethink and produce a more nuanced understanding of privileged legitimatisation of the concept of manhood and relations between masculinities globally (ibid.). Globally, masculinities were mainly expressed through lived experiences of the masculine bodies (Monaghan, 2007). Ideal bodily desires and health, as seen in popular culture, have been drawn into transnational circuits of consumer capitalism (Spielvogel, 2003). The masculine bodies were seen as objects of commodification and globalised discourses have been based on socio-cultural spaces (ibid.). Emerging thereafter was what Connell labelled ‘globally hegemonic masculinity discourse of transnational corporate masculinity’ (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005). African masculinities include elements from global masculinities. Additionally, there are elements of sexuality. Moyer, Burchardt and van Dijk (2013) believed that African masculinity was one-sidedly viewed as problematic. Similarities include being characterized by high incidences of rape and gender

violence, both of which are related to gender identity (ibid.). There is also the concept of 'responsible men' which is commonly used with African and South African masculinities (ibid.). A responsible man in the global concept includes being a responsible father who would be present during child birth (ibid.). However, some African women prefer the father not to be present during delivery, to the extent that some African hospitals have banned fathers from maternity wards (ibid.).

Apartheid and colonialism are key influences on South Africa in terms of masculinities (Morrell et al., 2012, 4; Olsen, 2012, 52; Cornelissen, 2011; Zulu, Urbani, van der Merwe and van der Walt, 2004). Colonial structures and formations in South Africa have caused shifts in the understanding of masculinities and the way they have been performed. For instance, while manliness was constructed around the homestead and its economy, colonialism created migration economies whereby men moved to cities and other more vibrant economic centres in search of jobs (Gennrich, 2013, 9). Thus, being a man evolved to include migration for income jobs as opposed to previous homestead-based responsibilities associated with men, such as cattle rearing and subsistence farming. Agrarianism, according to Thompson (2010), is a social or political philosophy which appreciates rural society over urban living; it views the farmer as superior to the paid employee and also considers farming as a way of life which can form the ultimate social values. This could have implications such as total independence in men and self-sufficiency as advocated for by hegemonic masculinity. One could also say agrarian values stabilise a man's position giving an identity with a sense of belonging and history. Possible disadvantages include limited socialising opportunities and also a man's lack of authority over the environment such as bad weather, which could affect his produce, ultimately his self-esteem, if nothing is cultivated. This can produce a sense of hopelessness in the men. Manhood is generally observed within a social context, which includes both family and community. Limited socialising could have led to a diminished audience for one's manhood. The apartheid system formalised the segregation of all races in South Africa (Morrell et al., 2012, 5; Cornelissen, 2011) and in the process Afrikaner nationalists used their power to commercialise their self-serving concept of masculinity (Morrell et al., 2012, 6; Olsen, 2012, 52). From their dominant position, they presented concept of masculinity as a strict code of conduct with high morals, and made it into the social order, thereby creating a system that dictated social structures, institutions, practices, values, relations, as well as maintained and enforced certain patterns of behaving and relating (Morrell et al., 2012; Cornelissen, 2011). This system was particularly rigid and

hard for black South Africans as they were moved off their land into spaces called 'townships' created for them by the government (Morrell et al., 2012, 5; Mampane and Bouwer, 2011). The land given was not suitable for successful farming. In some cases, farming methods were prescribed to those still on the land, thus taking away the autonomy synonymous with masculinity. Townships were created so that black labourers could be closer to work (Mampane and Bouwer, 2011, 115). The townships have come to be characterised as poverty stricken with high crime rates (ibid.). This also produced what Bozzoli (1983) called a 'patchwork of patriarchies' referring to the various modes and expressions of male dominance in society that together sustained male hegemony (Morrell et al., 2012, 5). The system of patriarchy exercised power and authority over women within families and society at large (ibid.), encouraging hegemonic masculinity. It made men secure in their manhood through the hegemony (Walker, 2005). As this forms part of South African history, it helps to understand relationships and contexts where masculinities have been constructed.

South Africa's wealth in minerals, gold and mining has depended on black male workers who needed to work to support their families, which represented manhood and acts of manliness (Morrell et al., 2012, 5). While the men worked in the mines and industries, the women stayed at home (Gregory and Harper, 2011). Working in the mines was seen as 'manly', especially because the mine environment had elements of danger, strength, risk-taking, all of which form part of hegemonic masculinity. But black men could not attain all aspects of hegemonic masculinity, in particular because of their race (as discussed in the previous chapter, see section 2.3). Men as principal family providers are shifting as more women are empowering themselves academically and becoming more financially independent (Walker, 2005, 227). Similarly, in the apartheid era, some women also worked and were independent, but this happened within the restrictions of apartheid patriarchies and did not necessarily empower or foster independence.

Politically, during apartheid, neither women nor black Africans could vote (Morrell et al., 2012, 5). Struggles and protests led by the likes of Olive Schreiner (1855-1920) gained success for white women but not for other races (ibid.). This implied that white women were superior to black Africans, including, black men. However, even black politics were dominantly shaped by patriarchal worldviews. When the African National Congress was formed in 1912, for instance, it was initially strictly for African men (ibid.). Only 31 years

later were women granted membership within the ANC (Walker et al., 2012, 5). This shows a historical pattern of male hegemony over women. It appears that the ANC initially believed that women could not help to achieve their mission for various reasons which could include viewing women as weak. Joining the ANC for men may have formed part of their 'real man' identity.

South Africa, following these developments, saw much violence, which was accompanied by life-threatening despotism in townships (Morrell et al., 2012, 6; Mampane and Bouwer, 2011), a place where young men resided and within which they constructed their identities, like this study. As years went by, the movement to free Nelson Mandela, and the unbanning of opposition movements were pursued, which cumulated in the emergence of Nelson Mandela as president in 1994 under the ANC platform (Morrell et al., 2012, 6). The ANC's focus was to eliminate the residues of racism and redress inequalities (Morrell et al., 2012, 6; Walker, 2005; Zulu et al., 2004). As part of the corrective measures, addressing gender inequality became an important focus (Morrell et al., 2012, 6; Walker, 2005). This view may have threatened traditional masculine ideals as most men enjoyed the benefits of hegemony over women. Nelson Mandela embodied the 'new' masculinity which challenged patriarchal African traditions (Morrell et al., 2012, 7). He encouraged men to be more actively involved in their homes and to take up more house chores. His aim was equality for men and women (Morrell et al., 2012). As with any new idea or change, some men supported this notion, while others rejected it; this has further contributed to the crisis of manhood.

High unemployment rates in South Africa have posed further challenges to men, some of whom find recourse in the abuse of alcohol and the abuse of women as a way of reclaiming a sense of powerfulness (Morrell, 2005, 85). Gender-based violence has affected and undermined family structures (ibid.). South African political history (as described above) revealed that some men's ways of showing or proving manhood was linked to belonging to political parties, either the ANC or UDF (Haque, 2013, 56). Fighting the social injustices that had been imposed by the South African apartheid government was the honourable and manly thing to do (ibid.). Such acts of fighting injustices were respectable. However, at the end of the apartheid regime, the men who had been heroes and were referred to as 'the young lions' were left without any employment (ibid.). This is a challenging situation and means that men have to grapple with new meanings and ways to be men. The struggle that made them 'men' no longer appeared to be important or relevant (ibid.). Employment found by some of these men generated low self-esteem, was laborious and even dangerous (Haque, 2013, 74). This

proved intimidating to many young men especially because the women in their lives were becoming better educated and more financially stable (ibid.).

3.3 Rights, gender and manhood

South Africa has experienced many major changes in the past twenty years following political freedom from apartheid (Dworkin, Colvin, Hatcher and Peacock, 2012,99; Olsen, 2012). These changes include rights for both men and women, a widely admired Constitution, affirmative action, and openly working towards changing gender norms (Walker, 2005). Much research has focused on gender; some scholars feel that the focus on women empowerment threatens male domination over women (Buiten and Naidoo, 2016; Dworkin et al., 2012, 99; Walker, 2005). As more women entering the workplace (Bureau of Labour Statistics cited in Vandello, Hettinger, Bosson and Siddiqi, 2013, 303), they position them as breadwinners and significant economic contributors. This takes away the male power associated with being a breadwinner. Scholars argue that this development frustrates men and leaves them unsure about their manhood (Buiten and Naidoo, 2016; Dworkin et al., 2012, 99), thus partially causing uncomfortable feelings of anger for the men which may in turn be directed to the women in their lives (Morrell et al., 2012; Walker, 2005). Morell (2005) further suggested that the high rates at which women are joining the workforce can be linked to rising unemployment among men, as previously men dominated some of the jobs that are now done by women. Thus, there is a perception of men as losing power economically, socially and politically, and therefore feeling increasingly disempowered (Morrell, 2005; Walker, 2005). This could raise questions about the implications of this for contemporary men. Literature suggests that men have sought means of reclaiming power. One such means is sexual violence and detachment from their families in search of self-worth (Richter and Morrell, 2006). However, not all men are intimidated by women's improved status and rights; some men support and even advocate for this (Walker, 2005).

3.4 Diversity in identity construction

Male peer groups are instrumental in constructing the masculine identity (Blackbeard and Lindegger, 2007, 34). Male identities are linked to heterosexuality and successful sexual penetration (Blackbeard and Lindegger, 2007, 35; Pattman, 2007). Being liked by girls and being sexually active forms part of their identity (see section 2.11.4). Some men associate

activities such as drinking and smoking as ‘real men’ identities (Evans, Frank, Oliffe and Gregory, 2011; Burnard, 2008, 18; Blackbeard and Lindegger, 2007). These are acceptable to themselves and other men. Due to the smoking and drinking being acceptable and sometimes expected, some young men pretend to go along with it, not because they think such behaviours are right but to protect themselves and appear as members of the ‘cool in-group’ (Blackbeard and Lindegger, 2007, 35; Pattman, 2007). This highlights the risks men and boys are willing to take for masculinity or to identify with a certain category of men.

There are diverse ethnic and cultural constructions of manhood in South Africa. For Indians, for example, identity construction is often based on self-confidence which is greatly influenced by, and expressed through the latest fashion trends (Blackbeard and Lindegger, 2007, 38; Holland, 2005). The young men’s identity is constructed by wearing the latest branded fashion clothes and gadgets, which they prefer to smoking and drinking (Blackbeard and Lindegger, 2007, 38; Holland, 2005, 122; Wise, 2001, 6). Black African boys that were not based in townships also supported the Indian boys’ preference of identity. Additionally, for all the young boys, the sportsman image seemed important because it is clean, attractive and more importantly, appeals to girls (Blackbeard and Lindegger, 2007, 38). Soccer may seem attractive to the young men because it embodies ability, swiftness and liveliness. Also, soccer in a township school plays a huge role in male-identity construction and is one of the masculine customs among adolescent boys (Cornelissen, 2011; Blackbeard and Lindegger, 2007, 29). It is evident that identity and masculinity are based on, and influenced by, geographical location and that belonging to the same race does not necessarily translate to the same ideologies on manhood.

3.5 Power and violence

Feminist groups have a general fear of male violence. Fear is present within marginalised groups even if they are not the recipients of violence, and even if the men they are in relations with are not violent. Feminist scholars have exposed male superiority over women (Ramazanoglu, 1992, 211). These scholars argue that domestic violence is rooted in gender and power, and is an active strategy to maintain male dominance over women (Anderson, 1997, 655).

Men and gender power relations have been influential in gender scholarship; this has contributed to the focus on social inequity (Connell, 2005, 829). Masculinity is constructed as

being in power (Crawford, 2003, 1423). Morrell (2005, 84) argued that behavioural patterns associated with masculinities included high levels of violence against women in the form of rape, murder, femicide and domestic violence (Buiten and Naidoo, 2016; Seedat et al., 2009). This does not imply that all men are violent, nor are all women recipients of violence; however, the ways masculinities are constructed suggest a link between masculinities and the use of violence against women, children and other men, which may not always be the reality (Morrell, 2005, 84). Violence has been enmeshed with masculinity and power, which in turn facilitate and legitimise violent practices by men towards others (Shefer et al., 2010, 516; Hearn, 2007). Pyke (1996 cited in Buiten and Naidoo, 2016) noted that micro level power practices are observed in everyday life interactions that build, sustain and reproduce broader powers and inequalities seen between genders (Courtenay, 2000, 1388). Examples are observed in how men treat the women in their lives, such as their daily demanding of cooked meals from their sisters and partners. Power is sustained as it is continuously practised. Connell (2005) stated that it is within masculinities that many dynamics of violence exist. Other behavioural patterns involve female exclusion and male domination in the professional sphere (Morrell, 2005, 84; Walker, 2005). South Africa as a country has high levels of violence that have also manifested in xenophobic, homophobic and racist attacks (Morrell et al., 2012; Zulu et al., 2004).

Violence and its relations to gender identity is manifested in different social settings (Basdeo, 2013; Blackbeard and Lindegger, 2007, 34), inclusive of the streets through gangsterism. South African schools also have a history of violence (Zulu et al., 2004) especially black township schools (Blackbeard and Lindegger, 2007, 28). The violence is attributed to the South Africa's history of apartheid, liberation struggles and corporal punishment (Blackbeard and Lindegger, 2007, 28; Zulu et al., 2004, 170). Several authors hold that school policies during apartheid, to a certain extent, endorsed violence against women and girls by men (Blackbeard and Lindegger, 2007, 29; Prinsloo, 2006; Connell, 2005; Robinson, 2005).

In their cross-sectional study on rape in South Africa, Jewkes, Sikweyiya, Morrell and Dunkle (2011) found that rape occurred because of self-entitlement in men. They argued that the ways men viewed their social standing influenced their behaviour. They highlighted poor upbringing, child abuse and neglect as some of the contributing factors to rape. However South African based research shows that regardless of socio-economic status, men do rape due to self-entitlement (Jewkes et al., 2011, 6). The men who raped believed it emphasised their power and control. Scholars suggest that some men rape when they fail to attain the

qualities implicit in hegemonic masculinity (Jewkes et al., 2011, Robinson, 2005, 19). Rape forms part of the quest for power and success (Jewkes et al., 2011). Hegemonic masculinity in South African men mainly focusses on heterosexual performance and the control over women (Jewkes et al., 2011; Robinson, 2005) using strategies such as physical and sexual violence (Jewkes et al., 2011). The United Nations (2003) declared South Africa to be one of the leading states in terms of violence against women (Shefer et al., 2008, 158).

As mentioned above, soccer has come to be seen as part of the manly identity. Scholars have found sports to be a sphere in which masculinity and violence were connected (Morrissey, 2012, 217). Soccer, for example, has a history of violence (ibid.). The violence is demonstrated by players engaging in heavy body contact and throwing tantrums on the soccer field (ibid.). The audience and fans have added to the violent dynamic by their unruly behaviour (Morrissey, 2012, 217; Light and Kirk, 2000, 172). This has commonly been referred to as 'hooliganism' (Morrissey, 2012, 217). Whilst it is the fans who are aggressive, the cause of 'hooliganism' is soccer. This is a game which is mostly played by men and which is highly correlated with manhood as its innate violence enables men to voice their masculinity (ibid.). Morrissey (2012, 217) called the voicing out and acting out on the soccer field, 'winning at all cost'. These are acts which are physically demanding and sometimes violent, what some men see as male power. Some soccer players even refuse to acknowledge physical injury (Courtenay, 2000, 1393; Light and Kirk, 2000), doing anything to hide their 'unmanly' sides.

3.6 Manhood and Control

Research shows that if men's sense of control is threatened, they are more likely to engage in bold acts to compensate for their perceived loss (Burnard, 2008, 17). Greenstein and Lang's (2005) research (cited in Shrock and Padavic, 2007, 628) showed that the abuse of women by men is often a result of the mismatch between the ideals of traditional manhood and the reality of such a breakdown. Walker's (2005, 229) study in Alexandra Township, Johannesburg, showed that men felt intimidated by women's improved academic and economic status. They felt it undermined men's dominance; hence men felt the need to defend and regain their control. The male reaction could be violence.

Thompson and Langendoerfer (2016) conducted a study with a sample of men in their 50s and 60s, which attempted to outline the blueprint of what it means to be a man. Their findings

revealed four dimensions they believe to be cultural guidelines of being a man, all of which have elements of control. These dimensions are further discussed below.

Firstly, the notion of ‘sissy’ signifies cowardice, weakness and is derogatory (Thompson and Langendoerfer, 2016, 122; Pattman, 2007; Bennett, 2007, 348). The implication is that a man must always be in control and must not appear weak or fearful. The ‘sissy’ behaviour or feeling must not be seen in any form because showing vulnerability leads one to be stigmatised as being feminine (Thompson and Langendoerfer, 2016, 122; Pattman, 2007). This has led men to be quiet and not voice their personal worries, emotional and physical pain (Thompson and Langendoerfer, 2016, 123). Men have silenced themselves in order to appear ‘normal’, strong, and therefore, acceptable. This practice is drawn from hegemonic masculinity discourse where any form of vulnerability in a man is seen as a weakness and unacceptable (Thompson and Langendoerfer, 2016, 124). Weaknesses do not form part of a masculine identity.

Secondly, a man needs to be goal-orientated and strives to be respected and praised (Thompson and Langendoerfer, 2016, 122; Burnard, 2008, 17; Adams, 2007) through being goal orientated. This reinforces control and power. In their goal orientation, men were expected to be successful in all they did (Thompson and Langendoerfer, 2016, 122; Connell, 2005) – this earned one respect. Any form of interaction that a man finds himself in is competition which he must win to remain in control (Thompson and Langendoerfer, 2016, 122; Hearn, 2007). The strive for respect is never ending; therefore a real man has to use any opportunity to show his manhood (Adams, 2007; Thompson and Langendoerfer, 2016, 122; Burnard, 2008, 17; Hearn, 2007, 38.) An example is the breadwinner role which allows the man to show that he is in control (Hearn, 2007). Being a good manager symbolises control over one’s affairs (Powell and Butterfield, 1979); it also earns one respect. ‘Being looked up to’ is a goal that sustains his control in achieving his manhood.

Thompson and Langendoerfer’s (2016, 122) third finding was ‘the sturdy oak’ which implied strength, unlikeliness to break and self-assurance (Thompson and Langendoerfer, 2016, 122; Pattman, 2007). Lastly, to be a man is to be a risk taker (see section 2.11.1), to be in control (see section 2.11.3) and self-determined (Thompson and Langendoerfer, 2016, 133), as discussed in the previous chapter.

3.7 Manhood and Sexuality

It has been argued that there is an African system of sexuality which influences multi-partnered relations, all of which are embedded in the social structures (Hunter, 2005, 390). This multiple partner system has been said to have an influence on the spread of HIV (Jewkes et al., 2011) and sexually transmitted infections. The system with its gender ideologies is designed to make women pleasers of men, by being submissive to men (Mane and Aggleton, 2001, 25). Research shows that South Africa still has high infection rates of HIV, despite the numerous intervention efforts (Shefer et al., 2010, 513), many of which are highly gendered (Morrell et al., 2012; Hearn, 2007, 24; Hunter, 2005, 390). The disproportionate burden of HIV is on women (Morrell et al., 2012; Dworkin et al., 2012, 98; Hearn, 2007, 24; Prinsloo, 2006, 305). Some of the challenges lie in the power inequalities in heterosexual relationships, where women are unable to negotiate safer sex successfully (Dworkin et al., 2012, 98; Morrell et al., 2012). Women have experienced partner violence when trying to negotiate for safer sex (Ellsberg et al., 2015), that has left them generally as a group fearful of such topics (Dworkin et al., 2012). It is at times hard for females to negotiate safe sex with their male partners (Mane and Aggleton, 2001, 25). To understand challenges pertaining to the increasing infection rate, it is important to understand gender roles and gender power relations (Shefer et al., 2010, 513; Morrell and Ouzgane, 2005). Generally, men reject non-penetrative or protected sex (Blackbeard and Lindegger, 2007, 26). If men reject condom usage, it is hard for women to advocate for this as the man is the head-figure in the relationship (Dworkin et al., 2012). Based on the above, one can assume manhood and sexuality are embedded in bigotry against women.

Male bodies, as part of sexuality, are a very important aspect of hegemonic masculinity as discovered in the previous chapter (see section 2.11.4). The pressure to achieve the 'correct' penis size and sexual capacity has led some men to seek physical processes of erectile enhancement, in order to feel like 'real men' as constructed by prevailing ideals of masculinity (Brubaker and Johnson, 2008). It has been argued that the male uptake of cosmetic surgery and body enhancement is becoming acceptable as another strategy of masculinity construction (Brubaker and Johnson, 2008, 132). Section 3.4 in this chapter showed physical attraction as important to manhood; when considering cosmetics, one may argue this is a feminine activity, which could also accommodate hybrid masculinities as discussed in the previous chapter (see section 2.5 in theoretical framework). In addition, there

are other behavioural patterns that further highlight the link between sexuality and images of manhood. These are discussed below.

3.7.1 Multiple sexual partners

Having multiple sexual partners for men is said to be a form of protesting their manhood (Courtenay, 2000, 1392). When one protests, there is normally a conflict of interest where persuasion may be needed to change the status quo. A protest in this study is an expression of disapproval through behaviours, in this case having multiple sexual partners, and using pressure to make their views accepted. The aim of a protest is to make their position known and accepted sometimes through coercion, affirming their ground as men. IsiZulu has a term, '*isoka*', which means a man with many sexual female partners (Hunter, 2005, 391). Being '*isoka*' represented male power in the Zulu culture, it was what being a real man meant (ibid.). This means that having multiple female sexual partners was supposedly a positive thing as it proved one's manhood. The more women a man became sexually engaged with, the more popular he became, and would be called '*isoka lamanyala*' which was even more impressive (ibid.). Although '*isoka lamanyala*' literally means a dirty *isoka* or disgraceful act, it is still appreciated and celebrated (ibid.). It can be viewed as manhood outstretched; a man's peers would literally clap hands for him for becoming '*isoka lamanyala*' (Hunter, 2005, 391). A Durban township study conducted by Blackbeard and Lindegger (2007, 26) found that boys between the ages of fourteen and seventeen believed that sex was a need that required gratification. The young men supported the '*isoka*' concept because they considered this to be a real man.

The boys also reported thinking that when a girl said 'no' to a sexual initiative from a boy, she actually meant 'yes' (Blackbeard and Lindegger, 2007, 26). This could be contributed to a number of factors as discussed in the previous chapter (see sections 2.7, 2.10 and 2.11.4). It appears men can do anything in order to be viewed as '*isoka*', regardless of the communication from the woman.

3.7.2 Objectification of women

Objectification means that a person, in this instance a woman, is viewed and judged for her helpfulness and usefulness; she becomes an instrument of achieving and satisfying a certain purpose for a man (Vaes, Paladino and Puvia, 2011, 774). Women are said to be objectified by men in different ways, such as non-relational heterosexuality which is achieved by voyeuristically objectifying women with the focus on physical appearance (Blackbeard and

Lindegger, 2007, 39): boys and men place pictures of nude women in their rooms and on electronic devices. Women have also been objectified sexually, that is women come to be seen as sexual objects to men, which can mean that the women may not be seen as complete human beings but simply as tools for men (Vaes et al., 2011, 774). This sexual objectification of women emphasised heterosexuality within hegemonic discourse (Ampofo and Boateng, 2007; Blackbeard and Lindegger, 2007, 39). These reinforce the image of being a man that is predicated on the objectification of women. Additionally, some women place themselves in such circumstances because of the materialistic and financial benefits they receive from the men (Leclerc-Madlala, 2008). The men play the materialistic providers, in exchange for sexual favours, and the women accept by having sexual intercourse with them (ibid.).

3.7.3 Conflicting ideals

Research shows that manhood and gender roles differ in terms of time, space and history (Connell, 2005). A study in Rwanda, for instance, showed that men chose to respond to their women's desires, and insisted that manhood or to be a real man meant being faithful to one's wife or girlfriend (Shefer et al., 2010, 514). The Rwandan men felt so strongly about this description of manhood that they disagreed with the idea of other men having multiple sexual partners (ibid.). For them, this reflected very negatively on these men and their manliness (ibid.). While these Rwandan men proudly and openly admitted to caring about their women's desires, South African and Zimbabwean men did not. For an example, when they discussed women publicly or within groups, they boasted about having had sex with multiple girls (Pattman, 2007, 41). The motivation reported was to embarrass the girls (ibid.). Yet in private diaries and one-on-one interviews, the opposite was shown to be the case (ibid.): South African and Zimbabwean men showed characters that are 'unacceptable' or feminine, as they shared romantic ideas about their 'straight' girlfriends (ibid.). Romantic ideas mainly referred to the young men being expressive of love, being warmer, kinder and considerate of their girlfriend's views and feelings. Thus, as argued earlier, the ideals of masculinity are highly varied and cannot be essentialised without undesirable consequences. While the above addresses the conflicting ideals in different countries, there are also uncertainties of manhood within themselves as discussed under 'crisis in masculinity' in the previous chapter (see section 2.5).

3.7.4 Manhood and homosexuality

Homosexuality is not easily accepted in terms of manhood and association with manliness (Blackbeard and Lindegger, 2007, 39; Pattman, 2007, 44). Homosexual boys and men are

often publicly criticised and ridiculed (ibid.). With the boundaries clearly defined as shown in the theoretical framework (see section 2.11.5), by characterising other men as gays, some men affirm their own heterosexuality (Crawford, 2003, 1423). To add to the slang terms used to label gays (see section 2.11.5), there are commonly known and used Zulu designations of homosexuals, namely, *ongqingili*, *izitabane*, *amankonkoni* which also connote dirt, something unnatural, and negativity. The aim and result of these labels is to disempower, threaten, and shame the homosexual population (Blackbeard and Lindegger, 2007, 40). They are also aimed to set and clarify boundaries of acceptable masculinity, marking and validating an identity of real manhood (ibid.). Some Zimbabwean and South African men are said to show disgust and speak derogatorily about gay people (Pattman, 2007, 44; Wise, 2001, 5). Some of these men would not want to befriend other boys, especially in a 'too friendly' way, lest they be called gay (Pattman, 2007, 44). Homosexuals to others means not being a real man; instead they are viewed as weak and additionally labelled 'man-woman' (Ampofo and Boateng, 2007, 51).

The 'othering' of homosexuals are sometimes extended to males who do not identify with peer group codes, and who are loners or 'nerd' (Plummer, 2001, 21; Wise, 2001). Such males eventually become targets of homophobia, not because they are homosexual men but because they are different and do not adhere to peer group norms. Homophobia targets anything that implies lack of fidelity to the expectations of male peers (Plummer, 2001, 21; Wise, 2001, 7).

3.8 Health and the male gender

There are health related assumptions to hegemonic masculinity. Attitudes that men hold towards health demonstrate constructions of gender (Mahalik et al., 2007; Courtenay, 2000, 138; Burnard, 2008, 18). Men's health behaviours are said to be influenced by their context and ideas about manhood (Mahalik et al., 2007, 2202). Thus, many men reject healthy attitudes and behaviour in quest of manhood (Evans et al., 2011; Burnard, 2008, 18). Such behaviour includes, for example, excessive drinking, drunken driving (Burnard, 2008, 18), engaging in unprotected sex (Dworkin et al., 2012; Hunter, 2005) and neglecting to medically attend to their illnesses (Hunter, 2005). Some of these have resulted negatively on men's health (Evans et al., 2011, 8; Mahalik et al., 2007, 2207). The pressure associated with hegemonic masculinity is related to risky health practices (Evans et al., 2011, 8; Connell, 2005; Light and Kirk, 2000, 169).

In his study, Courtenay (2000, 1385) found that American men were more likely to behave riskily and adhered to risk provoking beliefs than American women. Men were less likely to adopt ways that benefit their health and promote longevity (Harris III, 2008; Hearn, 2007, 25; Courtenay, 2000, 1385). This is no different to Africa and South Africa as Africa is said to have one of the world's highest HIV infection rate of men (Hearn, 2007, 24; Prinsloo, 2006, 306), as already discussed (see section 3.7). This may have a ripple effect, especially if the man is HIV positive as he will continuously re-infect himself by engaging in unprotected sex with HIV positive women and newly infect women who may be HIV negative. This contributes to deterioration of a man's immune system, while he is searching or even believes he has attained the status of manhood. Some men who are sexually active are said to know little about sexually transmitted infections (STIs) (Ampofo and Boateng, 2007, 58). If, however, they do know about STIs, their denial and cultural pressures (of being a man) make them gamble with their lives.

Men are more likely to suffer chronic and fatal diseases than women (Courtenay, 2000, 1385); they are more likely than women to engage in behaviours that are likely to produce either an injury, a disease or death (Mahalik et al., 2007; Courtney, 2000, 1386). European studies have found that male life expectancy is lower than that of women. This is no different to South Africa (Hearn, 2007, 24). Men are known for not taking care of their health the way they should (Casey et al., 2015). Many men are believed to engage in risky behaviours, as discussed in theoretical framework (see section 2.11.1). When such behaviours negatively affect their health, some men still do not seek health professional help (Casey et al., 2015). The pressures of hegemonic masculinity are hazardous to men's health (Hearn, 2007, 25). Social practices challenge men's health in defining and approving the 'ideal manhood'. Social pressures are also instrumental in negotiating men's social power (Courtney, 2000, 1385). Health-related behaviour can be regarded as gendered and sociocultural factors can contribute to inspiring unhealthy masculine behaviour (Courtenay, 2000, 1386).

Butler (1988), pioneer of the performativity concept, found that people perform and construct their identity. She argued that identity becomes materialised through discourse, such as authoritative speech. People generally reason and behave in ways that are aligned with their role identities which are either masculine or feminine which are culture-embedded (Courtenay, 2000, 1387). If men are culture and context based, they are continuously produced and reproduced through behaviours (Connell, 2005). Connell (2005) reinforced that gender is something that a person performs, and does repeatedly. Gender is a demonstration,

a verb that lives in social transactions (Crawford, 1995). It is therefore dynamic and socially structured. It seems that the doing of health-related behaviours is the doing of gender. The 'doing' of gender includes behaviours and actions that are socially prescribed and expected from specific genders, either masculine or feminine. 'Doing' gender also implies that it is not inborn, but rather a psychologically rooted social construct that is actively evident in everyday human interactions where gender is invoked and strengthened (West and Zimmerman, 2009). Such health-related behaviours are social acts and can be perceived as the practices that construct gender like any other social or cultural activities (Courtenay, 2000, 1388).

Having an infection or disease for some men reduces their man status and power (Courtenay, 2000, 1389). Some refuse to acknowledge their illnesses because it raises self-doubts about manhood and shifts their power standing in relation to women (ibid.). Men personally draw conclusions, acquired from their context. One man who could not manoeuvre his wheelchair with his plate of food, decided to skip his lunch because he did not want to ask for help (ibid.).

Health-related beliefs and behaviours are said to influence and define the male gender and state of manhood (Courtenay, 2000, 1389). Crawford (1995, 17) called them strategies for negotiating the social landscape and the actual construction of gender (Courtenay, 2000, 1388). The health-related social practices that are required to prove their manhood have risks (Mahalik et al., 2007). They have a deep impact on their health and longevity (Courtenay, 2000, 1388). Ultimately it is about proving one's manhood which is power-driven, even though there are health risks. Even with the knowledge of health risks, men continue to adopt beliefs and behaviours to demonstrate their governing hegemonic masculine principles that loudly inaugurate them as men (ibid). For the man, power and authority that is represented within hegemonic masculinity is critical; this is all they seek, no matter the cost. The risks associated with being a 'real man' do not necessarily qualify them as men, nor do they hold power. However, it is about the pursuit of manhood or the appearance of achieving the masculine identity.

3.9 Masculinity and family structure

Globally, in the 1950s, manhood was mainly centred around family life, being supportive to family members and community (Loscocco and Spitze, 2007, 934; Morrell and Ouzgane, 2005, 11). Being supportive of one's family involved domestic obligations (Morrell and Ouzgane, 2005, 11). It also included some public social recognition for achieving this status (ibid.). This aspect of manhood started to shift in the 1960s when manhood moved to be more associated with the workplace and colleagues (ibid.). It became status-based (Pattman, 2007; Morrell and Ouzgane, 2005, 11). The main obligation a man had towards his family was that of financial provider or breadwinner (ibid.). Towards the end of the 1960s, there was yet another shift away from the nuclear family. The change led men to independent and autonomous interactions with non-kin men outside their homes; the change also shifted towards more heterosexual relations (Morrell and Ouzgane, 2005, 11). Similar shifts are recorded in several parts of the world. An example is Ghana in pre- and early colonial times: a man who had achieved the 'Big Man' status had attained the ideal and desirable type of masculinity (Pattman, 2007; Connell, 2005; Morrell and Ouzgane, 2005, 122). This manhood status was accompanied by a certain lifestyle which was symbolised by rich clothes, more than one wife, having children and dependents (Morrell and Ouzgane, 2005, 122). This illustrated family and the man's ability to provide for this family. He provided both financial and social support. There was also a shift as the 'Big Man' representation was characterised by social drinking, relations and charitability among friends (ibid.). There were however challenges of low wages with high living costs, which encouraged men towards attaining the 'Big Man' status (ibid.), even though it became more difficult to attain, much like hegemonic masculinity.

Although South Africa has mineral and agricultural wealth, unemployment rates are still high, and mainly seem to affect black youth. With such high unemployment rates, it is difficult to imagine how men fend for their families in light of the breadwinner role and its relation to manhood. About 40% of households are headed by females (Morrell et al., 2012, 4; Loscocco and Spitze, 2007). This conflicts with the traditional family structure of the man being the head; this could make men feel inadequate and as if they have not achieved their manhood status.

While marriage is still appreciated, many South Africans never marry due to high price of '*lobola*' (bride's wealth) (Morrell et al., 4; Hunter, 2005, 391). If South Africa has a high unemployment rate, with the majority of the unemployed being youth, left with the inability

to pay *lobola*, what then are the alternative ways that manhood and manliness are constructed considering that employment and ability to pay *lobola* were significant markers of manliness. Marriage was traditionally the key to manhood. For a man to establish his own family, paying *lobola* was a critical step and achievement (Hunter, 2005, 391). This act of payment officiated his manhood status and he received the label ‘*umnumzane*’ (homestead head), which was the ultimate state of manhood and the desired identity (ibid.). Thus, the decrease in the ability of men to pay *lobola* raises questions about notions of ultimate manhood, and whether other forms of being men are replacing heading a household. The concern could be the generally known concept of cohabiting and how that works for the man especially because he may be staying with his partner without having paid the expensive *lobola*. One wonders what the inability to pay *lobola* does to his manly identity, especially as he lives with his woman anyway.

3.10 Hegemonic masculinity as detrimental to men

Hegemonic masculinity has some negative effects on men’s social relations and also on men. Hegemonic masculinity ideals are said to have created some dangers and difficulties for men (Hearn, 2007, 17), meaning that the concept embodies ideals which could cause conflict or harm for men (Phoenix et al, 2003, 180). Men have been said to suffer from other men as in the case of homosocial power relations (ibid.) which are relationships composed of the same sex, without being sexual or romantic. This however does not necessarily apply to all men in general nor does it apply to all men trying to achieve the hegemonic masculinity status. Other oppositions include the concerns for the concept of young men’s inclination to violence (Hearn, 2007; Phoenix et al., 2003, 180). The word violence generally implies negativity, such as threats, pain, injury, harm and even death. Numerous masculinity studies have identified violence as an accepted masculine feature (Hearn, 2007; Phoenix et al., 2003, 180). Violence implies non-caring for others or at least not caring enough. Research has shown that violent men are generally not happy people, and so are more likely to be dejected and abusive (Maiuro, Cahn, Vitaliano, Wagner and Zegree, 1998). Violence has come to be hierarchically classified based on actual violence, threat, toughness, obligatory heterosexuality (Phoenix et al., 2003, 181). This notion supports patriarchy; it views heterosexuality as compulsory and the natural way of being a man, and if one differs from this prescription, one is viewed as deviant. Phoenix et al. (2003, 181) considered this as violent because it forces one to be a certain and required way. Research states that young men seem to be forced to position

themselves in relation to these issues (ibid.). They position themselves according to these ideals regardless of whether they desire to be violent or not (ibid.). They position themselves because they perceive such standards as indicators of manhood (ibid.), which they mostly strive to attain.

Societal perceptions of manly emotions and behaviours do not allow men to express vulnerable feelings (Timmers, Fischer and Manstead, 2003, 41). Breach of these prescriptions of emotions and behaviours leads to negative evaluations by others (ibid.). Young men then seem forced to view lack of emotions as the idealised form of masculinity (Hearn, 2007; Phoenix et al., 2003, 181). This could produce contradictions within their own masculinity positions because they see themselves as populating a 'culture of cruelty' (Phoenix et al., 2003, 181). This means that in the process of denying vulnerability, men tend to be cruel to themselves as they are expected to hide genuine and soft emotions, yet the inner man realises the cruelty of some manhood qualities. There is also the possibility that the invulnerable emotions they are supposed to have could be expected to be expressed, or they are perceived as cold-hearted. Such self-perception as according to Phoenix et al. (2003, 181) could mean that the men are aware of their own emotions, and the expected emotions by the society. They desire to be accepted and perceived as manly by their society. Thus, they experience intra-personal conflict which is characterised by feelings of sadness and loneliness, even though they routinely act joyful in their so-called and prescribed manhood roles (ibid.). Due to the negative feelings of sadness and conflicts, some men occupy self-protective positions. These positions serve to defend them against intimidation from others and the likelihood of failing to be appropriately manly.

The risks that are said to be the result of hegemonic masculinity are two-fold: risks that have to do with failure, harm, damage and risks linked to gaining power and money (Hearn, 2007, 17). The former risks are linked to men being irresponsible about their lives, confronting danger, instant gratification with adventure (ibid.), as discussed in literature review (see section 2.11). The latter risks are about power and financial attainment and require responsibility. Many masculine studies have aligned power with violence (Basdeo, 2013; Hearn, 2007, 19; Connell, 2005) (see section 3.5) which are said to form a big part of manhood attainment.

Hegemonic masculinity as oppositional to the self include the low educational attainment in boys and men (Hearn, 2007, 18). Men have been said to drop out of school before completion

in search of employable therefore payable work, with the aim of being to be able to earn their own income and achieve manhood status. There could also be a sense of hopelessness about the usefulness of school behind school dropout, as well as the inability to afford school. It is generally believed that in order to have a better life, one must get academic qualifications.

Yet some men decide not to complete their schooling; if they are able to find work it will then be basic labour if they are uneducated. What happens then to their manhood and how do they define it? Some believe educating women is a waste of resources (Adams, Lemaire and Prah, 2013). Mahatma Gandhi called poverty the worst form of violence (Hearn, 2007, 23). With little educational achievements, prospects of employment are minimised. Entrepreneurship offers some possibilities. In Ghana men were given preference to attend school, while the women stayed at home (Ampofo and Boateng, 2007, 56). When a family was faced with a financial problem, and had to cut down on expenses, the first expense to be minimised was the girls' school fees (Ampofo and Boateng, 2007, 56). Girls did not need education because their job was to get married and be domesticated (Ampofo and Boateng, 2007, 56).

Some health-related issues are also said to have negative implications for the self, such as social activities (alcohol abuse, promiscuity, unprotected sex) as discussed in section 2.11 and 3.8 above. The outcomes of such behaviours do not impact negatively on men alone, but also on their families and children. Some men are said to be overly-optimistic about their health (Hearn, 2007, 28), which sometimes lead to carelessness with their health. The confidence and over-confidence is what manhood is perceived to be by some men. Their confidence becomes detrimental to the self because it leads to denial of reality: they perceive themselves as strong and immune to diseases because they are men.

All the above-mentioned ills have been established by research to cause anxieties with men, leading them unable to function optimally within their personal and professional spaces (Hearn, 2007, 18), leading to a possibility of violence toward their children and partners, as already discussed. Partner-killings and other murders are not infrequent (Hearn, 2007, 21). The knowledge of oneself as a murderer cannot be good for any human mental state or community. It becomes a reputation which is not positive. The result for some is imprisonment (Hearn, 2007, 23).

3.11 Attempts to reconstruct the new South African masculinity

Walker (2005) argued that in a country still undergoing democratic transition, socio-economic changes, high HIV prevalence, unemployment, increased women and child abuse, child-headed families and improved women's academic and financial status, the traditional ideologies of what defines a man are being challenged (Blackbeard and Lindegger, 2007, 28). It is within all these happenings and changes that new male identities are being constructed (Blackbeard and Lindegger, 2007, 28). To construct or reconstruct manhood and manliness, Moletsane, Morrell, Unterhalter and Epstein (2002) emphasised the importance of challenging the micro-cultural elements which include dominant discourses, meanings, disagreements, management style and other established cultural elements. Moletsane et al. (2002) also clarified the established cultural elements as relations between educators, learners, management, governing bodies, social capital and institutional setting. It is within social interactions and contexts that hegemonic masculinity is created and maintained. Therefore, research and interventions should be focussed on these interactions. Interestingly, despite the unhealthy, unrealistic and unattainability of hegemonic masculinity, it remains resilient and persistent.

Nelson Mandela was a traditional and educated man, yet when he returned to his home village, rural in its structure, he had plans to change the traditional views of masculinities (Morrell et al., 2012, 7), as mentioned in section 3.2. This was seen in his public address in which he said it was time for men to also do their parts, to cook and look after their children (Morrell et al., 2012, 7). This came from a liberated man, a lawyer by training, born and raised in a rural setting, a place where practices of patriarchy are believed to be most evident. He represented power and status and was an elite member of society (Morrell et al., 2012, 7). Research has defined 'new' men as prioritising their love relationships with partners over personal ambitions (Tan, Shaw, Cheng and Kim, 2013, 240). This new man favours caring, egotism and sharing his life with his life partner (Tan et al., 2012, 240). Researchers have stressed the importance of addressing gender identities, gender roles and gender power relations in order to redress the social ills that have been attributed to manhood and manliness (Shefer et al., 2008, 159). It is also important to note that culture changes constantly.

Research with young men aged between 13 and 25 years suggested that in order to change risky sexual health behaviours by men, it was important to re-negotiate the dominant norms of masculinity (Blackbeard and Lindegger, 2007, 26). This would assist in the reconstruction of masculinity, for the better (ibid.). Varga (2001) believed that for there to be change,

interventions must not be generic when it comes to masculinity, but need to be specific to the local population. Also, in order to encourage positive health behaviour, men may need to consciously be aware of the current constructions of manhood in order to identify loopholes, weaknesses and discrepancies. It is when they do this that they can consciously identify and reject ideals of manhood that harm them as men (Courtenay, 2000, 1389).

In the workforce, some jobs have been strictly set aside for men. Such jobs are mostly dangerous like construction, mining, transportation and the police force (Courtenay, 2000, 1394). These jobs have higher injury and death incidences (Courtenay, 2000, 1394). While institutions do influence male behaviour, they are not imposed on them, as male gender roles are also not imposed on them (Walker, 2005; Courtenay, 2000, 1394). The social structures that influence such ideals also do not function independently from people; rather it is through social engagement that as people we help create and maintain such social structures (Connell, 2005; Courtenay, 2000, 1394). It is the social engagements and conclusions drawn from such engagements that need to be revisited in order to reconstruct masculinity. These social engagements are between men and other men, women and other women, and men and women. Thus, men too, are responsible for social practices, not only to follow what has been said about gender but also to acknowledge what does not work and change it. The meaning attached to demonstrating and sustaining the 'correct' and socially prescribed male gender norms is that they are good, and this further legitimises such practices (Courtenay, 2000, 1394). Epstein (1988) was concerned that this process of gender division was ongoing and inhibited men and women from learning behaviours, skills and practices that subvert or contradict what is expected of their own gender (Courtenay, 2000, 1394). These may not be easy for men because they are invested in preserving their male power. Some men, for instance, who own businesses would work diligently, deny rest to their tired bodies and minds so that at the end they would be rewarded with power, money and high social standing (Courtenay, 2000, 1394). Even though they risk their own health, they are still praised and awarded social acceptance for having achieved hegemonic ideals (Courtenay, 2000, 1394). In this way, a patriarchal society is maintained.

3.12 Conclusion

Research in South Africa has influenced the understanding of the concept of hegemonic masculinity as well as the shifting practices and modes of being associated with such masculinities (Morrell et al., 2012, 15). Through a review of literature, this chapter has

demonstrated that certain prevailing ideas about manhood, manliness and masculinity are embedded in the different fibres of social life and settings including race, class, and gender, and are continuously being socially reproduced and reinforced through repeated language, behaviours and attitudes (Morrell et al., 2012, 15). However, several initiatives in South Africa have served to take advantage of the fluid and unstable nature of gender constructs in order to steer the nation towards more gender equality, which possibly means deconstruction of hegemonic masculinities and reconstructing them in ways that are life-promoting rather than harmful. There are shifts already in gender roles and relations, especially due to increased women's power and participation in socio-political life (Shefer et al., 2008, 162). Nonetheless, the chapter has revealed that more research and practice is required. The envisioned reconstructions of masculinity are rid of oppression of any females or other males, as was evident in Nelson Mandela's initiatives (Morrell et al., 2012, 15). This comes with some degree of hostility and resistance to change in gender power relations, demonstrated by men (Shefer et al., 2008, 162). As Ouzgane and Morrell (2005) rightly observed, what is needed is an African context which has a masculinity that embodies responsibility, protection, provision, understanding and communal loyalty in order to have a better life and to sustain harmony. While much research has been carried out on different aspects, patterns and expression of masculinity in Southern Africa, the rise in harmful behaviours and crime that are consistently associated with men in places like Wembezi Township, the realities of social and cultural shifts and change, as well as the fluid and unstable nature of gender identity themselves, call for continuous and deeper interrogation of the subject in more localities, times and space. This study, thus, contributes to this need by exploring how young men in Wembezi understand their gender identity as men. The next chapter describes the research methodology that enabled the attainment of this research goal.

Chapter 4

Research Methodology

4.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to provide details of the tools and methods that were used to collect and analyse data for this research, as well as the motivation for such choices. The methods aimed to extract in-depth data in order to reach accurate conclusions. The chapter explains the research design as well as the qualitative strategies and method used. The choice and use of purposive sampling is explained for recruiting available and knowledgeable participants. Details of the research procedures are offered. The chapter further explains how data was collected and analysed. Given the importance of research ethics and rigour to such research, these were carefully examined and the strategies the research employed to achieve validity, rigour and trustworthiness are explained.

4.2 Research design

This study utilised a qualitative research method. This approach was deemed suitable because, ontologically, it allows room for approaching reality as constructed, privileges subjective views and lived experiences of the research populations (Diccocco-Bloom and Crabtree, 2006; Terre Blanche and Durrheim, 2006, 6). It was suitable, thus, for this research on young men's perception of their own manliness. Qualitative research is able to offer accurate descriptions, explanations and mechanisms of a context and social life (Diccocco-Bloom and Crabtree, 2006; Terre Blanche and Durrheim, 2006, 7). This was helpful in exploring and investigating the mechanisms and explanations of manhood and manliness among young Wembezi men because it was their context they were describing from their perspectives. It was their reality as they saw it. Due to reality being accepted as shifting in qualitative research, participants' personal biases are critically accepted and actively explored (Diccocco-Bloom and Crabtree, 2006; Terre Blanche, Kelly & Durrheim, 2006). Qualitative research is flexible in structure (Terre Blanche et al., 2006). The participants described their own personal and societal definitions of manhood and manliness.

Qualitative research is appropriate for this study because it is in-depth and seeks understanding of the context it is studying (Diccocco-Bloom and Crabtree, 2006; Terre Blanche and Durrheim, 2006). The study sought to uncover the experiences, attitudes,

interactions, definitions, societal and familial structures of the phenomenon of manhood. The study sought to describe properties and characteristics of manhood, it also sought processes, meanings and consequences attached to manliness, making it well suited to the qualitative approach. Qualitative methodology accepts reality as not fixed, but as context based possibly differing from context to context, and person to person, allowing the participants to define the manhood and manliness variables themselves (Terre Blanche and Durrheim, 2006). This methodology offered a holistic approach to explaining the phenomenon of manhood and manliness.

The study used an explorative design which was appropriate because it allowed for the provision of causal explanations to the concept of manhood and manliness (Durrheim, 2006, 44). The causal explanations could be between structures, relationships, events and processes, such as in the relationship between employment and being a man. Although there could never be certainties because it is impossible to completely 'measure' people's attitudes and motivations, causal relationships assist with identifying causality within variables. However, patterns of behaviour and attitudes are identifiable. Exploratory research design is also adaptable and open in its approach as it searches for new insights on the issue being studied (Terre Blanche et al., 2006). An explorative study will expose different aspects and reveal constative layers of the subject being studied, such as manhood and manliness in this study, thereby deepening a critical understanding that can enhance explanations of the phenomenon of manhood in Wembezi and other contexts.

4.3 Sampling

An important aim and aspect in sampling is representativeness (Durrheim, 2006, 49), which is affected by procedure, size and participation. For this study, a non-probability sampling strategy was used, meaning not everyone has a fair chance of being selected to partake in the study, which is therefore a study limitation. With non-probability sampling, some of the research population members have no chance of being selected (Dolores and Tongco, 2007; Terre Blanche and Durrheim, 2006). One of its positive attributes, however, is that the researcher chooses a small sample that can provide in-depth responses (Terre Blanche and Durrheim, 2006).

Purposive sampling was specifically used for this study. This sampling strategy was appropriate as the researcher decided what needed to be explored and discovered, then went

out seeking participants who possessed characteristics needed for the study (Dolores and Tongco, 2007). These included knowledgeable participants who also had experience in the subject of investigation. The researcher purposefully considered young men who had lived in Wembezi Township. The young men selected were born, raised and still live in the township. Purposive sampling is also said to complement the exploratory research design (Neuman, 2014). The researcher physically walked the streets of Wembezi Township, around 12 midday, approaching potential participants to partake in the study, until the planned and desired number of participants was reached. The noon timing meant that fewer people could be on the streets due to employment, schooling, involvement in household tasks or the hot weather. Generally, in a township, the streets are full in the late afternoon, after 5p.m. Fifteen participants formed the sample. The small sample size allowed a close association of the researcher with the research participants, as considerable time could be spent with each participant (Dolores and Tongco, 2007). This also enhanced validity as in-depth data was dredged out within this manageable sample (Dolores and Tongco, 2007; Babbie and Mouton, 2005, 277). Due to the small number of study participants, research findings cannot be generalised to the entire population. However, the study findings can be transferred to a context similar to Wembezi Township.

4.4 Research procedure

The physical walk done by the researcher, seeking research participants formed part of the research procedure. Having identified potential participants, the researcher explained the study and participants were granted an opportunity to ask questions about the study. It was after this interaction that some men decided to take part in the study. The researcher then gave details, and explained informed consent, including issues of anonymity, confidentiality and the right to withdraw at any time (Corey, 2013; Wassenaar, 2006, 72). She also explained to the participants that participation was voluntary (Corey, 2013, 40; Wassenaar, 2006, 72). Furthermore, she requested for consent for audio-recording of interviews (Wassenaar, 2006, 72; Babbie and Mouton, 2005). All participants consented to partake in the study and gave additional consent to be audio-recorded. They then each signed an informed consent form before taking part in the research interviews (Corey, 2013; Wassenaar, 2006, 72).

As part of ongoing respect and appreciation for the participants, they were informed that their personal information would forever remain confidential in a secure place (Corey, 2013, 41; Wassenaar, 2006, 73). They were also advised that should they wish to have access to the

research findings after completion, this would be made available to them (Wassenaar, 2006, 73) and would be presented in a simpler and summarised report format.

It is important to note the researcher profile: a woman, aged 37 years, therefore slightly older than the researcher participants. The research participants were aware of this as they constantly referred to her as ‘sister’ – a sign of respect for the older person in the Zulu culture. The age gap could also have influenced the responses the young men gave, as they may have wished to be accepted and perceived as ‘good’ by the researcher. As the researcher was a Master’s student, she was more educated than the research participants. This could have influenced how the young men described their masculine identity. The researcher has been described as approachable and having an extroverted personality. The researcher consciously attempted to ensure that the respondents were not intimidated, and comfortable enough to speak truthfully about their masculinities. The researcher’s family background differs from that of the respondents because she has educated parents who held professional jobs, while only one of the participants shared this factor. It was also important to be conscious of the fact that this was a masculinity study, being studied by a woman. There was thus a possibility of bias in the responses from the participants and an effort to offer socially accepted responses. Additionally, even though the researcher resides in the township, it is important to note the different classes within a township of higher-earning families and lower-earning families (the researcher belongs to the former).

The researcher encountered a few challenges in the field. Firstly, the research participants were not initially comfortable about being audio-recorded. They felt this could later place them at a disadvantage. The researcher reassured them of confidentiality of the study in their township, Wembezi. Furthermore, their real names were not recorded on the audio-instrument. Secondly, there were instances where participants may not have been comfortable responding to questions regarding their sexuality. The researcher reassured them that the questions were not asked judge them and their behaviour but to understand their perceptions on manhood. The third challenge was the venue for interviews. Initially the participants showed a certain level of being uncomfortable being interviewed on the street; however, after options were weighed (the researcher’s home or the participant’s home), they appeared satisfied with the choice.

4.5 Data collection

Data was collected by the researcher, a Master of Social Sciences (Sociology) student of the University of KwaZulu-Natal. All data was collected from the young men residing in Wembezi Township using semi-structured interviews. Thus, the research questions were predetermined, carefully thought out and drafted before the interview. Interviews were suitable for this study because they allowed participants freedom to express useful data in their own terms (Diccocco-Bloom and Crabtree, 2006; Terre Blanche and Durrheim, 2006; Bernard, 1988). Open-ended questions were used primarily. Open ended questions were advantageous because they enable unrestricted probable answers. The participants could respond with detailed and clarified answers (Terre Blanche and Durrheim, 2006; Babbie and Mouton, 2005; Bernard, 1988). These types of questions exposed the participant's thinking processes, their sensitivities and their frames of reference (Diccocco-Bloom and Crabtree, 2006; Terre Blanche and Durrheim, 2006; Bernard, 1988). The researcher consciously attempted to avoid leading questions and probed wherever necessary (Kelly, 2006, 299). As the interview proceeded, more questions emerged about the concept of manhood and manliness. The researcher responded to these the emerging questions (Diccocco-Bloom and Crabtree, 2006).

4.6 Participants

This was a youth study. The aim was to get an understanding from the viewpoints of young men of what it is to be a man. This comes from the general and accepted assumption that youth is the future. It is therefore important to understand their experiences, interactions, definitions, social standing and their behavioural influences. A total of fifteen males aged between 18 and 25 years were recruited to form part of the study. This age range is chosen because reports such as the StatsSA's on crime between 2011 – 2015 show young people within this age range constitute a significant number of perpetrators and victims, most of which are men. One of the young men was currently enrolled at a tertiary institution, two of them were still in high school, while twelve said they had completed senior certificates. None of the participants held professional posts, but they depended on piece jobs. The participants currently reside in Wembezi Township. The researcher was careful to recruit young men who were born in Wembezi Township and who had spent most of their lives here. The young men therefore had experienced norms, rituals or habits and expectations of manhood and

manliness in their township. They had the knowledge and the experience needed to answer the research questions.

4.7 Data analysis

Thematic analysis was used with the data collected for this study. Braun and Clarke (2006, 83) described thematic analysis as a way of examining by identifying, analysing and reporting themes or patterns in data. Thematic analysis was found appropriate for this study because it establishes and describes data in-depth, and infers various aspects of the research topic (Braun and Clarke, 2006, 83; Attridge-Sterling, 2001). Thematic analysis is also flexible in its analysis and is widely used in qualitative research because of its adaptability to different kinds of data (Braun and Clarke, 2006, 81; Attridge-Sterling, 2001). The analysing strategy also helped in defining and explaining some parts of the data or statements as a way of exploring influences between the study participants' statements and inferred meanings (Attridge-Sterling, 2001). This assisted in allocating similarities and differences to study participants' statements and meanings. The responses to this study had both differences and similarities. Thematic analysis is beneficial because it looks at all the data, rather than only some parts of it (Braun and Clark, 2006, 85). It also enhances validity, giving a clearer and more truthful representation of findings (Silverman, 2000). Thematic analysis is an appropriate method as it reports experiences, meaning and participants' realities, exposing the different discourses operating within societies (Braun and Clarke, 2006, 86). It is context-based (Braun and Clarke, 2006, 86). Thematic analysis is also not in conflict with the theoretical framework, hegemonic masculinities, because in itself it is not laden or tied to any specific theoretical assumptions. Thus, it was easily to work with the hegemonic masculinities framework and thematic analysis enabled testing of some of my assumptions on hegemonic masculinity (Braun and Clarke, 2006, 87).

Thematic analysis has six phases which were employed to analyse the data in this study. According to Braun and Clarke (2006), they are as follows:

4.7.1 Phase 1: Familiarising yourself with data

Since the researcher collected the data herself, the process of interacting with the data had already begun (Braun and Clarke, 2006:93). As the interviewer, the researcher asked questions of the young men for clarity where necessary. The process of immersing oneself in the data is critical because the researcher gets the depth and breadth of the content (Braun and

Clarke, 2006, 93). There were also probes which where necessary. The researcher also immersed herself in the data by repeatedly reading through all the transcribed data and listening to the audio-recordings (Braun and Clarke, 2006, 93). Possible meanings and patterns started to emerge (Braun and Clarke, 2006, 93). As the researcher was reading and re-reading, she started making notes and ideas which would assist in coding and future reference in the analysis stage (Braun and Clarke, 2006, 94).

The collected data was transcribed verbatim. This process proved useful in immersing the researcher in the data (Braun and Clarke, 2006, 94). This is where the researcher actively looked for chosen words used by participants, the silences and pauses, the non-verbal signs, the stutters that came from the raw data. The researcher was looking for themes and patterns (Attridge-Sterling, 2001). The repeated reading and listening process of immersing oneself in data was also achieved through checking the transcripts against the audio-recording to ensure accuracy in the transcriptions (Braun and Clarke, 2006, 95). Corrections were made accordingly.

4.7.2 Phase 2: Generate initial codes

After the researcher had familiarised herself with the data, she made notes of ideas that stood out and appeared interesting (Braun and Clarke, 2006, 95), which helped with the production of the initial codes (ibid.). During this phase, the most basic segments were formed from the raw data (ibid.). Data started to be organised in meaningful segments and repeated patterns (Braun and Clarke, 2006, 96). The researcher made notes and used highlighters to identify potential patterns (ibid.). Commonly used words by the young men interviewed started to emerge, such as ‘*isoka*’, ‘*indoda*’, leader, responsibility, ‘*ukujola*’ and many more about manhood and manliness. Other initial codes identified were: not doing house chores, imparting wisdom to future generations, physical fights, physical attraction, doing anything they desired, soccer playing, homophobia, multiple girlfriends and many more. Some data were repeatedly coded in different segments. Data can be contradictory, but eventually a final conceptualisation of the data pattern was established (Braun and Clarke, 2006, 96).

4.7.3 Phase 3: Search for themes

From the long list produced through the above process, broader themes were identified (Braun and Clarke, 2006, 96). The researcher specifically searched for themes that were relevant to the research questions. A mind-map was used as a tool to organise and provided a more visual representation (Braun and Clarke, 2006, 96). Initial themes from the study

included violence, leader role, familial and other structural influences, freedom, sexuality, multiple sexual partners and manhood.

4.7.4 Phase 4: Reviewing of themes

Themes were refined in this phase (Braun and Clarke, 2006, 97). Themes needed to be further broken down, some had to be grouped into other stronger themes (Braun and Clarke, 2006, 97). Data that formed each theme was coherent and themes were clearly distinguishable from each other (Braun and Clarke, 2006, 97). By the end of this phase, the researcher had clearly clarified the differences in themes, how they complemented each other and the overall narrative they communicated about the data (Braun and Clarke, 2006, 98).

4.7.5 Phase 5: Define and name themes

This stage is about defining and refining the themes that are used in the final analysis (Braun and Clarke, 2006, 99). The essence of each theme was clearly determined (Braun and Clarke, 2006, 99). The data was scrutinised to uncover how and why it contributed to the research question (Braun and Clarke, 2006, 99). Also, the researcher identified how themes related to each other and looked for possible sub-themes. By the end of the phase, themes were clearly identified to include: 1) the construction of manhood and manliness with sub-headings; 2) the sources of manhood identity. Challenges formed part of the findings. Also, themes that were perceived by the participants as challenges associated with the concept of manhood were documented.

4.7.6 Phase 6: Produce the report

From the themes formed and defined, the final analysis was written (Braun and Clarke, 2006, 100). Hence this report has been produced, presenting the arguments in response to the research questions.

4.8 Validity, reliability, generalisability

According to Morse, Barrett, Olson and Spiers (2002, 2), research which lacks in meticulousness is worthless and becomes fiction. Validity is the degree to which a method does what it intends to do (Babbie and Mouton, 2005; Silverman, 2000). Validity is about the trustworthiness of the processes adopted in the research from the beginning to the end of data analysis (Silverman, 2000; Kvale, 1996). This was achieved in this study through analysis of the actual data collected from the field (Kvale, 1996). The researcher critically examined all

the data collected from the interview, and not only a few selected for analysis, as supported by Silverman (2000).

Credibility is internal validity which asks whether the study rings true, that is whether the findings are scientifically verifiable (Van der Riet and Durrheim, 2006, 90; Babbie and Mouton, 2005, 277). This further means that the research results are believable. The study achieved credibility by lengthy engagements during the interviews, asking questions for clarification from the participants and repeating what the young men had stated for their agreement as to the meaning (Babbie and Mouton, 2005, 277). The aim was to saturate the data, which assisted in identifying similarities and differences for empirical evidence (Babbie and Mouton, 2005, 277). Another method adopted to increase credibility was data source triangulation which was used to elicit data or information by asking different questions from different sources (Van der Riet and Durrheim, 2006, 91; Babbie and Mouton, 2005, 277).

Transferability refers to external validity or generalisability (Van der Riet and Durrheim, 2006, 91; Babbie and Mouton, 2005, 277). Thorough descriptions of manhood and manliness were offered by the participants (Babbie and Mouton, 2005, 277). However, the study findings cannot be generalised as discussed above in sampling (see section 4.3). The use of purposive sampling strategy also affected transferability (see section 3.4).

Reliability is the dependability and auditability of the research process (Van der Riet and Durrheim, 2006, 92; Babbie and Mouton, 2005, 278). If the study is repeated, it should produce similar findings (Van der Riet and Durrheim, 2006, 93; Babbie and Mouton, 2005, 278). Due to this study being qualitative in nature, it may be necessary to consider time lapse and memory recall. Reliability is about the consistency in data collection, data processing and data analysis (Van der Riet and Durrheim, 2006, 92; Silverman, 2000). This translates into the degree of consistency and possibility that different researchers would assign the same categories or that the same researcher would find the same result on a different occasion (Van der Riet and Durrheim, 2006, 92; Silverman, 2000).

Reliability was achieved in this study in the following three categories:

- Reliability in data collection: during the interviews, the researcher did not ask leading questions; mostly open-ended questions were used. Clearly recorded audio-tapes and documented field notes are available (Babbie and Mouton, 2005, 278).
- Reliability in data processing: the data was transcribed verbatim as suggested by Silverman (2000).

- Reliability in data analysis: the thematic analysis process is auditable, from phase 1 of familiarising the researcher with the data to phase 6 of report writing. Another researcher or observer could observe similar findings (Silverman, 2000). The raw data and resulting themes have been filed.

4.9 Ethical considerations

Ethics in research is critical. According to Wassenaar (2006:61), ethical consideration in research is important for the protection of research participants, avoidance of plagiarism and scientific misconduct. This study conducted with Wembezi young men considered and adhered to the research ethical guidelines.

All the young men who participated in the study did so with informed consent. Informed consent is concerned with the rights of the research participants to be informed about the study and their autonomy to participate or not (Corey, 2013, 40; Wassenaar, 2006, 67). The study was explained to the research participants and details were given about the study, what was expected of them during the interviews, and most importantly, they knew that participation was voluntary (Corey, 2013, 40; Wassenaar, 2006, 67). It was also communicated that the study participants could withdraw at any time without being punished (Corey, 2013, 40; Wassenaar, 2006, 67). The participants were encouraged to ask any questions before partaking in the study. An information sheet detailing the study was given to the research participants. They were also each given a copy of signed informed consent, and the researcher retained other copies which have restricted access by the researcher and her supervisor only.

Confidentiality is another important ethical consideration that the researcher explained to the participants. The concept of confidentiality is the legal duty not to disclose personal information about research participants, especially without their consent (Corey, 2013, 41; Wassenaar, 2006, 73). It was explained to all Wembezi research participants that their personal data would not be revealed to any unrelated party; furthermore, this would be kept under lock and key, and only made accessible to the researcher and her supervisor (Corey, 2013, 41; Wassenaar, 2006, 73). Confidentiality also entails ongoing respect for research participants (Wassenaar, 2006, 73).

Wassenaar (2006, 68) stated that justice was an ethical consideration which required that the participants be treated fairly throughout the research process. For collaborative partnership

and according to ethical guidelines (Wassenaar, 2006, 69), conversations were held with and stakeholder buy-in was received from the Ward Councillor who is the ANC Woman's League Chairperson for her ward. She approved and signed for the study to be conducted in the community. Given that this research is a relatively long academic paper, it was agreed that study findings would be simplified and summarised into a one page document. The social value ethical guide addresses the beneficiaries of the research and how they can benefit (Wassenaar, 2006, 69). Research findings will be accessible to the study participants as discussed above (see section 4.4).

Non-maleficence is an ethical consideration which aims to protect the participants from harm (Wassenaar, 2006, 67; Corey, 2013, 40). This Wembezi township study did not foresee any physical dangers and this was explained to the participants. However, psychological counselling was arranged should participants have required this after the interview experiences. Non-maleficence normally complements the beneficence ethical principle. Beneficence is about the researcher maximising the benefits of the research (Wassenaar, 2006, 67). The researcher, as best as she could, made efforts to minimise discomfort of participants by advising them not to respond if they felt uncomfortable about certain research questions (Wassenaar, 2006, 67).

4.10 Conclusion

This chapter has clearly outlined the methodology adopted for this study, the research design, the sampling strategy used and reasons for the sampling strategy as well as the procedures of data collection and analysis. It addressed how the study also achieved reliability, validity and generalisability. Lastly, ethical considerations that were adhered to during and after the study were clearly described. The findings enabled by this thorough methodology are presented and discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter 5

Discussion and Analysis

5.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the research results. After the data was transcribed verbatim, then analysed, different themes emerged. Each theme is discussed at length in the context of the research questions. The findings of the study were organised and discussed under two broad themes, namely, the construction of manhood and manliness and sources of manhood identity, within which challenges are discussed. Some of the findings correlated with the literature reviewed although there were some contradictions. Personal views emerged meaning that the findings were not all uniform.

5.2 The construction of manhood and manliness

Several ideas emerged from the research participants regarding their gender identities and characteristics of manhood and manliness. There were similarities and as well as contradictions among the research participants on what they considered manhood and manliness to be. These ideas were carefully analysed, collated and organised thematically into several themes which are discussed below.

5.2.1 Leading, responsible role and character

Eleven of the fifteen research participants clearly stated that they were men already because they provided for their families. Two participants claimed that they were not yet men, just 'boys'. However, even though they identified themselves as boys, they believed that they would only achieve the state of manhood when they had worked and succeeded and attained tangible possessions. They felt they would be leading and succeeding in their breadwinner role in the future. Participant 1 (see excerpt below) associated being a breadwinner with being a man; this was something that someone who calls himself a man 'should' do. He said that women are saying they should be equal to men, but he seemed to distance himself from this idea. This participant seemed to be aware of women and their rights and had perceptions on family structures, settings and hegemonies. He ended a sentence by referring back to the man as the leader, as if he was offering a concluding remark that men are superior.

It is interesting that Participant 1, in the excerpt, did not want to use the 'breadwinner' label, even though it is what he implied. The participant suggested that his hesitation to outwardly use such construct resulted from his awareness of women's struggles for gender equality. Such experiences and attempts for gender equality are real to the young men. This could lead to not verbally acknowledging their partners as equal, but at the same time positioning themselves as the heads of their families based on their beliefs about what makes a man. Hegemonic masculinity is characterised by male dominance over women which supposedly makes men 'real men', a role and identity marker that is not easily relinquished by men, as suggested by Hearn (2007, 19). The participant said:

'that a man should be a a a, a breadwinner' ... and that a man should be you know, the one who's the main like, he should be... I don't wanna say the head of the family, you know, but now, you know you have women saying that they should be equal and all of that, but then yeah, that kind of thing. So basically just take the lead as a, as a guy'. (Participant 1, 13.09.16)

The excerpt from Participant 1 could also be interpreted as suggesting that a man must be the breadwinner, or that to be a man, one must be the breadwinner. The broader context of conversation and data would suggest both interpretations to be the case. Being a breadwinner is masculinity expressed figuratively through the actions, in this case, taking care of the family. They take care of the family because they believe a man should do this. Other descriptions of manhood suggested by the participants, such as the view that the breadwinner role is both an attainment and an endorsement of manhood, are linked to responsibility and their rights as men which form part of their identity. This could be because of a patriarchal socialisation and agrees with Morrell and Ouzgane (2005, 122) who observed that men mainly feel like men when they have achieved something of value. It is about identifying oneself as a man through acts and attainments.

Although Participant 3's excerpt below implies not yet possessing tangible things, he believes that manhood would be achieved once he had attained possessions, so he could be identified as 'breadwinner'. The quotes indicate an understanding of manhood and manliness by participant which is associated with, and defined by, the socially constructed breadwinner role and the expectation of men to provide for and lead their households and family. Hence, a man, according to these participants, is one who provides, who leads or heads, and is a breadwinner. The young men in this study did not meet the hegemonic masculinity criteria as

this will emerge through data and also by virtue of their demographics. Caring for the family could be a strategy that endorses hegemony masculinity as it places men as superior and as the provider, supporting that gender is ‘doing’ (see section 3.8.1 in the literature review).

‘I’m still quite young... but it’s basically going to school and making sure I get my diploma ... cos I have ... cos I feel like being a man ... one day I hope to have a family of my own, I hope to have kids, as in all of that ... and I feel like I want to be able to provide for them... now, I mean... I’m not, I’m gonna start now and get some education, so I can get a job, so I can, you know, make money ... you know, start a family and you know, that whole process’
(Participant 3, 13.09.16)

The study participants were young black men, from poor backgrounds in a township, who are financially disadvantaged, unlike Connell’s participants who were white and rich men. By virtue of the participants’ socio-economic status, they were not able to attain the hegemonic masculinity status as defined by Connell (2005). The possible impact of the inability to attain the hegemonic masculinity status could include a certain loss of self-esteem, even though they could not verbally admit to this loss. They could also try and find other ways to compensate for the loss – through force and demand of respect from the women in their lives.

Nonetheless, the headship of men was tied to the notion of responsibility by participants, as indicated in the following quote by participant 2 below who is an only male child living with his grandmother and three younger sisters. This participant clearly plays the leader role within his family household. The young man prides himself as being the contact person in his home and responsible for everyone else. Being the key contact person in his family may mean respect and responsibility for him and partly defines him as a man – for him this is an important role that he fulfils as a man as described in gender roles in the theoretical framework chapter (see section 2.10). Generally being a contact person could also mean being overburdened since every family issue and crisis goes through you. That could lead to stress when young men are overburdened by family issues – an identity or circumstance that he may not want others to see. That is a point where a man shows that he is resilient, which is another important manliness character. It could also mean that he keeps many vulnerable or ‘feminine’ emotions inside, so that he appears in control of himself and his context (see section 2.9 in theoretical framework chapter). Participant 2’s pride was evident in his strong, certain and confident tone and his body posture (sitting up and straightening his shoulders). His circumstances and being the only male in household led to him being identified as the

leader of his family. Thus, his manliness has been constructed in his negotiated relationships with his family. This negotiation is not necessarily verbalised but is most likely implied through actions and expectations. This is what is expected of him, and he attempts to fulfil those expectations and roles by ‘doing’ what is expected of him. His family allows him to be the contact person by not fighting for the same role, instead permitting any communications concerning family to go through him. Kiesling (2007) and Foucault (1979) argued that personal identities are negotiated through language, which includes the non-verbal as in this case of Participant 2. Communication happens through actions in relationships and constructs one’s identity within a context (see section 2.7 in theoretical framework). Basdeo (2013) believed the social settings hold expectations and pressures for men, as witnessed in Participant 2 whose circumstance of being the only male around meant he had to take the leader position. One may also interpret this as detrimental to the self because a young boy is forced by circumstance to take a position and identity that he may not be ready for. The added strain of a role could confuse the young man’s identity as suggested by Marcia (1966) and Erikson (1968) who called it ‘identity diffusion or role confusion’ as discussed in theoretical framework (see section 2.8). The participant said:

‘In fact I’m responsible for everyone at home because if there is something wrong, I am the first person they contact’. (Participant 2, 13.09.16).

Generally, where there is no father figure within a home, the young man is pressured through verbal assignment or implied actions into taking the ‘father’ position, irrespective of his age. To not avoid or ‘run away from responsibility’ as stated by participant 11 below implies that he makes every effort to ensure that his basic family needs are met – food, clothes and shelter. For the participant to say such a statement may also mean that he is aware that some men avoid their responsibilities, which for him, constitutes an unmanly act. There are, however, several possible reasons that could make men avoid responsibility, one of which could be pressure associated with the responsibility. There could also be fear of losing or not fulfilling a role effectively – which could lead to destruction of their self-esteem. This is interesting because both assuming responsibility or avoiding responsibility can have negative results. The male is expected to simply assume such responsibility without any resistance, as participant 11 observed,

‘A man does not run away from his responsibilities.’ (Participant 11, 15.09.16)

All the study participants believed that not avoiding one's responsibility makes one a man. This supports the hegemonic masculinity concept that a 'real man' is resourceful. Moreover, responsibilities here are understood by participants to primarily mean breadwinning (see quote from Participant 7 below). Other responsibilities (such as doing one's own laundry) were perceived by most participants as not their responsibility.

'A real man is someone who provides for his family.' (Participant 7, 14.09.16)

All the young men in the study strongly associated manliness with responsibility which they believed makes one a leader within the family, and therefore a 'real man'. The statements by Participants 11 and 7 above both claim that being responsible means providing for one's family. The data showed that a leader (in his home) takes charge and is accountable for what happens or does not happen in his home. Therefore, a 'real man' who is a leader has control over himself and his household. The literature reviewed in this study showed that men are perceived and expected to be responsible and self-reliant as supported by Thompson and Langendoerfer (2016, 130) and see section 3.6, which all the study participants agreed with. The ability to provide for one's family may implicate a certain level of maturity, being a hard worker and role model, all of which are embodied in hegemonic masculinity. These qualities are what the young men in this study felt described manhood. This also supports the literature reviewed which demonstrated that males who do not meet the expected standards of manliness are labelled 'sissy' as noted by Thompson and Langendoerfer (2016, 123). The responsibilities that men hold or should hold differ according to their context. As seen in this study, social interactions with their family members influence the construction of their male identities. Identity is formed within relationships, the social expectations are processed and become personal as seen with participant 7 and 11 above, which further enable them to read the world a certain way. In this case 'a man does not run away from responsibility'. This is their reality of a manly identity.

There were also interesting contradictions in terms of manliness in relation to house chores as expressed by the participants. House chores included activities such as washing of the dishes, cleaning the house, doing the laundry, and cooking. These house chores were considered by the majority of the study participants as feminine work as described by the following quotes. The masculine work within a household included mowing the lawn. Participant 5 said:

'That's easy, I don't do dishes and all that cleaning business. I can't do that... because I am the man of the house, I can't be buying them groceries and clothes and all that, and... and

they still expect me to do the dishes. Because even my own clothes, I don't wash them.'

(Participant 5, 13.09.16)

Ten of fifteen participants clearly stated that they do not do house chores because this is considered unmanly; the minority (five participants) engaged in house chores as a norm and felt this had nothing to do with manhood as indicated in the excerpt below. Participant 1 felt that his choice to engage with house chores did not define or impact on his manhood or manhood in general. It appears he believed there was relationship between the two. The quote below by Participant 5 shows that there was some level of expectation for him to help with house chores, but he refused to comply with the family's expectations. It appears to be a failed challenge for the family and an identity aspect of this participant. Negotiations within the family may have been implied, as the young men excluded themselves from house chores even if they did not verbally express their discontent with doing such chores. For Participant 5, his willingness and ability to buy groceries for his family went with his unwillingness and refusal to do house chores. It appears that an exchange had to be sufficient. The young men's refusal to do house chores could be due to societal gender constructions. Identity as a theoretical construct could have influenced this participant's perceptions – men do not do house chores. This contributes to the notion that gender is not inborn but it is 'doing' as suggested by Butler (1988), see section 3.8. His refusal to engage in house chores may be his attempt to apply in action the male gender identity construct, it may also be a form of protest as suggested by Courtenay (2000, 1392), and as discussed in the previous chapter (see section 3.7.1). To reinforce this, he added that over and above the house chores, his sisters do his laundry. Identities are meanings that an individual has, in this case a role holder – the breadwinner as suggested by Stets and Burke (2000, 226). It could be that as young boys they had never witnessed men doing house chores, only women. This is also affirmed by Loscocco and Spitze (2007, 936) who said that men were more likely and successfully able to avoid doing house chores. One could hypothesise that men may not know exactly what they need to do and cannot do house chores as effectively as women.

Manhood means different things for different people. This further indicates the contradictory, multiple and fluid nature of masculinities, as scholars such as Connell (2005) also suggested. This indicates subjective meanings and attachments to manhood. Participant 1 below perceived house chores as a norm while other young men saw them as a burden which conflicted with their manhood status. A few participants like Participant 1 felt responsible for themselves and did not see the need to get help for their house chores. For this participant,

house chores were not gendered, and therefore were not identity-based. It was the sensible and independent thing to do, which is manly. Participant 1 put time aside for his homely duties meaning he viewed this as important. To a certain degree, this represents a sense of responsibility towards the self which is an important attribute of hegemonic masculinity and manhood, even though the method may be against traditional manhood means.

'I do help with house chores... I don't think it's a gender thing (house chores), I think it's just me pulling my own weight, and that's it.' (Participant 1, 13.09.16)

The hegemony in this study was not evident only with regard to the participants' partners, but also to the elders. The elderly, for example, Participant 9's grandmother, approved and reinforced hegemonic or dominant masculinities through verbal expressions and actions – she washed his dirty clothes because he was a man and was in general, submissive to him. This shows that identities are constructed in social interactions, expressed or implied through actions. One can argue that when his grandmother does his laundry, this is a sign of approval for him. The repetition of the task by his grandmother ends up becoming the norm, thus forming his identity. He also said that he cannot wash his laundry, not because he is physically impaired but because this would not be in keeping with his manly identity. This also shows how human resources and duties are allocated or not allocated according to gender. There is a possibility of being belittled if a man is seen washing his clothes. He may also see this duty as someone else's responsibility. It is a responsibility that does not correlate with manly identity. Participant 9 seemed to aim to protect his position and identity, he did not want his family members to take him for granted. He wanted to remain in control and appreciated by those around him as a man. 'Being taken for a ride' could mean losing control and respect which form an important basis of manhood. This participant also indicates that he enjoys certain benefits, such as not having to do his laundry, because he is a man. Additionally, he indicates a fear of losing his privileged position, which is also a pointer to the unstable and fluid nature of socially constructed notions of manliness, and the need that men feel to constantly guard such a position. For instance, the Zulu culture to which the research participants belong, has a generally known practice whereby the elderly consistently pronounce men, both young and old, as heads of families. The elderly would also tell the male family members to be strong because the family was depending on them, in order to motivate the younger men to be responsible. This may also have conditioned men to think, feel and act in those terms and in response to the expectations associated with such social utterances about manliness and manhood. It is interesting that the elderly members that

usually tell the man that he is the head are the ones that, for example Participant 9, the young men seemed lenient towards. This was noted in the softer tone and the sense of understanding and acceptance that his grandmother does not have to do his washing, even though she does. Participant 9 said,

'Either my grandmother or my oldest sister do my washing... because.... Because I can't do. They would take me for a ride...but for my gran, I can understand, but my younger sisters must do my washing...' (Participant 9, 14.09.16)

In the quote below, Participant 1 highlights a tendency towards already accepted social norms and beliefs being applied to trivial circumstances primarily because they already exist as the lens through which reality is interpreted and accepted. Hence, the participant's joke is taken seriously by his family even when he clearly stated that he was joking. This was his family's subjective reality of what he as a man is and will be in his family. He noticed that his family took what he was saying seriously, which could consciously or unconsciously add pressure to the participant to be or work towards what is expected of him. As a child, Participant 1 already had an identity in his mind, that of a 'man of the house' and if the hegemony is practised from an early age, the young man grows up with this in mind. This is due to identity formation which is influenced by social interactions (see section 2.7 in theoretical framework). As this may have been in his mind, he may have felt the need to adhere to what was expected of him, thus forming his identity. Interestingly, the hegemony can be practised regardless of age: young men see their dominant leading role in the presence of his elders, and the elders support this position and identity. The young men never perceived dominating elders as a challenge or disorder, even though in the Zulu culture, older people hold more power than younger ones. Participant 1, for instance, would tell his family (while he was still in primary school), that he was the man of the house, and they happily acknowledged this and agreed with him. He narrated his experience as follows:

'I remember when I was at St. Gregory's primary school, I would always make a joke about how I am the man of the house (my aunt's house). But I could see that, in their own ways, they acknowledged that, not that... they wouldn't take it as that much of a joke. I mean yeah, they saw I was just joking but they would also acknowledge that I am the man of the house. Not to the extent that I am the ruler but one day I would also grow up.' (Participant 1, 13.09.16)

Hegemonic masculinity reflects the practices that promote a hierarchy between men and women (Connell, 2005, 832). The man holds the hegemony by virtue of being a man. It also appears to exist between men and women, inclusive of siblings, as noted by Participant 13 below. Regardless of the discomfort of his sisters, the participant below felt they still obeyed what their brother would command them to do. The fact that they would fight and disagree with him did not bother him. This participant indicates that patriarchy is not understood as conflicting with love. He expressed his love for his sisters, yet his understanding of love does not include care and prioritising of their needs and feelings. Rather, this is subsumed by his need to express his manliness over them. This supports the notion that it is through dialogue that identities are formed as discussed in the literature reviews (see sections 2.7 and 3.4.2). The fact that this participant says his sisters fight with him sometimes could imply his awareness of their disapproval of his ways, yet he does nothing to change the situation because it serves him and his manhood status. Such a process construct one's manhood identity. He appears not to be bothered by his sisters' complaints and unhappiness caused by his demands; life and his context seem to revolve around him. This appears to be self-serving.

In the Zulu culture when a man says '*umfazi umfazi*' (a woman is a woman), it is mostly meant to be insulting, belittling of women and implies it is her job is only to serve the man in her life. This saying is strongly correlated with patriarchal masculinity. However, Participant 13's comments could also be viewed as based on him being the breadwinner, who works to make money for the family, and therefore has minimal time for such tasks as laundry. The women could also be employed, yet they are still expected to do house chores. It is identities such as Participant 13's that have been referred to as tradition as supported by Stryker and Burke (2000, 284). In this instance, the Zulu tradition expects women to serve their partners, regardless of whether the women are employed or not. One may say that serving their men could form part of their identity as women, as being served in a Zulu tradition forms part of being a man, as seen in the following excerpt:

'But for me, a woman is a woman, like, I love my sisters they know that but they know that I am the man and what I say goes (laughs)... sometimes they, they like fight with me but I don't care...but my word is final, they do even if they are not happy to do what I command them to do.' (Participant 13, 15.09.16).

The home environment through relations with siblings assists in constructing the man's identity as being dominant because attached to these identities are societal roles or

expectations (Stryker and Burke, 2000, 284). These constructions are related to Connell's (2005, 832) description of manhood. To a certain extent, it seems that the study participants were aware that these ideals can only take them so far, or can let them get away with only so much. They are aware of the current limitations which they refuse to acknowledge and accept. This further implies a future which may be very different from the current system, in terms of how men and women relate. The term used by Participant 5 is 'my sisters help out'; this is a gentler approach than what was said by Participant 13 above, who claimed he 'commands' his sisters. There also seems to be a level of awareness that he is not entitled or that his laundry is not necessarily his sisters' responsibility, that he as a man should do his own laundry. Participant 5 seems to only use force if feeling trapped and he resorted to a serious facial expression to 'scare' his sister to do his laundry. He also admitted to sometimes paying his sisters to do his washing which could imply that his manly power has limits of influence and he must sometimes resort to bribery to get his sisters to work for him, paying for services rendered. This correlates with what Walker (2005) found in his study in Alexandra Township, that men are aware of women's improving power base. For some, this is a threat to their manhood while others advocate for it (Walker, 2005). The men seem to be aware of their limitations especially their influence over women, which also assists in constructing their manly identity with consciously or unconsciously acknowledged limitations resulting from the social interactions. This can be seen in Participant 5's response to doing his laundry:

'You know... like, like my sisters, I guess, you sister, I guess my sisters help out, and they want reward for it... like I pay them to do my washing ... well, sometimes I pay them. I pay them if they are in a bad mood and I have money... but, but if I don't have money, I just give them a straight face and tell them to do my washing (smile)...' (Participant 5, 13.09.16)

Some men prefer to force to bribery to get what they want as both literature and the data analysed illustrates. The girlfriend of Participant 6, for instance, cooks and washes for him; this is what he wants and expects from her. The quote below appears to merely suggest that the girlfriend is comfortable doing his domestic work but also exposes an implicit critique of her regular, yet possibly unwanted presence, which obliges her to do his domestic tasks. Moreover, he seems to imply that she knows of his expectations from her as her boyfriend. Ultimately, he is dominant. One senses implied criticism that she is always there, as well as a sense of misogyny. Thus, he could be said to create and sustain his manhood status through the way his relationship functions. He said:

'My girlfriend washes my clothes for me, she also cooks for me...well, she's always at my place, so she might as well do it...but, but even if she's not there... she like, she comes and does it.' (Participant 6, 14.09.16)

The participants held strong feelings and views about leadership and being a breadwinner as a man. This seems to be necessary as they believed it qualified them as 'real men'. It was also positive for their self-esteem. However, the breadwinner role and identity released them from having to do house chores which they felt was the function of the women in their lives.

5.2.2 Sexuality

Foucault (1982, 778) believed that men have over time learned to identify themselves as subjects of sexuality. The social structures are said to have produced an African system of sexuality which influences and encourages multiple sexual relations as discussed by Hunter, (2005, 390) in the literature review (see section 3.7.1). Courtenay (2000, 1392) described the multiple sexual partners as a form of protest and assertion of their manhood by men to sustain the hegemony (see section 3.7.1 in the literature review). It is closely affiliated with cultural beliefs and masculine perceptions of women which greatly influence how men see themselves and behave (Shefer et al., 2010; Smiler, 2006, 586), in this case having a right to have multiple sexual partners. It is power-driven and about being a real man (Hunter, 2005, 391), hence the Zulu term of '*isoka*' which imbues men with a sense of pride. The more a man engages with multiple women, the more popular he becomes, especially in the Zulu culture, as suggested by Pattman (2007). All the Wembezi participants prided themselves in having multiple partners, and presented this as a state of being a man and having an identity. Once the man had many girlfriends, the information needed to be known by others, so they would publicly talk about their girlfriends and their sexual encounters as supported by Pattman (2007, 41). This was a form of power and part of the identity of being a 'real man'.

For Participant 12 below, being a real man in a Zulu context and culture, requires multiple partners. This creates an identity, represents power and is something admirable. It is also, according to him, validated by his understanding of his culture, and the manner in which he expressed this view suggests a certain protectiveness of this culture and resistance towards change. The participant implied it was compulsory for a Zulu man to have multiple sexual partners. He also repeatedly calls himself 'the man', which he believed was qualified by having multiple girlfriends. When he refers to this '*isoka*' notion as 'cool', he implied a certain level of fun and sociability. The participant also found a sense of validity and

manliness in the approval and attraction his physical manliness generated among females. He enjoyed his sexual appeal to women. By being attractive to the ladies, he was able to achieve his manly identity. This confirms the views that gender and masculinities are behaviours and hold value only when they can be performed in the presence of others and receive recognition and approval (Morrell and Ouzgane, 2012). Participant 12, for example, said:

'I was the man... you know, a Zulu man has to have many girlfriends. It's cool hahaha, it's our culture... it's our culture, sister, that's why they would call us 'isoka', because the girls loved me. I was the man.' (Participant 12, 15.09.16)

Thirteen of the study participants constructed having multiple sexual partners as something positive, worthy of celebration and sanctioned by the Zulu tradition; hence they were happy to be labelled '*isoka*'. Multiple sexual partners are seen to be part of African based customs and culture, as discussed in section 3.7 and 3.7.1. Participants seemed to relish being given the name '*isoka*' and spoke with a sense of being admired as a man for this. This was highlighted by Participant 7 who said:

'Well... I guess so because in Zulu it's called 'isoka', and being isoka is a good thing (laughs). They would not have given us that name if it was a bad thing... it's a good thing (smile).' (Participant 7, 14.09.16)

All the study participants appeared to be happy that men should have many girlfriends and the Zulu language label '*isoka*' pleased them. Interestingly, Participant 7 above smiled and laughed a lot when responding about multiple girlfriends. The smiles and laughter could imply his awareness of the controversy of the notion of '*isoka*'; it could imply that even though they like being *isokas* as men, they know that the women in their lives disapprove of this. There was a sense of guilty pleasure for the men, who were holding onto this the hegemony. They appreciated the idea of being loved and being attended to by many girls or women. This was great for their self-respect and manhood status. They perceived it as an achievement. In constructing their identity, having multiple girlfriends seem to form part of the process and product, and polygamous marriages are viewed positively. Their self-respect and manhood achievement is partially dependant on having multiple partners, which gives a sense of authority as noted by Hunter (2005, 391) and discussed in section 3.7.1 in the literature review. Such are the gender stereotypes produced by society that men feel they must attain to achieve their identities.

Two participants, however, felt that having many girlfriends had nothing to do with being a man; rather they saw this as purely selfish. Participant 4 below quoted biology (and hormones) as the reason for having multiple partners. He implied it was not possible to have control over hormones, therefore one cannot be held accountable. This seems to be a manifestation of masculinity at a literal level as discussed in section 2.12.3 in the theoretical framework section, where a man is defined and identified as a gender with a penis. For Participant 4, having multiple partners was egotistical on the part of the man. Ultimately, it appeared that it was only about the men, their needs, status and what was important to them. It appears to be about satisfying the men's fantasies, and as one participant said, physical attraction needed gratification. The participant explained that once the excitement of the attraction had dissolved, a man needed to move onto the next women. This could be related to women objectification as stated by Vaes et al. (2011, 7) and explained in section 3.7.2 in the literature review. Satisfying the men's needs could be argued as a need versus a want. A need is something one has to have for survival, while a want is a desire to have something. The men implied having multiple girlfriends was a need (hormonally induced), yet they would survive with one sexual partner. Participant 4 said that multiple girlfriends say nothing about manhood; they are simply lots of fun. This view relates to a study which found that Rwandan men disapproved of multiple sexual partnership (Shefer et al., 2010, 514) – see discussion in the literature review in section 3.7.3. This is indicated in the following quotes:

'I think that (having many girlfriends) has nothing to do with a being a man. That has to do with hormones ... women think more with their hearts. Women are more emotional, guys are more physical... I mean I think, for, for a guy like the first time you meet a girl, it's always gonna be a physical attraction... and then maybe, and then there's gonna get a point when you get over that physical attraction, but you will find someone else who also... (Participant 4, 13.09.16)

Participant 8 below believed it was wrong to have many girlfriends, despite still doing this. While communicating the latter and attributing this to peer pressure, the participant indicated that he liked the pressure and would engage in these behaviours any way. One may also conclude that he welcomed such pressure because having multiple sexual partners is most likely to be known in the community, so this proved his manhood to the audience (see section 3.4.2 in the literature review). It could also be about identity: peers assist one another in constructing the identity of 'isoka' through peer pressure. He said:

'To be honest sister, it's... it's wrong... but we do it (having many girlfriends) anyway... I guess if your friends have many girlfriends, then you also feel the need to have many as well... ja, maybe it's peer pressure, but, but how can I explain it? It's not the peer pressure than one minds...' (Participant 8, 14.09.16)

Participant 13 below described having sex with his many girlfriends as a duty. It appears to be the only or main function of having girlfriends. The expectation by the young man is that the girlfriend is to have sex suggesting that having a girlfriend automatically translates into having sex, otherwise there would be no need for a girlfriend. One may interpret this participant as saying that the women in his life are there to sexually serve and fulfil him. It appears to be about his desires only. He described sexual gratification as a need as supported by Blackbeard and Lindegger (2007, 26). More interesting findings were the participants' views on engaging in unprotected sex. The excerpts below address the subject of protected and unprotected sexual engagement. It is evident that the young men knew about HIV and that it kills, but somehow they have managed to put an emotional and mental distance between HIV in general and the virus entering their own blood stream. They justify not adhering to condom usage on the basis of the classifications they create for their girlfriends. They have girlfriends that they are serious about, whom they refer to as the 'straight girlfriend' (see acronyms and definitions at the beginning) with whom they do not use protection, and others they are not serious about with whom protection is used. The multiplicity of sexual partners is said to be one of the contributing factors to the increase of HIV (Jewkes et al., 2011). Interestingly, with the women they claim to love, they do not take precautions, meaning that these women are placed at higher risk for HIV infection, reinfection and transmission of other sexually transmitted diseases. The HIV status of the study participants was never discussed and is therefore unknown to the researcher. However, such views about unprotected sexual engagement could be thought to be a contributing factor to the spread of HIV. South Africa has been said to have created a system of multiple partnership, where women are submissive to men and the HIV infection rate is one of the highest in the world as discussed in section 3.7 in the literature review. This is where manhood and manliness characteristics can be said to be detrimental to the self in terms of health (see sections 2.9 in theoretical framework and 3.8 in the literature review). Participant 13 noted:

'I slept with all of them, why would they be my girlfriends if I did not have sex with them? e...e... for protection... eish... sister I did use protection on some of them, not all of them...

well sister, I did not condomise on the three who were my straight girlfriends at the time, but I condomised on the rest... .. sister, I know HIV is there, but....., but I never really think about it' (Participant 13, 15.09.16).

Participant 5 agreed with Participant 13. Needing someone to talk to in a girlfriend, appeared to be an after-thought. The manner in which this was expressed suggested the participant felt he needed to mention other reasons for having a girlfriend only so that he could sound appropriate; from all other indications, the primary purpose is sexual intercourse. It may also have been said to cover or minimise what had previously been said. This connects with the notion that males are highly sexually charged and have huge sexual appetites which must be fulfilled (Morrell and Ouzgane, 2005, 9) (see section 2.11.4). This tendency is closely related to objectification of women, except this time the participant did not use pictures and naked posters of women but rather verbal imagery as suggested by Ampofo and Boateng (2007). The construction and attainment of manhood seemed to take place in the context of a gendered relationship rather than by their own selves. This is the partial embodiment of hegemonic masculinity, which promotes male dominance over women as supported by Demetriou (2001, 340). Participant 5 noted:

'But... but that is why we get girlfriends, so we can have sex... well I guess sex is not the only thing, I guess, someone like... like I can talk to sometimes... ' (Participant 5, 13.09.16)

With violence as a commonly acceptable manly characteristic (Omar, 2011, 32), this may be used by men for forcing sexual engagement from partners. The study participants showed their own subjective logic for condom usage and non-usage. The literature reviewed for this study revealed that women end up being afraid to initiate topics of safer sex practices. This study's participants implied that the men are in control of such decisions. These are the views that the young men grow up with, and believe to be part of their identity and 'real manhood'.

The literature reviewed in this study implied appearance was important and complemented a man's sexuality. This is symbolic masculinity because it is through signs and movements that one comes to be seen as masculine. It is the representations which form part of social identity, meeting the standard of masculinity (see section 2.12.2 in the theoretical framework). The study participants supported the notion of the male body being a huge part of a 'real man' as seen in section 2.11.4. The construction of their physique is achieved through many strategies, one of which is being engaged in sports (see section 3.4), specifically soccer in such localities as Wembezi Township. The sport (soccer) itself is said to be highly correlated

with manhood (Morrissey, 2012, 217). It is also the main sport that is played in townships, it is the game that appears to be the manhood norm in this township. It forms part of masculine identity construction (Cornelissen, 2011; Blackbeard and Lindegger, 2007, 29; Morrell, 2001). The running and sweating make the young men feel like real men, because they embody velocity and energy (Blackbeard and Lindegger, 2007, 29). This seemed to be the case in Wembezi Township as the participants all expressed excitement when they spoke about soccer. There also seemed to be fun and manliness associated with being soccer players in Wembezi Township. The narrative of women ‘falling at their feet’ and following them was the ultimate proof of their manhood – their identity. It was also as if the young men did favours for the women who ‘fell at their feet’, in other words, started dating those ladies. They gave the impression that this was mostly for the benefit of women because a ‘real man does not let a lady down’. They saw it as a man’s responsibility to satisfy a lady’s desires, after she had initiated the relationship, and yet the man becomes the leader or head of that relationship. The theory stated that ‘real men’ are responsible. It also eventually qualified them as men (Morrell, 2006, 16). When they are physically matured, it means they are sexually ready with an insatiable sexual appetite (as discussed above section 2.11.4), which could be why the study participants were excited by the topic. Participant 9 below illustrated the significance of a certain kind of body for manliness in the following excerpts:

‘As men we played sports and looked tough, that was manly, and the girls would be all over me... hahaha... soccer made us fit, and I had girlfriends all over school, even in other, other schools...’ (Participant 9, 14.09.16)

The participants stated that they were adored by girls and Participant 1 claimed it was the women who proposed to the young men, which contradicts the traditional expectation that men should be the ones proposing to girls. He supported Participant 9 above, for instance, as a young man who possibly saw himself as being attractive, important and therefore, a ‘real man’, such a ‘real man’ that even women could not resist him. When the young women approached him, he felt the need to positively respond to the women’s request. If he did not go out with a lady, it would be considered unmanly, despite the possibility that the young man may not be interested in the young lady. He agreed to date women for appearances because that is what men supposedly do.

'Some other girls who come onto you (laughs)... if a girl comes onto you, (laughs), as a guy, you have to respond...I promise you though, you have to...I mean, they come onto you because ... like, because you look good.' (Participant 1, 13.09.16)

Participants in this study felt it was important to be sexually active in order to qualify as men. They also partook in sports as a conscious decision for their manly identities. Their engagement in soccer seemed to be profitable internally as it made them feel positive and powerful, and externally they looked fit and sexy. The outer physical appearance seems to be for their specific context and manly identity achievement. It is how they gained power, and such power is rewarded by the community at large. As young men, participants were aware that they looked physically attractive, having the benefits of being loved by women. This proved their physical attraction to be related to their sexuality, including having multiple sexual partners, which they thought was supported by their Zulu culture, hence the label *'isoka'*.

5.2.3 Unacceptable homosexuality

The hierarchy among males according to the scale of manliness puts homosexual men beneath heterosexual men (Connell, 2005, 831). This notion was evident in this study as all the young Wembezi Township men totally disapproved of homosexuality: being homosexual does not make one a man. It was a clear case of 'us' against 'them' (Blackbeard and Lindegger, 2007, 40), as already discussed (see sections 2.11.5 and 3.7.4). This was seen in their referral to homosexual men as 'they and them' and not 'we' or 'us' collectively as men. They related homosexuality to femininity. Participant 13 partially approved of gay bashing, even though he felt that violence was wrong. He called homosexuals abnormal according to the societal standards, even though homosexuality is slowly gaining social acceptance (see section 2.11.4 in theoretical review). Participant 13 further said that gay men 'need a wake-up call', possibly implying that homosexuals are in a fantasy world and need to face reality. The interesting implication though is that they should face the reality of society and not their own reality as gay men. Violence has been recognised as a manly characteristic (Omar, 2011). It appears that committing violence is approved for some situations and not for others. The concern could then be how men classify something or someone as deserving of violence. The following excerpts represent participants' views on homosexuality which are often related to femininity.

'No wonder other people hit them... sister don't hear me wrong... beating people up is wrong, violence is wrong... but you must say... these gay people... no man, they are not normal and they need a wake-up call and be real men and stop being womanly...'

(Participant 13, 15.06.16).

Participant 15 below felt that homosexuality was wrong and unacceptable. He quoted the 'Holy Bible' to support his view that homosexuality is evil. Calling it the 'Holy Bible' further implied the extreme uncleanness and wickedness he associated with homosexuality.

Participant 15 strongly believed in his own opinion against homosexuality and tried to get the researcher to accept his view. Homosexuals were seen as defying nature and behaving against the expected and desired community norms (Heaven and Oxman, 1999,109) by several study participants. The participants showed strong feelings against homosexuals and felt they were betraying manhood, therefore classified them as the 'other' as noted by Plummer (2001, 21), Wise (2001) and Heaven and Oxman (1999,108). According to the homophobic participants, gay men did not meet the societal expectations of being a 'real man' (Connell, 2005). This is further illustrated by the following excerpt:

'But honestly sister, even you must agree with me, you know this gay thing is.... It's just evil. You know sister, you know that even the Holy Bible disapproves of them... no men with another men, but you see them, no, sister, it's not right... it's just wrong...' (Participant 15, 15.09.16)

Like all the study participants, Participant 9 below referred to gay men as not normal and added that they were crazy. Homosexuals were irrelevant in his eyes, as if they are not worthy of his time and thoughts. Participants were mainly 'disgusted' as were those sampled in the studies by Pattman (2007, 44) and Wise (2001, 5). Participant 9 quoted below, for instance, acknowledged that while a gay person had a penis, this did not make him a man. It is as if one needs more than a penis to be called a man. By not having the other manly qualities, homosexuals are undermining the concept and idealism of manhood and the unity of manhood (Plummer, 2001, 21; Wise, 2001; Heaven and Oxman, 1999, 108). This position on gay men draws on a literal representation of manhood which is stripped down to the basic level of biology (see section 2.12.3). Participant 9 said:

'I don't think much except that they are crazy... homosexuals are crazy ... they are not normal... do you think they are normal?... I don't. They are not men, they may have a thing

(penis), but that does not make them men. It's actually disgusting and wrong...' (Participant 9, 14.09.16)

This affirms Connell's hierarchy of masculinity in which homosexuals are considered marginalised men (see section 2.6 on patterns of masculinity in the theoretical framework). Hence, it can be argued that while all men benefit from patriarchy to varying degrees, not all men are equal within the patriarchal space and construct. In this study, participants appeared to construct and attain their manhood by virtue of not being homosexual, and they showed strong feelings of homophobia.

5.2.4 Respect

All responses from participants in Wembezi township showed that respect is a very important signifier of manhood and manliness, young men in this study asked for or demanded respect from their important others (see discussion above on section 5.2.1). It seems they believed that respect would help them attain status and influence, which they wished for in order to positively contribute to the world and be accepted by society. The way in which they behaved was important. Participant 1 below mentioned a married man who had extra marital affairs as a depreciation of manhood and as losing respect. This is contradictory to what most young men were saying about having many girlfriends. This could imply that it is acceptable to have multiple girlfriends while unmarried. However, that same behaviour is unacceptable once one is married. South African cultures are known for approving of polygamy, with President Jacob Zuma a well-known example of a polygamist. It appears unacceptable to have a mistress, except if she is made a second wife. This appears contradictory and to have double standards. Participant 1 referred to a 'blesser' of a man, who focused less on his family (wife and kids) and more on his mistress. This, according to this participant, was unacceptable, worsened by the fact that the mistress' age is that of the blesser's daughter's age. The participant felt such behaviours depreciated the value of the man. This is contradictory to the literature reviewed in this study which viewed multiplicity of sexual partners as an acceptable manly character. The blesser's focus on the mistress distracted him from his responsibility to his family; the participant believed this caused one to lose respect from his family and community as well as lose the title of 'real man'. Reallocating his financial resources to the mistress may make the blesser unable to financially provide for his wife and children, an important responsibility for a man (see 5.2.1 in this section). He said:

'I don't know if you know what a 'blesser' is. Do you know a blesser?... I have a friend, a girl... her father owns taxis. The girl recently found out that her father is dating a girl her age... and the girl says, she lost all respect for her father as a man... completely... dating a girl her age... I mean on top of that...e He gives her money, this other girl...all the time... most of the money goes to this mistress, outside of the family, instead of the girl and her family, you know. So now, for me... I feel like if you are that kind of guy, then you no longer a man...I mean, you, you've completely lost it. I mean you have gone back, just...years... everything you have built all these years, you are now a boy, no longer a man, and you have destroyed it all. You've destroyed your family, your kids, and your reputation.' (Participant 1, 13.09.16)

Respect is earned by deeds that must be seen by those around; it also appears to be lost through deeds. It is the deeds that make one 'manly' or 'unmanly'. Participant 9 below related to looking after one's family as a task that earns one respect within the community and his family. His family knows that he is available to them in times of need and this is an achievement of manhood; it is an identity. Achieved responsibility earns respect from his family and the community. He said:

'Yes, someone that the family knows that is there for them... yes and others like extended family and the community know that you look after the family... like me, everyone around her in our township, those who know me, know that I look after my family.' (Participant 9, 14.09.16)

Participant 13 below struggled to respond to the definition and association of real manhood. He somehow felt unworthy to respond because he viewed himself as just a young man, a boy still maturing. It appeared as if he felt that he was still too young to respond correctly to the question, and he felt the age of 40 was appropriate for responding to such a question. This could be due to him feeling he has not lived long enough or attained enough knowledge, possessions and status to qualify as a real man. He clarified that as an adolescent, he could be experiencing an identity crisis and had no possessions. He felt that he was not an appropriate source for giving an 'efficient' response regarding what constituted manhood. Ultimately, he gave his view of what he thought real manhood was, implying that one needed to have goals to work towards which is supported by Thompson and Langendoerfer (2016, 122) – see 3.6 in the literature review. Not only does a man need to work towards the goal, but he reaches a

stage of accomplishing his objectives. The participant also said that having nothing means one is not a man; tangible accomplishments make one a man. He stated:

'Hmmm.... It's a tough question... (Silence), if I was 40, then maybe I could answer... I haven't become a man yet.... I think I haven't become a man yet because, I haven't...accomplished anything that qualifies me to be a man... I'm still... just a teenager, tryna find their way in life. I think for me being a man is once you have accomplished, like... everything you wanted to accomplish, and you have your own family, you have your own...you know, just. You are the head of your own family, and you just...a.... how can I put this... if I have nothing to my name, then why, I mean why should I call myself a man? What qualifies me to be a man... not just that (tangible things), but the respect of other people.'
(Participant 3, 13.09.16)

Outer perceptions seemed important to the participants. How others in their families and community perceive them was relative to the importance of respect. Participant 10 below illustrated how characteristics which cannot be seen or touched can earn a man respect. While most of the participants believed in materialistic aspects of manhood, this participant stressed the importance of the inner aspect, namely wisdom and understanding, which will be evident in how a man initiates and responds to situations. It is about how a man positively influences the world around them, and how that becomes a circle of positivity which could lead to a better world. All of this can come from one wise, respectful and real man. This correlates with Foucault (1988, 25) who believed the self to be more than what a man wears (see section 2.8 in the theoretical framework). Foucault also believed the self to be forced into existence through different mechanisms where discourses work from inside out, ultimately to confirm their identity (Stets and Carter, 2012) – see section 2.8, in this case of real manhood.

Participant 10 believe wisdom and understanding earn one respect, which he believed he will have earned after he has lived, experienced different life's challenges and conquered (see section 3.6), so he could positively influence the following generation. There was a certain level of modesty in this participant who said he did not aim to change the world but helped wherever he could. Hidden humility as a man did not appear much in this study. Participant 10 said:

'Wisdom and understanding... it's gonna reflect on the outer things. What I know is gonna reflect, if I'm a much wiser man, I'll act a certain way. Don't you think?... eventually at the end of the day, I always say I wanna make some kind of change, you know, I mean, ... I don't

wanna say change the world though, cos that would just be too much.... but no one can change the world, it doesn't take one man to change the world...: if I can influence the next person, and that person influence the next person, and then it's gonna be like a group kind of affect... ' (Participant 10, 14.09.16)

For Participant 9 below, his unwillingness to do house chores contributed to his sense of respect from his family. Washing the dishes did not form part of his identity. This was a strategy he used to separate himself from feminism.

'Yes... of course yes. They do the house chores as women and I don't... and yes that gives me the respect from them.' (Participant 9, 14.09.16)

The embodiment of hegemonic masculinity is ultimately expected to lead to respect. Men seem to desire power because it appears to be a way to get respect from women in their lives, and the society as affirmed by Burnard (2008,17). Respect was evidently an important aspect of being considered a 'real man' (Harris III, 2008, 463). Respect was something to be worked towards and achieved. Receiving respect and having a good reputation is important for one's manhood status (Adams, 2007). The participants in this study taking the lead within their families were working towards earning respect. They believed that hiding soft and vulnerable emotions earned them respect. The main feelings they outwardly showed were those based on goal-orientation, bravery, control and responsibility. There is a common saying: 'you earn respect by giving it'. However, the giving part did not feature much for the young men in the study. There was more concern about handing out and being served by the people in their lives. They also associated respect with having attained tangible things, doing good deeds and growing in wisdom as well.

5.2.5 Autonomy and manhood

The idea that men are free to be and do whatever they want (despite the displeasure of women who are not culturally allowed to contest them) is a significant theme in the data analysed for this study. Men appear to have no obligation or sense of accountability as stated by Participant 1. He believed that as a man he could go anywhere for as long as he wished without anyone questioning him, yet the same did not apply for women. This sustains hierarchy, as men grow up with the knowledge and attitude that they do as they please – it is a manhood norm. Spoken words addressed to women and not men maintain the status quo. The silence where the men are concerned (as noted by Pattman, 2007, 38) in contrast to the spoken words to the women represent inequality. This participant's comment suggests this is

an acceptable norm. The parents seem to give more attention to the girls' activities than those of the boys; furthermore, girls are scrutinised about their whereabouts. Generally, when black women go out as much as some men do, they are questioned and interrogated. Society has structured it this way. Mothers and elders generally respond that the girls are interrogated more than boys for their own safety as well as for their responsibilities within the house. Other possible reasons for women being scrutinised about their whereabouts could be fear that they might engage in sexual activities (with boys) which could lead to unwanted and unplanned pregnancies and diseases. Society has encouraged men to be sexually active, yet the women that they should be engaging with are not supposed to leave their homes. This seems paradoxical.

'I feel like... men are given... men are given almost the right to do anything... if I'm a guy, like now, I decide to leave and come back the next morning, not that many people are gonna say anything about it. I mean there might be an issue, that where were you. But it's not gonna be like ... you know, what you were doing, with whom, you know. For a girl, it's gonna be more of where were you? With whom? Doing what? You see. Cos she's a woman, she's a woman, they see that... because of the way, it's like these days, it's the same as the days when society women must stay at home and guys, you know, go out and work. And do that, whatever, but then basically ...I feel like, right now, because I am a guy...I basically get given the right to do things that women can't do, that girls can't do...cos I even see it like at school, like with the girls, you know. In my own class, like how we talk about how their parents don't want them to go out. Their parents don't want them to, you know, they must stay indoors and they must always have to be doing certain chores. They have to do that, and then I hear guys say that they do that because it's a choice for them. Like helping out with house chores, they help but no one actually tells them 'go and do it'. For girls, they are told 'go and do it'. (Participant 1, 13.09.16)

Participant 4 commented on President Zuma's polygamous marriages. The participant believed that the President's wives were not happy about their polygamous situation as he would think that no woman is comfortable sharing a sexual partner or husband. The president's wives however show respect and subordination to their husband by accepting the polygamous situation. The wives stay in the marriage which appears to support the status quo, whether willingly or silently coerced. This is done in the name of culture, which stresses male dominance over women which some refer to as manhood. Additionally, the participant implies there is nothing the wives of the president can do except to accept their situation. This

implies a notion of being stuck. An outsider may think that the wives could get divorced, yet they do not. It is language and actions such as theses that sustain male hegemony over women; this is the 'doing of manliness' as supported by Crawford (2003) (see section 2.7 in the theoretical framework). The silences from the women are the 'weak' gender roles that sustain male hegemony (see section 2.10 in the theoretical review), hence men view such privileges as their rights and identity. However, some women decide to stay in such relationships for the materialistic benefits (as discussed in 3.7.2)

'Because sister, a man is the head, no matter what President Zuma says, because even look at him, he has six wives, right? Do you think the wives are all OK with their set-up?... No man, they would be lying if they said they were happy all sharing their man. But he does it because he is a man and no woman can argue against that...' (Participant 4, 13.09.16)

The study participants claimed to enjoy many privileges and freedom that women do not, and without any need to be accountable to anyone, primarily because of their gender. There are some 'freedom-to-be' activities, which were unacceptable if done by women. Participant 3 gave the example that it is good and acceptable for a guy to have many girlfriends, while women are perceived negatively if they have multiple sexual partners. The label the community attaches to a girl who is believed to have multiple partners is often degrading and derogative. It lacks respect, while for the men with many girlfriends, respect is earned! Society has double standards and gives men their identity.

'Like even if a guy has many girlfriends, you know, like... it's OK... in fact other people even see that, that as a good thing. You understand sister. But ha, a girl who does that... like, the same thing, no, no, no. A girl can't have many boyfriends, well, some do (smiles), but no, it doesn't look like nice, no man.' (Participant 3, 13.09.16)

Pattman (2005) found some men engage in certain behaviours merely for show, not because they want to. The activities that are part of this 'freedom to be' are normally deeds that are carefree, careless and risky. Some men do this because they wish to fit in with their peers, yet this is referred to as 'freedom', even though this does not come from freedom inside themselves. There are contradictions within the self (Blackbeard and Lindegger, 2007; Wise, 2001). This may be because the men can do anything without interference from anyone. That is freedom, external freedom. They may be feeling uncomfortable inside, but this may not be an important factor as discussed in the literature reviewed (see sections 2.9 and 3.4). Their manhood is proven by what can be seen, not by what cannot be seen. Men are not supposed

to show feelings of vulnerability or weakness (Plummer, 2001, 18). It is commonly said that a man can only suffer on the inside and should never show it (Phoenix et al., 2003).

Participant 4 below argued that the freedom to be came with experimenting with different things as a young man. He showed awareness and realisation that some experiments were not healthy. He argued that the experiments should have been temporary but some men stay in the experiment phase and do not change. The participant called it 'growing up'. If the participant saw the need to grow up, he may have seen the initial acts as immature, inappropriate and possibly unmanly. He believed that some men do not mature. Some may start experimenting as a result of peer pressure and end up getting stuck there. The experimenting for the sake of being viewed as a man could be costly. For this participant, experimenting seems to be part of the journey to manhood, yet if one does not proceed to the next level of 'growing up', one will have failed. As a result, the experimenter may end up being stuck in something that they never desired to do from the beginning, but did for appearance only. Some men enjoy instant gratification and taking risks (Hearn, 2007, 17). Some men are aware of the negative implications, while others are not. Although some men may be aware, they often do not change. The resistance to change for them complements the manhood status which they are striving to achieve. Being stubborn may form part of their identity. Some men may truly believe in what they are doing; others go along because it is expected of them. It would seem that change requires a loss of certain freedoms (in this case, the risky activities, see section 2.11.1), hence the resistance that portrays change as threatening, as Participant 4 could be suggesting.

'There are certain things that guys do at a certain age... you know, at some age, guys will experiment, they will do certain things, they will you know play around with this and that... I feel like certain guys, I mean guys do experiment a lot, but I feel like there are certain guys who won't'... they won't wanna move on from that stage. They will just be stuck there... you get other men who will have gone, you know, like all of that, who drank and smoked, and did all of that, but they got over it... and they decided to clean themselves up, and they went to school, and got a job, you know...it's just a story, you know, that they tell. They are not stuck there.' (Participant 4, 13.09.16)

The study participants agreed that their manly identity allowed them to be unaccountable for their actions and whereabouts. They believed women did not have this autonomy and they could not influence the men in their lives to change their behaviours. Some participants,

however, felt that some men push their privileges to the extreme and end up damaging their lives.

5.2.6 Violence and control

Many studies have confirmed the relationship between violence and manliness (Shefer et al., 2010, 516; Hearn, 2007). Dynamics linked to violence happens are multifaceted (Connell, 2005). Violence in academic literature refers to murder, domestic violence, rape and other horrific crimes (Buiten and Naidoo, 2016). The type of violence that was described by this study's participants was not necessarily the same as that reviewed in the literature. It can be categorised as violence because violence causes a certain level of discomfort to the recipient. It may not be the violence that is inflicted on women in the form of abuse. This study revealed another type of violence where men fought against each other, with the aim of acquiring honour. Participant 14, for example, admitted willingness to fight another man if he 'steals' his girlfriend. The fight is not for the girl per se, but for the other man to remember that he is dealing with a real man. The fight is for self-respect and honour as a man. The act of fighting is a form of constructing a manly identity, especially when the fight is won. If a man does not win a fight, this would not look positive for his identity, and he might engage in activities to make up for the loss. Participant 14 referred to a girl as being 'stolen', making her appear like an object that cannot make its own decisions and can be moved from one position to another. This also supports the notion of women objectification (as already discussed in 5.2.2 in this chapter, also see 3.7.2 section in the literature review). A woman can be seen as an object and once she has finished satisfying one man, she is then taken by the next man to do the same. This shows control attained through violence. Participant 14 said

'If a man steals your woman... like steals her... I mean like, perhaps, like, sleep with your woman behind your back, you know. You must fight him.... No sister, no, I am not like... how can I put this... I'm not fighting for the girl, she can go be with him, you know. But like, I fight so the guy knows that I, too am a man... because honestly sister, that is rude, like he is rude to you as a man... so I must show him.' (Participant 14, 15.09.16)

The violence normally referred to in hegemonic masculinity discourse is directed towards the minority masculinities such as to homosexuals or women (Shefer et al., 2010; Hearn, 2007; Connell, 2005). There are other forms of violence. Participant 1 below mentioned fighting for honour. He added another perspective labelled 'non-angry violence'; this appeared to be a

way to earn an honorary position within the manhood circle. It is interesting that the participant acknowledges that the beating up acts appear stupid yet they do them regardless. One may not expect a man to admit to stupidity because such a quality is not regarded as manly, yet this participant admitted to this possibility. The behaviour makes sense to them, it is their path to manhood and is part of achieving an identity. The participant also admitted to not getting angry in such events, even if he and his opponents bled. It appeared as if getting angry would be an inappropriate emotion for a man, especially in such a setting. This could also be regarded as personalised masculinity as discussed in section 2.7, which focuses on manhood construction that suits a man and which does not always adhere to hegemonic masculinity ideals. Such an event could additionally be a way to prove whether or not 'the man' can control his emotions, with the understanding that a 'real man' is always in control of his emotions.

'(throat clearing), OK, let me give you one dumb example...when we were in boarding school... we would have these fights... between what we would call the East side and the West side...and we would literally, and we would all come out with belts and beat each other... the east and the west. Beat each other, now to you as a women, it seems like a stupid thing, that thing, it seems like, why would you, like fight like a man. but for us, it's about testing your manhood, it's about you know, seeing, that you are also a man... it was violence...but we never, we never, like we never got angry about... we never held any grudges over it... you know cos people would fight to the extent that they would bleed and so on, but no one held a grudge over the next person... at the end of the day, we would shake hands and it's like... you the man, it's... an honour type of thing.' (Participant 1, 13.09.16)

These honorary fights also seemed traditional as stated by Participant 15, a means of upholding tradition. He constantly laughed when he was responding which could be aligned with Participant 1's statement above: the acts of fighting might appear 'stupid', but it was what men did, it was their identity. The participant also briefly mentioned possible violence and chaos at shebeens. He seemed to align the shebeens with men and violence, as an identity of both. Even though women do go to shebeens, it is mainly men who are there involved in acts which are loud and sometimes lead to violence. Participant 15 viewed violence as a manly character as suggested by Shefer et al. (2010, 516) and see section 3.5 in the literature review. The participant stated:

'Now that I think about it... (laughs), when I was in the rural areas with my grandmother...when I was much younger...yes, the men would fight with sticks (laughs)... like seriously and you know why, right... just to prove who the better man is... (laughs), but no, we don't do it here in the township...but I guess violence will always be there ... I mean at that shebeen, you too know there is always a noise about something.' (Participant 15, 15.09.16)

It has been argued that sexual violence towards women, by men, is about power (Buiten and Naidoo, 2016; Robinson, 2005). However, this is not the only factor; authors argue that it could be that men who commit such violence lack social skills and values and that such are constituted within the cultural and societal values and power relations (Robinson, 2005, 20). It may prove both power and lack of ability to relate to another person. When one communicates with another person, this is a two-way process with argument or agreement on the topic being discussed. However, the quote below appears to be one-sided on the side of the male. Men generally have the controlling power in their heterosexual relationships. Participant 5 does not seem to negotiate terms of the relationships (details on power within sexual relationships were discussed in section 5.2.2).

'That is why we get girlfriends, so we can have sex...' (Participant 5, 13.09.16)

Robinson (2005, 20) found that some men considered sexual violence to be legitimate and the expected strategy to express and reaffirm hegemonic masculinity within the heterosexual gender order (Buiten and Naidoo, 2016). Sexual violence has come to be known as part of hegemonic masculinity performances and characters (Omar, 2011; Robinson, 2005, 20). It is said to be one strategy of reinforcing the gendered cultural bonds that young boys and men adhere to as they construct their own identities (Robinson, 2005, 21). The study participants approved of certain types and levels of violence; they accepted and agreed to be involved in violent activities if this was for proving their manhood. This instance supports some characteristics of hegemonic masculinity. It appears that the participants adopted some of the hegemonic masculinity features and added their own personalised masculinity ideals.

5.2.7 Male domination

This section encompasses all sections pertained in this thesis. Men are generally known for wanting to always be in control, which is embodied in hegemonic masculinity (Burnard, 2008, 16; Pattman, 2007). Spheres that men feel need control are many and multifaceted. Control is exercised in their personal spaces at home, at school, and at community level, all

of which form part of their identity. As quoted above, the young men's refusal to do house chores and bribing their siblings into doing their laundry, showed their desire to always appear in control (see sections 2.11.2 and 3.6). The control shown by the men in this study included the desire, comfort and behaviour of having multiple girlfriends. It was their way of showing that they do not comply to others, but control their ways of domination. They felt they were free to do as they desired, while conforming to what they believed is expected of them by society. This is submission and conformity to such things as peer pressure and social expectations in the guise of freedom and manliness. If one protests, this is generally an indication of wanting and fighting for power and control. Since multiple sexual partners have been partially understood as a form of protest for manhood as noted by Courtenay (2000, 1392) (see section 3.7.1), it could be that the young men were simply fighting for their manhood to be acknowledged. If men feel entitled to having numerous sexual partners without being accountable to anyone, they can engage in unprotected sexual intercourse without consent of the women (Wood and Jewkes, 2001; Campbell, 1997). This shows that the young men control the women in their lives, as a form of a culture and manly identity as agreed by Shrock and Padavic (2007, 628). This is how they interact with their women which is aligned with their identity and control (Shrock and Padavic, 2007, 629).

All the study participants admitted to not always using protection when having sexual intercourse as already discussed. It did not appear that the girlfriends could affect this decision. This was another way of exercising control in their relationships. If their girlfriends cannot contribute toward the decision of using protection when engaging in sexual intercourse, then this is a form of violence against women, as affirmed by Hunter (2005, 390) (also see section 3.7). The traditional ideals of manhood seem to pressurise the men to always be in control, no matter the cost (Shrock and Padavic, 2007, 628).

As stated above, the breadwinner role was almost the main character that all study participants identified as part of manhood (see section 5.2.1). The role demonstrated domination within their families. It seemed important for the young men to have imbibed this notion of ideal manhood as all were in agreement that a man must always be able to provide for his family. It was a method to gain control and self-esteem. Even though the majority of the study participants did not have a tertiary education, they did whatever they could to provide for their families. Education has been strongly aligned with success, yet men often do not complete their schooling for which there are contributing factors as discussed in the literature review (see section 3.10). Ten study participants had casual jobs, none had a white-

collar job. Even though they did not hold white collar jobs, they still appeared to be doing their best to provide for their families, thus attaining manhood status. One wonders about future prospects: if they intended on staying in their piece jobs for the rest of their lives, what would this mean for their manhood? One participant who was at a tertiary institution may have better chances of getting into a white-collar position. This would represent a circle of competitiveness and fights for control between the men. This affirmed some of the hegemonic masculinity characteristics as discovered by Connell (2005, 3) and Walker (2005).

5.2.8 Manhood and health

The fifteen study participants seemed to not pay much attention to their health. Despite being aware they were not in perfect health at all times, they did not show much concern for this. This could indicate that it is more important to strive and jeopardize one's health in trying to attain the hegemonic masculine status as found by Evans et al. (2011, 8). Participant 5 who was against attending a health care facility asked the researcher how many men actually attend a health care facility. Then he repeatedly complained about the queues and how the queues are mainly filled with women and babies. This appeared to be a discouraging image for the men. The participant made it sound and look unmanly and provided evidence for the stigma attached to being seen at a clinic. This is un-masculine as found by Casey et al. (2015) and Evans et al. (2011, 8). Paradoxically, sexual virility and such factors as multiple sexual partners as well as having children are important in the construction of manhood, yet, men in this study found the presence of women and children in clinics unmanly and unattractive. Participant 5 said

'I don't know, maybe... maybe not, but to be honest, sister, how many men do you think go to a clinic? You know the queue, hey the queue sisters... no I can't do that queue, and mostly it's the women and babies... no sister.' (Participant 5, 13.09.16)

Participant 2's reason for not accessing medical care via public health facilities was that he was strong enough to fight off the infection by himself and he saw his immune system as being healthy. Not going to a clinic may have something to do with not wanting to taint his manliness. Some people view clinics and hospitals as full of germs and viruses and worry about the risk of getting sicker. Hence those who afford private hospital care, opt for this. However, men are generally known for not taking of their health seriously according to Casey et al. (2015). This complements how the participants responded and commented on their sexual engagement and HIV (see sections 3.7 and 5.2.2). Participant 2 said,

'OK, well I don't really get sick... but if I do get a cough, I wait for it to go away...the clinic is always full, so to be honest, I'm lazy to go there, but maybe someday I will go...but for now, I don't need it.' (Participant 2, 13.09.16)

Participant 13 said that he did not go to a health facility such as a clinic or hospital because he did not like the smell of the facility and the medical staff are supposedly unfriendly. The nurses' 'rudeness', as he called it, in an open public space, meant that many people could witness a female nurse being disrespectful to a man. This could taint his 'real man' image of being admired and respected. The participant's only reason for accessing medical care at a public health care facility was because he was seriously ill. This participant preferred to suffer in silence for as long as possible before he seeking medical care. This notion was supported by Hearn (2007, 25). It also showed manhood ideals as being oppositional to the self (see section 3.10 in the literature review). Participant 13 said:

'To be honest sister, to be honest...I don't like it. I don't like the smell, I don't like the queues, I don't like the way the nurses are so rude, I just don't like clinics... but to be honest, if we are being honest... I went once. I was very sick, so I was forced... even then I went because I did not have a choice... I was not getting better and I could feel that...ja, now I am sick and I need help, otherwise sister, I don't like it.' (Participant 13, 15.09.16)

The possible non-attendance of a health facility could be related to manhood. As some participants clearly chose a position which said that men do not go to clinics and hospitals. For them it appeared to be 'uncool' and it 'messed up' with their masculine appearance as supported by Courtenay (2000, 1385).

5.3 Sources of manly identity

Several sub-themes emerged from the study that highlighted the different sources from which Wembezi young men construct and feed their understanding and practice of manhood and manliness. These are discussed below.

5.3.1 Life events and social expectations

The sources of manhood seem to be based on circumstances, structures, life events, relationships and by being in a 'manly way'. Some of the identities are the direct result of how young men see themselves specifically as heterosexual males as suggested by Blackbeard and Lindegger (2007, 35). This implied that they are not 'sissy' or homosexual;

therefore they are real men (see section 5.2.3). They have made their community proud and adhered to what the society considers to be ‘real men’. Their ability to sexually penetrate women, for example, is a life event and being adored by girls forms part of their identity as men, as the earlier discussion on sexuality showed (section 5.2.2). This was their way of being, based on conforming with societal expectations.

5.3.2 Familial circumstances

Life events and circumstances are a central theme of identity. Family structures form part of the influential institution where identities are constructed (see sections 2.7 and 2.8 in theoretical framework). For example, Participant 9 had an absent father. This forced him to take the lead and identify himself as the man of the house, regardless of his age. He referred to his father as ‘useless’, and it seems that he was trying his best to not be like his father. He strived to be different from his absent father who did not deserve to be called a ‘man’; he identified himself as the opposite to what his father was. Generally, the father is expected to be the worker and provider for his family; this is symbolic as agreed by Connell (2005) and Gregory and Harper (2011). Participant 9 admitted to having been forced to mature quickly so he could care for his family as already discussed (see section 5.2.1). Such circumstances served to give this participant a certain identity related to manhood. Even though his father was alive, the father did not provide the participant with an expected and satisfactory fatherly role model. As he pointed out:

‘Argh man... I don’t care much, I don’t ... I guess it’s all that that forced me to grow up and be a man for my sisters and grandmothers... no... Nooo sister, I don’t care, he’s (his father) useless anyway.’ (Participant 9, 14.09.16)

Participant 6’s father was also absent, through death. The circumstance may not have involved the same angry feelings as Participant 9, but Participant 6 also felt that he was forced to take the lead in his family. The circumstance and life event of the death of his father meant he needed to mature quickly so he could look after his family. The respondent revealed a belief that a household or a family needs to have a male head figure (see section 5.2.1). Thus, when none is there, the man in the house takes it upon himself to identify himself as that man of the house or head, irrespective of his age, experience, readiness and personal challenges. He said,

'Because I did not have a father, he died when I was young...well, I guess, I guess that... that did not give me a choice but... you know sister, the house needed a man, and my father was late... so I guess that was left to me...' (Participant 6, 14.09.16)

5.3.3 Social activities

Other sources of manhood construction include drinking and smoking (Evans et al., 2011; Burnard, 2008). Townships are generally known for several community ills (Mampane and Bouwer, 2011) and abuse of alcohol is common. Interestingly in this study, none of the participants admitted to drinking alcohol and smoking, except for Participant 9 who hesitantly confessed and seemed to be seeking approval from the researcher. The pitching in of money as friends to purchase alcohol appeared to be what normally happens in their township. It appeared to the manly norm in Wembezi Township. The 'I think' at the end of the quote shows an uncertainty as to whether or not it is the right thing that they do as men, and was a possible opening to the researcher to add her views or advise (as she was seen by the participant as the elder). Drinking was associated by Participant 9 with manhood, even though he was uncertain if it truly was a manliness character. It also seemed concerned with appearances and being identified as 'cool'. He said,

'Like sometimes, me and my friends...we will pitch in money and buy booze... and as just men, we hang around and drink... it's nice, it's fun... ja, I suppose, that's what men do, I think...' (Participant 9, 14.09.16)

Participant 1 blamed the community for thinking the worst about the young men in the community. He may have been implying that such community ills could be the results of the already held negative perceptions about the young men. It could be that the young men are doing what is already expected by the community. The participant expressed that there is not much to do in their community except to drink alcohol, smoke, do drugs and have sex, all part of why the community thinks the worst of the Wembezi youth. Wembezi is a township with high crime rates by male youth offenders, as stated by the Statistics South Africa 2011-2015 report. The participant could also implied that they needed recreational facilities.

'Especially because we are in a township setting... this community thinks the worst of every boy my age... because, a... very large number of guys my age are... are on drugs... or drinking every weekend or... have children... or... just or spend their days chilling there, smoking the whole day. They don't really, you know... do much.' (Participant 1, 13.09.16)

Participant 8 below admitted to drinking ‘not a lot’. Excessive drinking is subjective. He did however specify that he drank on special occasions, distinguishing himself from those who consume alcohol often. He also clearly stated that he did not care much about alcohol. He portrayed his drinking as minimal, by saying he drank on occasions and he did not care much about it. He may drink because it this is the norm for young men, it could what is expected of them in order to appear manly to their peers, in the process of constructing their manly identity. Minimising his drinking may also be a way for the participant to make this activity ‘acceptable’ to the researcher and he clearly excluded himself from the youth that drinks a lot. The literature reviewed in this study noted that men consuming alcohol is accepted in hegemonic masculinity. However, this study’s participants conflicted with this ideal as most of the participants were not comfortable with consuming alcohol, again showing personalised masculinities. Even though hegemonic masculinities do not specify age groups, they generally portray a man who is educated, with a white-collar job, materialistic wealth, all of which need time to acquire. One may assume the men to be older than those in this study. Participant 8 said:

‘I don’t... no, no... I do drink sister... but not a lot, I guess, I guess like if maybe there is an event, at a wedding or imbizo, but I don’t really care about alcohol... ja...I know the youth drinks a lot, but me... no, I don’t care.’ (Participant 8, 14.09.16)

Participant 3 introduced an interesting view that some boys are forced by local gangsters to drink. It appeared that some men may not have originally liked the idea of drinking but were coerced into it. Later they may come to enjoy the activity of drinking alcohol. Local gangsters could believe that a real man drinks hence they force others into it. The gangsters themselves could also be proving their manhood and control over others through such acts. Participant 3 showed an emotion which is classified as soft, he felt sorry for the other boys. Such feelings in masculinities are viewed as vulnerable and do not correlate with manhood as discussed by Timmers et al. (2003,41) (see 2.9 in the theoretical framework). The participant portrayed such emotion as acceptable for men. This could be the participant carving his own manly identity without needing the approval of others. He could be constructing a manly identity of his own terms, a personalised masculinity (see 2.6 in the theoretical framework). This participant said:

‘Personally, I don’t drink... no sister, I don’t like it...but I know guys my age drink... some sometimes I feel kind of like sorry for others... (Researcher: Why?)... Because some were

forced to drink by some local gangsters... like they force them, but this is a township sister, you know as well... ja. ' (Participant 3, 13.09.16)

It appeared that even though all the research participants admitted to being aware of alcohol abuse in their township, they distanced themselves from it. Those who admitted to drinking did so minimally. Others proudly admitted to not drinking alcohol due to dislike. The researcher could assume that they probably did not associate drinking alcohol with the concept of manhood. The study participants could also be aware that their age was not be appropriate for consuming alcohol and smoking, as suggested by Peralta (2007) they therefore utter what is 'expected'. Blackbeard and Lindegger (2007, 35) noted that some boys did not want to be involved in risky behaviours such as alcohol usage and smoking for the sake of fitting in. Also not liking alcohol could imply that they may perceive something wrong in consuming alcohol (as already discussed in section 5.2.5) or this could simply be a matter of preference. This also points to the negativity perceived as accompanying the act of drinking alcohol. When viewed as a form of manhood public performance, drinking may bring certain rewards that gender performances attract. Furthermore, the researcher observed during the interview sessions that participants positioned themselves in certain ways when they spoke about alcohol which suggests a significant level of caution not to represent themselves as 'drinking too much'. Thus, it seemed important for their performance of responsible manhood to the researcher that they portrayed themselves as occasional drinkers. Additionally, minimal drinking could also be an effort to conform to cultural expectations during certain occasions, or to custodians of ideals of hegemonic masculinities.

5.4 Institutions and structures

5.4.1 Educational settings

Thirteen of the study participants went to township schools, and two participants to multiracial schools in the local town. They suggested in their responses that the school environment significantly shaped their masculinities and their conception of manliness. Participant 1 acknowledged the impact that boarding had on his manhood construction: he said as young men, they related and fed off each other. He believed this to have laid some foundation for him on what it is to be a man. Discussions, language, terminology, thoughts, emotions and behaviours shared at school assisted to construct their identities. The following excerpt is illustrative:

‘And also what kinda helped me was going to boarding school... cos going to boarding to school, I think it was the only time when I actually had to, when I actually had the opportunity to sit down with other boys, and sitting down with those guys, you get to see what it’s like to be a guy. I mean...what it’s like, you know, be, be amongst men...’ (Participant 1, 13.09.16)

The young man encountered certain ideals of manliness in the school environment through his observation of other young men and the student culture he encountered at school. Thus, while school is meant to empower and develop the learner in ways that make them responsible and exemplary citizens, young men also learn several other behaviours and attitudes, some of which were not intended or desired. Schools are also institutions where fights were evident as discussed in the section on violence and control (see 5.2.6) and as said by this participant:

‘Like during tea break... sometimes, there would be like fight at school. We organised fights (laughs)... (Researcher: Why?)... just... just for fun sister... yes we understand we went to school for education (smiles), but sister come on, you know you can’t like ... look at the teacher the whole time you are there. So we did our own activities to make it more interesting.’ (Participant 12, 15.09.16)

Soccer is popular in township schools and assists in the manly identity constructed as discussed above in the section on sexuality (see 5.2.2), and as the supported by Participant 10 below:

‘I don’t know... I don’t think the community taught us anything per se, or perhaps when I still went to school... is school OK?... yes, sister, like I still went to school, at school we played soccer, and soccer was for men, and the girls would cheer us up... (Smile) you know... we felt and looks macho with our muscles...’ (Participant 10, 14.09.16)

Therefore, the educational setting significantly influenced participants’ formation as men. Identities are constructed in different social and formal settings as stated by Basdeo (2013); Blackbeard and Lindegger (2007, 34). By virtue of being in townships, townships schools have a history of violence and deteriorating infrastructure (Mampane and Bouwer, 2011; Blackbeard and Lindegger, 2007:28). It could also be due to the history of violence that in such schools, young men have come to naturalise aggression. Violence noticeable in township schools has included burning down of school buildings and equipment, school

pupils carrying guns and knives, stabbing of teachers, and physical fights between school pupils.

5.4.2 Home environments and society

Fourteen participants felt that their families did not verbally and directly tell them what being a man entailed. The examples quoted below show that within their families, participants were frequently not told but they observed how they were treated. For example, Participant 2 was never really told anything about manhood, but his family needed his approval before any decision was finalised and this demonstrated to him his importance in his family. He felt he had to figure it out along the way especially because his family regarded him as the head of the family (see section 2.8).

'I was never really told anything about being a man. I don't remember being told anything as such, but it's the way things are, you know, like even... also as much as my grandmother is old, older, but still she considers me for everything in the home... somehow like a, what can I call it? Like an approval, ja, I must agree first, they contact me for everything, ja.'

(Participant 2, 13.09.16)

Participant 1 below observed the community men, in trying to discover what manhood was. He watched his peers' behaviour and decided how he would act. The researcher can assume that he integrated what he approved of as part of his identity, rejecting what he may not have liked as discussed in theoretical framework (see section 2.8). He also regarded men from within the community that were not necessarily his relatives, as role models. He observed the gender roles that were assigned to men. In the midst of this, he constructed and continues to construct his manly identity. The participant said:

'By anyone cos I never had a father...so... For me being a man is something I had to figure out myself... I guess I figured it out by... (deep exhale), like... you, society tells you certain things, like, you, you see a.... a man's role, you know, from other families, and other men and other boys, boys your own age.' (Participant 1, 13.09.16).

No clear pictures of the participants' homes were offered during interviews, but these township homes may possibly not have provided the most conducive infrastructure for the best development of a child, even though they did make the best of their circumstances. A home environment is a place with different social interactions in which different languages are used. The language used has some impact on the construction of the male identity as confirmed by Haque (2013). The language and behaviour used when communicating with

siblings positions a young man or boy in a certain way as part of a hegemony (see section 3.4.2). Even though there is respect for the elderly, the man of the house maintains a powerful and superior position. There are practices within a home which promote superiority of men over women as indicated by Connell (2005). Each household and community has patterns of language and behaviour which shape the male identity (Connell, 2005; Phoenix et al., 2003). The behaviours of boys are about acting out their power positions (Haque, 2013; Pattman, 2007, 40) and developing an identity.

5.4.3 Relationships

The significance of relationships as a site for production, nurturing and sustenance of masculinity is an important theme in the data collected from Wembezi township men. The following quote shows the various modes of relating to parents, grandparents, siblings, girlfriends and friends. Participants learned to conform to certain expectations and ideals of manhood. Affiliations, friendships and relationships are important in the constructions of one's identity. Within the social interactions are the unspoken and sometimes spoken issues of gender. Participant 15 below believed these to be generational and traditional, implying the need to sustain them. Relationships seems to have taught the participant the female and gender definitions and norms, through behaviour. He said:

'Grandparents, their parents... from, from... I don't know, I think it's been around for years. Cos even when I was growing up, I don't know where it comes from, but growing up I could see that this is what being a man is, this is what being a woman is. I could see from the role that a woman played. Like you know when... you attend a gathering, and you find men sitting outside drinking beer and eating meat, and the women are in the kitchen. That's something that's been done for, I mean, when I was a child, you see, when I was a child, so it's been around for, way before me so I can't really say much about that, but it's the way things are, the way society is...' (Participant 15, 15.09.16)

Gender has been described as fluid by many scholars (Hearn, 2007; Courtenay, 2000). These are evident in the everyday interactions among people. There are the practices that are observed that build, sustain and reproduce the unequal power distribution between genders (Buiten and Naidoo, 2016; Courtenay, 2000). Throughout this study, relationships have been seen between the participants and women in their lives. The sisters, the grandmothers and the girlfriends of participants gave the men in their lives power by the way they related to them, and their acceptance and conformity to men's expression of manhood even when they did not

approve of it, such as in the cases of laundry discussed in the previous sections of this chapter (see sections 5.2.1, 5.2.2, 5.2.5, 5.2.5 and 5.2.7) and also in the literature review (see sections 3.4.2, 3.5 and 3.7). In other words, women are also complicit in the reproduction and maintenance of hegemonic masculinities. When one looks at abuse of women and violence, these too play a role in social construction of masculinity.

5.5 Perceived challenges in manhood construction and identities

From the general observations of the researcher, the participants in the study seemed to be comfortable with the norms and customs of their manhood identities and the influences of their constructions. It could be that they perceived nothing wrong because this was all they had been exposed to, therefore they did not know any better or worse; this was their reality. It could also be that the participants may have been aware of the challenges in the construction of manhood identity, but decided not to focus on this which could be due to the benefits of being superior to the women in their lives. They could have been aware but opted for not exposing this because this may have felt too personal for them and it is sometimes not easy for a person to consciously and verbally acknowledge that there is something wrong with his/her life.

The researcher noticed several possibilities of perceived challenges by the participants. The study participants never outwardly admitted to challenges, the researcher assumed these based on responses and context. There were a few participants who did not conform to societal expectations, but they held strong opinions about some aspects that were considered manly. For example, some participants felt the issue of house chores (see section 5.2.1) had nothing to do with manhood. Also, the issue of local gangsters forcing boys to drink (see section 5.3.3): some boys were against this and saw nothing manly about the act. The ability to engage in whatever activity without being accountable to anyone also emerged as being possible to challenge. One participant said that some boys and men do not move on from experimenting with unfavourable substances as discussed in the section on autonomy and manhood (see section 5.2.6). Unprotected sexual engagement may have also been a challenge: participants were aware of possibly contracting sexual infections but their manhood ideals did not let them change their behaviour as discussed in the section on sexuality (see section 5.2.2). Another loophole was evident when participant would bribe his sister to do his laundry; this shows a level of awareness that there is possibly something wrong in the system which has led to coercion and bribery of women as discussed in section 5.2.1.

5.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, the researcher has presented, analysed and discussed the findings of this study on how young men in Wembezi construct and perform their acquired notions and ideals of manhood and manliness. Centred around two overarching themes, the chapter detailed the understanding of men as primarily breadwinners and family heads and the sources of their identities. A significant running theme in this chapter was ambivalence which was manifested in the several themes and sub-themes discussed. For example, while hegemonic masculinities require men to be rigid and unsubmitive to others, the attainment of the ideals of such masculinity is predicated on the ability to submit to certain socially prescribed gender norms and roles. Additionally, participants in this study revealed a tendency to relate unfavourably to women, yet at the same time, this is done in order to portray certain images of manliness which is aimed at gaining appreciation, admiration and approval of women. This further highlighted the inconsistency, fluidity, contradictions in manhood, identity and the ways these are constructed. Finally, challenges to manhood constructions and identities that emerged with each theme were also discussed.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

The study aimed to investigate identities, characteristics and meanings attached to manhood and manliness according to the young Wembezi Township men. The study wished to uncover the processes in the construction of manhood in Wembezi Township. The study also wished to uncover perceived challenges by the participants, associated with manhood construction and identities in Wembezi Township. Manhood and manliness manifested in this study was seen at three levels, namely literal, symbolic and figurative (as presented in theoretical level, see section 2.12). Masculinity was literally seen through their views on homosexuality, their own sexually charged states, and it was based on having penises as according to Smiler (2006: 586). Symbolically, the study showed masculinity through the different behaviours, self-empowering language and interactions they had with the women in their lives. Figuratively, the study portrayed masculinity through how the men's choices of action were influenced because of certain beliefs and behaviours associated with manhood. This was seen in the dominant ways they behaved towards their women, household tasks and contexts – all of which assisted in the construction of their manhood identity.

Hegemonic masculinity was adopted as a theoretical framework. The study participants showed some of the hegemonic masculinity concept ideals, but not all. It must be noted that the study participants would not meet some of the hegemonic masculinity, by virtue of being black Africans, inadequately educated, and are not in professional jobs. The participants, however found ways to emphasise their male power so they could classify themselves as 'real man'. It could also be that the participants were trying to reinterpret the characteristics of hegemonic masculinity to fit their own position and experiences. Their belief in themselves as 'real men' was based on what they could do, mainly that they provided for their families through the piece-jobs they held. It is also through such tasks that their identities were constructed. The young study participants strongly associated manhood to the 'breadwinner' role. They felt that because they provide for their families, they qualified as 'real men'. They prided themselves with this role and identity, and it is the same character and identity that they felt exempted them from having to do house 'feminine' chores. The few that were comfortable doing house chores could be said to support hybrid masculinity (see section 2.5). The concept of self-reliant was seen throughout the literature reviewed. It was also through the relations they had with their family members, girlfriends and community at large that they

believed to have attained their manhood status. The young men felt the need to adhere to the traditional views of manhood- the men as the head and in control of his context and relationships, it was an identity for them. Some of which are based on the assumptions and concepts of hegemonic masculinity - male dominance over women, but also formed and did their own subjective personalised masculinity.

It must be noted that hegemonic masculinity is an academic term which the study participants may have no knowledge of, nor would they necessarily know of the distinction between different types of masculinities at an academic level, but they would have lived experiences of it. This would lead to the personalised masculinity. The researcher can assume that the study participants could have been aware that they did not fully meet the hegemonic masculinities, but they would not verbally express it. The researcher's assumptions are based on the general perceptions with exposure to the media (see sections 2.4 and 2.5). The researcher can assume, in this day and age, that the young men watch television which have different presentations of men. Such positioning could be the reason why some scholars have referred to the masculinity ideals as a burden rather than empowerment (Vandello, et al., 2013:210). The young men interviewed for this study desired most of the hegemonic masculinity characteristics. They wanted to be called 'real man', partially on their own terms, but also on those of the society, which could have been based on a different masculinity version with some facets of hegemonic masculinity. The theoretical framework exposed another type of masculinity, namely, personalised masculinity which could have assisted the participants to construct their masculine identities (see section 2.6). It also seemed important to them that their communities approved of them as 'real men'. In the construction of one's identity, the literature reviewed in this study addressed the issue of acceptance through different strategies (see sections 2.8, 3.4.1 and 3.7), as the research findings supported. Community approval seemed to be at any cost, even when the participants did not desire to conform. This could be viewed as some of the causes in the crisis in masculinity as discussed in the theoretical review (see section 2.5). There also appeared to be great deal of pressure to impress not only their peers, but themselves as well. To be viewed as masculine was important to the Wembezi men, it appeared to boost their self-esteem as they believed it formed their identity. Such influences correlate with the important of social context in the forming of one's identity.

The Wembezi participants voiced strong feelings against homosexuality, as in agreement with the literature, which placed gay men at a lower level hierarchically, hence referred to as

a marginalized masculinity. The ability for the participants to hierarchally position homosexuals meant power and superiority affirming that men are comfortable and desire to always be in power, even in relation to other men. The research participants perceived homosexuality as wrong and evil. They classified gay men as the minority and refused to accept them as real men. The participants' position was an identity for them, an identity of heterosexuality. It was through language, gestures, behaviours and relations that they were advocating for heterosexuality, which is approved by their society as the norm, therefore an expectation that they had to adhere to in constructing their identity. According to them, homosexuals defied manhood. This showed them as conforming to what is expected of men by the society as according to Connell (2005). They position themselves in accordance with what they believe is manly as suggested by the literature by Pattman (2007), they too have come to expect that of themselves, it is what they chose to identify themselves as supported by Phoenix et al. (2003). Forming their identity may have been partially subjective, but it was also majorly influenced by their context, an environment which allowed for male superiority to women and homosexuals, categorising them as the marginalised and subordinated masculinities (Casey et al., 2015). This study supported the notions by these masculinities, i.e. superiority to anything or anyone unmanly.

The majority of the participants believed that having multiple sexual partners to be the manly behaviour. They understood it to form part of their identity, hence the Zulu term '*isoka*'. The social structures within which the young men live approve of multiple partnership, these assist in influencing and forming the participants' identities. They internalised what their community expected of them as it formed part of their identities. The few who did not fully support this, still decided to have multiple sexual partners, which was to appear that they possess power and performing hegemonic masculinities as theatrics of 'real manhood'. '*Isoka*' is a label, character and a social role associated with 'real manhood' that the participants believed was an important identity as a man. The literature of physical attributes being important was confirmed in this study. The men in this study also voiced their enjoyment of looking energized and macho through soccer. Physical maturity and looks represented manhood, which could be aligned to being sexually charged, which they believe to be attractive, sexy and a huge part of being a 'real man'. This confirmed what the literature found that it is through social interactions that the male hegemony is created and sustained. The girlfriends and family members of the study participants seemed to accept their men as they perform the 'manly duties', they further expect the men to adhere to some of the

manhood ideals, and the ideals came to be known as natural. They were constant and consistent, and so became what was perceived as the reality which also becomes the expectation. Consequently, certain behaviours become the way of life for attaining the identity of manhood. Failure to comply with the manhood standards results in one failing the manhood test. This also correlated with the literature reviewed which addressed the notion of keeping up appearances for the sake of being viewed as 'real man' (see section 3.4). The participants' enjoyment of having sexual multiple sexual partners had an impact on their sexual engagement choices (see section 3.7 and 2.11.4). The literature in this study showed sexual practises to be highly gendered –at the cost of women, this study findings supported this as it found non- 100 % adherence of sexual practise protection. The researcher can argue this to have possible opposition to the self as discussed in the literature (see section 3.10). It may have health related future challenges. The health assumptions in relation to manhood that were discussed in the literature were partially agreed on by this study. The literature revealed that men are generally known for not taking care of their health mainly for appearances, but this study showed another possibility that it could be because men are physically strong therefore not easily deteriorated by illnesses, and not liking health care facilities due to infrastructure.

With the general aim to succeed in attaining equality between men and women, the young men in this study felt that such aspirations could not be achieved. They were sceptical. Even though interventions are put in place to achieve equality, this may prove difficult if such attitudes, internalized notions of manhood, and deeply established norms on manliness as displayed by my study participants reflect the prevailing social order. It appears that men wish to hang onto their hegemonic ideals as it makes them feel like 'real man'. They wish to hold onto this even though they too never fully achieve the hegemonic masculinity ideals. There could be an element of correctness that they wish to attain. The researcher could assume a certain level of awareness of not attaining the hegemonic masculinities, but because it sounds good and it keeps the male privileges, the participants are comfortable with the hegemony. The study supported the literature that says that gender is fluid. It was seen performances and actions which were dynamic and some proved contradictory.

It could be useful in the future to stimulate discussions and debates about gender and its construction and specifically creating and acceptance of new masculine identities. It would be more useful in such settings which appear to give less space for the men to negotiate their own sense because of the socio-economic state, so they end up adopting what has already

been created. It would also be worthwhile to rethink the hegemonic masculinity phenomenon, other perspectives could produce different and varied understandings of legitimising male privileges. Future research should also focus on the practices and privileges that men have. The sources of such practises should be investigated for a more thorough understanding of men and better practice towards transformation of society. Cultural elements in different relationships could also be examined, which could lead to renegotiations of the dominant masculinities. It could also be valuable to research methods or strategies that could assist men to be aware of their current constructions of manhood so that they could identify uncertainties, confusion, loopholes and unfair practises.

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