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Constructions of masculinity and violence in a popular daily tabloid newspaper.

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Masters Research Report

Constructions of masculinity and violence in a popular daily tabloid newspaper

A research project submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of MA by Coursework and Research Report in the field of Psychology in the Faculty of Humanities, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, on 3 January 2012.

I, Fadzai Petronella Matoushaya, declare that this research project is my own, unaided work. It has not been submitted before for any other degree or examination at this or any other university.

Signed: Date:

Abstract

The research was premised on the notion that gender is a social construct that is inextricably linked with masculinity and violence. This view of gender was used in an attempt to understand how masculinity and violence are constructed in the tabloid newspaper, the *Daily Sun*. The research used a discourse analysis, specifically looking at the various subject positions that are afforded to both men and women in this publication and how such positions foreclose other ways of thinking about and understanding gendered violence. The data set consisted of 23 information rich articles that were selected through the use of a purposeful sampling strategy. Results suggest that while the *Daily Sun* positions itself as a medium that aims to 'educate' men (particularly working class men) against committing gendered violence, the *Daily Sun* may serve to reinforce the system of patriarchy that it claims to want to dismantle. In particular, the report highlights the problematic nature and implications of providing individual psychological explanations for gendered violence without acknowledging the contextual issues that are at play.

Acknowledgments

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Chapter 1: Introduction

"Horny lecturer tells student: You strip, you pass!"

(2 March, 2011)

"She is 18 years old and like many young woman, she looks great in short skirts and shorts. But it seems that some so-called "men" have never seen legs before and thinks girls who show their knees are looking for quick sex!"

(3 March, 2011)

"No help for rape victim"

(3 March, 2011)

The above extracts serve as illustration of the kind of material that one can expect to find in the popular South African newspaper tabloid, the *Daily Sun*. The *Daily Sun* can be described as being about 'emotionalism, sensationalism and oversimplification' (Jones, Vanderhaegen & Viney, 2008, p. 167). What this means is this newspaper format is designed to make a thrilling impression upon the reader. Critics of the tabloid format argue that this sensationalism has a lowering effect on the standards of public discourse in the sense that the discourses that are found in such publications are not necessarily for the public good (Ornebring & Jonsson, 2004). The public good can be defined as the social opportunities that are afforded to people to engage with social issues in a meaningful way. An example of these social issues is gendered violence. On the other hand, the *Daily Sun* can also be argued to give its black working class readership a voice on social issues that directly concern them (Franklin, 2008).

The primary aim of this work is to understand constructions of masculinity and violence in a popular tabloid newspaper. In doing so, this work argues that while the newspaper is often constructed as for the good of men, but may actually serve to reinforce existing systems of power, namely, patriarchy. Patriarchy can be defined as men's domination by virtue of their sex (MacInnes, 1998). Kiguwa (2004) argues that although patriarchy can be experienced differently depending on factors such as culture, race, social and political diversity, it is still a universally experienced phenomenon. Similarly, one could argue that masculinity is experienced by men differently.

Both masculinity and violence were analysed as violence is often closely aligned with the construction of masculinities. Connell (2002) argues that violence can be used by men "as part of the practice by which particular men or groups of men claim respect, intimidate rivals, or try to gain material advantages" (p. 95). South Africa is a country with a history of violence and oppression. This has left a legacy that has permitted the emergence of particular types of masculinity that may be linked to the use of violence (Morrell, 2002). According to Morrell (2002) the anti-apartheid liberation struggle was not only a form of black resistance against oppression of different kinds but it was also a defence of one's masculine identity. One could argue that black resistance which often involved the use of violence was an acceptable way to assert one's masculine Identity.

Hegemonic masculinities refer to the dominant constructions of masculinity that are made available to men which help to reflect and shape men's social relationships with women and other men (Courtenay, 2000). Hegemonic masculinities can also be thought of as the standard against what men ameasure themselves and each other (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005).

Constructionism would argue that there is no single masculinity but rather there is a range of competing constructions of masculinity during any socio-historical period. Constructions of masculinity are often propagated in the media and one could argue that the media plays a role in forming one's gendered identity either as a male or a female (Thomson, 2002). This research was particularly interested in male gendered identities and whether these identities are embedded in violence or whether violence is an outcome of their masculine identies being thrawted. Additionally, the concern of this research was how this in turn would affect the gendered identies of women.

In attempting to understand male gendered identities I looked at the particular subject positions and discursive practices represented in the selected texts. Subject positions can be defined as the categories of action that are made available to men and women in the discourses on masculinity and violence in the *Daily Sun* (Wilbraham, 2004). In other words, men are addressed in particular ways in this publication that allow them to speak as certain kinds of people if these subject positions are taken up and accepted (Wilbraham, 2004). Therefore one would ask how men are spoken to and for in the *Daily Sun* and what implications are there for that manner of speaking. In other words, discourses offer certain ways of talking about a topic in that it defines acceptable ways of talking about and conducting oneself and by doing this it also rules out other ways of talking, that is, discourse can also be limiting or restrictive (Hall, 1997). This highlights why it is important in any analysis to highlight, what is not being said and what options or other ways of understanding a topic are being foreclosed.

Subject positions also permit one to understand and act on one's self in particular ways, in other words, it may mean that one performs and acts in a certain way depending on how one is positioned (Wilbraham, 2004). Therefore one of the main questions of this study is to see how masculinity and violence is constructed in this publication, what masculine identities are constructed and what implications these identities have for men, and also, importantly, for women who cannot be left out of such a discussion. In other words, one needs to acknowledge from the outset of this study, the gendered nature of these constructions. This means it concerns both men and women and has implications for both. One must note that focusing on masculinity is one way of understanding the gendered nature of the social world but it is not the only way of doing so. The study has chosen to focus on masculinity but that does not mean there are no other ways that one can understand the gendered nature of our social world (Clarke & Braun, 2009).

Discursive practice encompasses actual behaviour that are engaged in and followed by subjects to organise and regulate good conduct (Wilbraham, 2004). In relation to positioning theory, which was used in the analysis of the selected texts, the focal point to bear in mind is the manner in which discursive practices represent the speakers and hearers in certain ways as well as being a space through which the speakers and hearers can negotiate new positions, that is, new categories of action (Davies & Harre, 1990).

Positioning theory involves a conceptual range of possibilities and for those who use that repertoire there is a structure of rights that is open to them (Davies & Harre, 2002). Once an individual has taken up a specific subject position they are likely to view the world in those

terms, that is, the viewpoint of the subject position. These positions which can also be thought of as possibilities vary in terms of the power that it offers individuals which illustrates how different discourses vary in power (Gavey, 1989). Gavey (1989) would argue, for example, that dominant hegemonic understandings of masculinity gain popularity for men by appearing to be natural, denying their obvious leanings and influence by appealing to common sense.

It is also worth noting that there are many different discursive practices available to individuals that the individual could engage with (Davies & Harre, 1990). These discursive practices are often contradictory in the sense that discourses are multiple and offer competing ways of understanding the world (Gavey, 1989). Davies and Harre (1990) argue that an individual is immersed in a process that is described as a social interaction where the discursive practices that one takes part in result in one's continued reconstitution depending on what discursive practice they take part in. This implies that there is no one way of understanding who one is, that is, the answer is always changing given the fluid and ever changing nature of an individual; depending on what subject positions they choose to adopt or are made available to them within discursive practices and how one chooses to make sense of who they are based on that (Gavey, 1989).

The next section of the research report will look at the rationale for the study by providing argument for why this research was necessary.

1.1 Rationale for the study

Despite the criticisms often directed at this publication (see for example, Franklin, 2008) one could argue that the *Daily Sun* serves a public good. On the surface, it does seem to do this in the sense that the reporting of commonplace routine news stories in this publication constructs an alternative political discourse to that which is espoused by mainstream media. The *Daily Sun* and other formats like it highlight the difficulties experienced by those that have often been marginalised or have previously been disadvantaged, for example, the working class, unemployed and black people. Their stories are either misrepresented or ignored by mainstream media outlets or are covered in such a distant way that makes them irrelevant (Wasserman, 2008). The *Daily Sun* has changed this by affording people the opportunity to tell their story and bring the struggles of their everyday life into the public arena. The *Daily Sun* does this by informing and educating men and women on appropriate ways of behaving usually by telling the reader how not to behave or by chastising for behaving badly. However, no research has ever examined how the *Daily Sun* does this discursively and, more importantly, how this may serve to reinforce existing systems of patriarchy.

In line with Sacco's (1995) work on media constructions and crime, an important avenue for this research is the focus on media constructions of violence. The media is considered an important avenue in which individual's private troubles with regards to issues such as violence enter into public awareness which in turn creates public consciousness on violence and how it is regarded (Sacco, 1995). This process is very important in the sense that the various media outlets have particular constraints placed upon them with regards to the news

gathering process and therefore they choose, sort and contextualise news stories regarding violence in various ways. This has some bearing on what kind of public consciousness will be created and what subject positions will be made available. Therefore looking at a newspaper like the *Daily Sun* may shed some light into how this particular publication constructs violence and can show what categories of action are made available and how this can be limiting or restricting.

This type of research is necessary because it can go some way into understanding how some publications whose goal appears to serve a public good by challenging systems of power could serve to reinforce the very systems it claims to be working to undermine. Therefore a qualitative understanding of this may increase knowledge regarding how for example, hegemonic masculinities and other systems of power can be challenged and deconstructed in order to foster greater equality between men and women by highlighting and examining what Gavey (1989) argues often takes on the appearance of being naturally occurring and common sense.

A study of this nature also shows how men may be just as constrained by the constructions of gender as women are in the way that they are represented in a publication such as the *Daily Sun*, for example, Clarke and Braun (2009) argue that some of the traditional constructions of masculinity can be detrimental to men's health and wellbeing by promoting increased risk taking behaviour which could lead to increased risk of contracting sexually transmitted diseases. Ratele (2008b, p. 25) argued that the hegemonic form of masculinity that resides in this context can be described as a "heterosexual patriarchal capitalist masculinity" and despite the changes in society that have taken place, for example, women gaining greater control over their bodies and increased human rights for homosexuals, men have for the most part seemed

unable to adapt from the traditional construction of masculinity which has seen a greater rise in coercive, violent attacks by men on women, children and other men in order to restore what they consider to be a loss of social order. Ratele (2008b, p. 28) argues that “the practices of men and gender relations, despite changes in the legal and constitutional order, have generally refused to change that much”.

The previous chapter has focused on introducing the research topic and providing an argument for undertaking this research. The research report will now focus on the literature review in order to provide a theoretical backdrop to the research. The literature review will start off by looking at the importance of gender to this study because the social construction of gender is relevant to any discussion on masculinity and violence.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2. 1 Introduction

The literature review will start by outlining a post structural understanding of gender. The Post structuralism paradigm encompasses the idea that the subject is not an integrated or consistent whole meaning their identity can be regarded as having multiple aspects that can be contradictory (Wilbraham, 2004). Shefer (2004) argues that gender cannot be thought of in binary terms, that is, male and female. The reasoning for this binary conceptualisation is that it helps individuals to make sense of a society that still has discernible evidence of inequality between men and women by imagining gender difference between them where it does not really exist (McInnes, 1998). Post structuralism challenges this binary conceptualisation of gender and argues that there are multiple genders and that gender is fluid in nature, contextual and partly irrational (Shefer, 2004). This is an important aspect for the study because it can be understood that the discourses that are found in a publication like the *Daily Sun* offer the reader subject positions, that is, roles and categories of action which are taken up and performed in different circumstances whilst discarded in others (Wilbraham, 2004). In other words, gender is socially constructed. The literature review will show how gender is linked to and is important in the understanding of masculinity and violence.

2.2 The importance of Gender

The issue of gender is pivotal to this study of masculinity and violence especially if the goal is to adopt a critical stance. Since this research is primarily focused on looking at the health

problem of violence, particularly violence against women by men, it is important to look at this problem as being essentially influenced by gender and power (Boonzaier, 2006). In this research report I viewed gender as a performative act by the body influenced by the available historical conventions and context of the time (Butler, 1988). Shefer (2004) argues that this means the body is seen as a vehicle for the inscription of masculinity and femininity. This is not to say that the body is regarded as a passive vehicle but rather that the body is thought to be subjected to and active in resisting discourse (Shefer, 2004). The study therefore aims to explore the discourses found in the *Daily Sun* regarding masculinity and violence and what subject positions are offered in such a text and whether these available subject positions have constraining or beneficial implications for subjects, particularly with regards to their health (Wilbraham, 2004).

Before elaborating further on how I have chosen to understand gender, it is important to note that this is not the only way one could understand gender, for example I could have adopted an essentialist view of gender, that argues that gender is a stable and fixed characteristic of an individual and their personality and does not change despite being placed in various contexts (Clarke & Braun, 2009). Another way of understanding gender is the social psychological view. An example of this comes in the shape of the expectancy role theory where essentially one theorises that beliefs around gender cause specific behaviours and this causal relationship also works in the reverse in the sense that behaviours cause certain beliefs around gender to come into being (Geis, 1993). In other words, stereotypical beliefs about men and women may result in biased perceptions and certain discriminatory practices against women. These stereotypical beliefs come into being as a result of socialisation which can be defined as that which is learnt from an early age by an individual concerning culture and society (Thomson, 2002). This is an inherently gendered experience in the sense that men and women create

gender identities for themselves, for example, men learn what behaviours are expected of them and based on these learnt behaviours they perform in order to be considered masculine (Thomson, 2002). Therefore there are multiple ways in which one could understand Gender but I have chosen to look at gender as a social construct, looking at gender as something one does as opposed to something that one is inherently born with (Clarke & Braun, 2009).

In support of the performative nature of gender, Butler (1988) argues that the very idea of gender comes about in the performance of various acts and if there was no such performance of these acts then there would be no such thing as gender at all. This implies that there is a certain way to perform that has been tacitly agreed upon. Gender is something that we do outwardly and is not dictated by some internal essence as is often implied when one is talking about being masculine or being feminine (West & Zimmerman, 1987). Butler (1988, p. 521) described it as a "concrete expression in the world must be understood as the taking up and rendering of a set of historical possibilities". It is important to note that even though we are active agents in performing gender, we are restricted by the available historical conventions which limit the possibilities of how our bodies can be used to act out gender. Through discourses on gender, one is provided with tools to act out one's gender (Shefer, 2004). Therefore the research looked at what discourses are available to both men and women in the *Daily Sun* and what tools are provided to them to act out their gender specifically because this research was concerned with masculinity, I wanted to show how men as a group are constrained by the constructions of gender just as much as women are. For example, traditional constructions of masculinity concerning rationality, individualism and aggressiveness can be detrimental to men's health because if they strongly endorse these constructions then they are less likely to seek help for their health problems (Clarke & Braun, 2009).

Gender is not considered merely an act but an act that has consequences (Butler, 1988). This is an important point to make as it goes some way in helping one to understand why certain gender 'acts' are punished which forms a type of social control so for example the media prescribes a certain way for women and men to behave and if one does not conform to those norms they are considered deviant and are often punished for this. An example for this could be the continued violence against homosexuals by heterosexuals (Schofield, Connell,Walker, Wood & Butland, 2000). There are extremely powerful and pervasive sanctions against homosexuality and these restrictions are said to have strong negative effects on the behaviour and well-being of homosexual and bisexual men (Lee & Owens, 2002). This may have many implications which include things such as social isolation, exposure to violence, high levels of suicide and self-harm and unsafe sexual practices which can all be considered to affect health outcomes of men adversely (Lee & Owens, 2002). This kind of discourse not only has implications for homosexual and bisexual men in that it limits their behaviour but also for heterosexual men who may fear being suspected of homosexuality it may result in decreasing involvement in what is considered traditionally 'feminine' activities such as help seeking behaviour (see, for example, Addis & Mahalik, 2003) and the expression of emotions (see, for example, Lyons & Willott, 1999).

Constructions of masculinity are thus very important in this regard, particularly to men's health. Mahalik, Burns and Syzdek (2007) argue that constructions of masculinity are very important because for example, a man who constructs masculinity as being a risk taker will engage in risk taking behaviour such as drinking excessively which may be detrimental to his health. Similarly a man who subscribes to the traditional notion of masculinity is agued to be more at risk of becoming violent or aggressive (Mahalik, Lagan, & Morrison, 2006). This is

why it is important that this study links gender with masculinity and violence and sees them as discursive practices that are inextricably linked.

This concept of discursive practices is important to the study because the study aims to show how the *Daily Sun* deploys particular discursive practices that govern masculinity and violence. A special focus on men's gendered experience in the men's health literature can be reffered to as critical studies on men (CSM) which is "the study of the gendered nature of men's lives" (Lohan, 2007, p. 494). The following section focuses on CSM to show its importance to this study.

2.3 Critical Studies on Men

CSM has three main principles, the first of which is that gender is socially constructed. Gender can be thought of as a socio cultural concept whereby men and women are linked through social mechanisms that may significantly affect their health (Schofield, Connell, Walker, Wood, & Butland, 2000). This means that CSM looks to critically address men in the context of gendered power relations (Hearn, 2004). The second principle of CSM is that it is an attempt to challenge hegemonic masculinity. Hegemonic masculinity can be defined as "the socially dominant gender construction that subordinates femininities as well as other forms of masculinity, and reflects and shapes men's social relationships with women and other men; it represents power and authority" (Courtenay, 2000, p. 1388). These dominant constructions of masculinity have an impact on men's self-representations and behaviours, including their health related behaviours (Gough, 2007, p. 327). This is the case because

certain ways of thinking and talking about a topic are foreclosed in the presence of dominant constructions and discourses of masculinity.

Therefore one of CSM's aim is to find out what the dominant masculinity is in a specific context and how that idea of masculinity relates to men's health in terms of what options and choices appear to be open to them and what are not. In other words and in relation to this particular study, to show how this tabloid constructs masculinity and violence and what options are foreclosed.

The third and final principle of CSM is that of challenging gender power relations that exist and continue to impact adversly on both men's and women's lives (Lohan, 2007). Therefore one of CSM does not exclude women as previous men's studies have done in the past (Lohan, 2007) but to rather acknowledge that men and women are linked in very complex ways that are socially embedded and in order to fully help both men and women improve on their health or and other aspecta that make up their social world, one needs to look at gender relations and how they are socially constructed to be able to fully understand it and work to change it if the need arises. Hearn (2004, p. 50) argues that a way to reduce the risk of falling into the trap of re-excluding women is to constantly "examine the specific ways in which men exist as and in gendered power relations, with women, children, young people and each other".

A definition was given for what hegemonic masculinity is. It is important to acknowledge that this definition of masculinity does not encompass all men's experiences, hence the earlier emphasis of masculinity being fluid and context specific. Therefore, hegemonic masculinity

is by no means the only pattern of masculinity that can be witnessed in everyday practices, there are also subordinated masculinities, of which the most important in the western culture is homosexual masculinity (Schofield, Connell, Walker, Wood, & Butland, 2000). In the context of south africa, work done by Ratele, Fouten, Shefer, Strebel, Shabalala and Buikema (2007) showed that resistance to practices which are traditionally thought of as feminine child rearing is pivotal to the performance of one's masculinity with the real threat of being labelled a homosexual as a form of punishment for wandering too far into what is thought of as a traditionally female territory. The study therfore aims to find out what kind of constructions of masculinity dominates a tabloid like *Daily Sun* and what kind of masculinites it subordinates by looking at what subject positions or categories of action are made available in the discourses found in such a text. In other words, to ask, who is adressed by this text and in what manner? After having been addressed in that particular way what is expexted of the adressed? And finally what obligations and rights are bestowed upon these subjects (Parker, 1992)?.

Lee and Owens (2002) argue that mainstream psychology tends to be unaware or at least does not explicitly allude to the fact that the concepts of gender and masculinity are socially constructed and play a role in restricting men's lives and thus affecting their health. This highlights the fact that we cannot hope to fully understand individuals without taking into consideration the sociocultural context that surround these individuals. This calls for a movement towards finding "social explanations and solutions to the problems of individual lives" (Lee & Owens, 2002, p. 213). Therefore the media can be thought of as a contextual factor and we can go some way into understanding the individual if we also put this into consideration. This study will therefore adopt an approach that fully aknowledges that gender and masculinity are socially constructed, and how these constructions are played out in an

African context that focuses specifically on violence. The research report will now move onto looking at the concept of violence which is being used as the main object of study. Violence can be treated as a men's health issue.

2.4 Gender ,Violence and Men's Health

Violence is a global problem that has emerged in many forms and is a major concern for all societies, specifically in the South African context where the problem has reached endemic levels (Boonzaier, 2006). South Africa has extremely high levels of sexual and domestic violence which has contributed to one of the highest HIV prevalence rates in the world (Peacock & Levack, 2004). Boonzaier (2006) who focuses on abuse against women has offerred some helpful insights into this by arguing that focusing on gender and power can be used to understand the dynamics of violence against women. Additionally, other structures of power, such as race and class also shape meaning surrounding women's abuse (Boonzaier, 2006). There are pieces of research that have highlighted some discourses that are available to men that eitheir justify the use of violence against women or legitimise its use as a mode in which one can control women.

Some of these discourses include, blame, denial and minimisation, for example in a study conducted by Stamp and Sabourin (1995; as cited in Boonzaier, 2004) show how men justify their violence by blaming it on a loss of control, loss of senses or growing frustration. In some cases, interpersonal explanations are given such as behaviours and personalities displayed by partners, consumption of alcohol or jelousy. Other examples of discourses

include instrumental dicourses which were highlighted by Hearn (1998) who argues that men form masculine identities through which they can control women and these identities become natural and form part of what can be refferred to as men's patriarchal authority. In other words, violence is used as an instrument to exert authority and control over women (Boonzaier, 2004). Therefore, in my research I wanted to look at constructions of masculinity and violence in the *Daily Sun* in order to establish what kind of discourses run through the paper and how they work to reinforce existing systems of power such as patriarchy.

Boonzaier (2004, p. 445) argues that "the practice and discourse of violence provide an opportunity for men to reconstruct contested and unstable masculinities shaped by cultural and structural changes". For example, if one's gender identity is thrawted, that is, for some reason men are not able to take up certain gendered subject positions then a masculine identity crisis could occur which is then attempted to be resloved through the use of violence thus reinfocing hegemonic masculinities (Boonzaier, 2004). Another way of looking at it is that the use of violence or merely its threat of use forms a part of the foundation of the continued perpetuation of uneqaul societal relations between men and women (Ratele, 2008a).

Agression or violence can be considered a health issue that can arise from different constructions of masculinity and has been the a focus of interest for men's health (Schofield, Connell, Walker, Wood, & Butland, 2000). Another example that has been looked at is the issue of gender based violence. Gender based violence is a major public health problem with South Africa having some of the worst known figiures (Moffett, 2006). Morrell (2007) argued that South Africa's high levels of violence can be connected to its historical

constructions of masculinity. Apartheid has helped to construct a masculinity that endorsed and legitimised violence in many different contexts both private and publicly in the sense that the dominant group regulated blacks by constantly reminding them of their subordinate, inferior status (Moffett, 2006). Moffet (2006) argues that today, it is gender as opposed to race that is graded with women being the ones that are regulated through the practice of gender based violence. Moffett (2006) adds that there may be the possibility that men are buying into the perception that engaging in violence against women is actually performing the neccessary work of social stabilisation. This research would therfore want to see if such practices are reinforced or challenged in discourses found in the *Daily Sun*.

Morrell (2007) has expressed concern over the position of men in Africa. When looking at Africa, one of the most impoverished regions in the world, Morrell (2007) theorizes that men may have responded inadequately to the challenges that have come about due to poverty which may have contributed adversely to their health and increased instances of alcohol abuse, infidelity and instances of violence.

So far, the research report has argued for looking at the gendered experience of men (Addis & Cohane, 2005). How masculinity is constructed leads to the assigning of specific gender roles that can be restrictive and impact on the health of both men and women. Previous men's health studies had tended to focus on sex differences, treating gender as having no bearing on health and on one's lived reality. A way of studying that gendered experience of men is to look at how masculinity and violence is represented in the media so the next section will be a review of some of the studies that have been done that have looked at men's heath and the media as a background into where a study such as this would be located.

2.5 Men's health and the media

Courtney (2002) argues that the various kinds of social practices and behaviours that women and men take part in are ways in which we show our femininity and masculinity. In other words, this gender enactment is a performance (Butler, 1988). This paper looks at violence as problematic health behaviour that men engage in. The argument here is that violent behaviours may be used by men in their daily interactions and results in the social structuring of gender and power, that is, violence may be used as a means to construct one's masculinity (Courtney, 2000). In other words, the study looks to see if violence could be a signifier of masculinity, that is, whether violence is seen as a legitimate instrument that men use in the negotiation of their status and social position as men. This will be examined looking at articles in the newspaper publication the *Daily Sun*. It should also be noted that the media coverage of men's health issues such as violence, help seeking, early detection and so on is an important site of social discourse. It is important for this to happen because it serves as medium through which men's health becomes more meaningful. It must also be noted that this is not a passive process in the sense that men meekly accept what they see in the media, it is said to be something that is constantly negotiated, resisted and interpreted by men (Hodgetts & Chamberlain, 2002).

Research that looks at how men and their ideas around masculinity are represented in different forms of media is not a new research area and has received a great deal of attention (Seymour-Smith, Wetherell, & Phoenix, 2002), for example, there was some interesting work done internationally by Benwell (2003) who looked at how masculinity was constructed in men's lifestyle magazines such as *Loaded,* arguing that "men's lifestyle magazines are both

representative site and mobilizing force of crucial cultural shifts in masculinity" (Benwell, 2003, p. 7). The same thing can be argued for newspaper publications such as *Daily* Sun, whose readership is large and may very well be used as a site for change in ideas around masculinity in the South African context particularly considering the target audience is one that can be considered marginalised, that is the poor and the working class.

Other studies include those done by Gough (2006) who looked at constructions of men's health presented in a special feature of a UK national newspaper, *The Observer.* The study showed that the newspaper was shown to reinforce and reflect ideas surrounding the concept hegemonic masculinities and that those who endorsed this form of masculinity were reluctant to talk about personal issues, a sense of invulnerability, an ability to endure pain, and risk-taking, all things that adversely affect their health.

Gough (2007) conducted another study in United Kingdom newspaper articles about men and dieting and found that hegemonic masculinities go some way in influencing how the media represents men and dieting in their articles. These studies are similar to the purpose of the proposed study however there are some key differences, one being that the context is different and there is a special focus on violence and how it may be embedded in the constructions of different forms of masculinity that might be found in a publication like the Daily Sun. The above mentioned studies were conducted in Britain and were more concerned with men's lifestyle. The paper has already mentioned that masculinities change due to context (Bhana, Morrell, Hearn & Moletsane, 2007). Therefore, a similar study is worth doing in the South African context because of contextual factors such as violence, the HIV and AIDS crisis and political transformation from a repressive system to democracy among

other things which has somewhat helped to change gender relations between men and women in South Africa and change how masculinity is constructed (Chadwick, 2007).

Walker (2005, p. 236) argues that South Africa's move towards democracy has had some very contradictory effects for men in the sense that "old masculinities have been exposed, and the lid on sexual violence has been lifted" leaving what is described as confusion and uncertainty around the nature of masculinity. This confusion, not only lies with men who are trying to negotiate with these new notions of what manhood is but also by scholars who are also grappling to figure out how it all fits together. These and other factors have probably affected the way masculinity has been constructed in this context so it may not necessarily follow that what has been found in studies in the European context will be found in this study.

Similar studies include those done by Crawshaw (2007) and Alexander (2003) who both also used the *Men's Health* magazine. Alexander (2003) using a content analysis came up with what she referred to as "branded masculinity" where she highlighted the influence of capitalism which creates insecurity in men and constructs men as needing muscles and good fashion sense and financial success to be of any consequence as man. This places a lot of pressure on men to behave in certain ways to achieve this "branded masculinity". It is unclear whether the *Daily Sun* subscribes to a "branded masculinity" but it would be interesting to find out if it does and in what kind of way it is constructed and whether it runs parallel to Alexander's (2003) concept or whether it diverges because of the context considering that the socio economic bracket of individuals who form the majority of the readership are of a lower variety and thus may not subscribe to a "branded masculinity".

However there is evidence to suggest that "branded masculinity" does play a part in the *Daily Sun* but in a different way. For example, Gibbs and Jobson (2011) who conducted a narrative analysis on articles that spanned a week in this same tabloid of interest and argued that there were a lot of narratives that were framed in an aspirational manner or 'rags-to-riches' story which may influence working class men to believe that such elevation is possible with all the perks that come with it such as subscribing to a 'branded masculinity'. Crawshaw (2007) who conducted a discourse analysis on the publication also concluded as did Gough (2006) that the magazine reinforces and reflects hegemonic masculinity. A hegemonic masculinity that emphasises that the individual is in charge of his well-being (Crawshaw, 2007). This may be a problematic way to construct men as a healthy male citizen with the ability to manage and be responsible for his own health when this may not be possible particularly in the South African context whereby there are factors beyond the individual's immediate control that may impinge upon their health.

The Gibbs and Jobson (2011) study also highlight the importance of looking at the concept of violence. They conclude a number of things about the influence of violence on masculinities and how it may relate to health behaviours. For example Gibbs and Jobson (2011, p. 181) argue that "The possibility of violent death that confronts readers of the *Daily Sun* on a daily basis may influence men's decisions to engage in sexual behaviours associated with higher risks of HIV infection. High levels of violence, and the awareness of violence, may be an important contextual factor influencing individuals' risk behaviours". Therefore, it would be interesting to find out what results will be obtained from this current study which is premised on the same ideas but uses a different methodological instrument to achieve its end that is believed to be more nuanced in revealing the multiple constructions that may exist in such a publication, that is, show what role discourses serve, for example, how subjects are

positioned and how such positioning may affect how one understands and acts on themselves (Wilbraham, 2004).

The studies reviewed highlighted that masculinity and how it is constructed strongly influence men on whether they take up certain health promoting behaviours and adopt healthier lifestyles or take up behaviours that may not be of benefit to their health (Lee & Owens, 2002, Courtenay, 2000). Therefore the increasing focus of men, particularly violence and how this is all represented in different forms of media presents an important research opportunity to find out what discourse is out there about men's health, whether violence is embedded in constructions of masculinity and how this could possibly impinge upon men's health in terms of what opportunities are afforded to them or foreclosed.

The growth in interest on men's health may have been facilitated by the media who have generally encouraged men to take up active roles in their health and well-being and take up healthier lifestyles (Schofield, Connell, Walker, Wood, & Butland, 2000). However these same media outlets could also have contradictory discourses that may subscribe to advers health effects for men who choose to take up some of those discourses. However, the question for this particular study is how. How have publications like the *Daily Sun* encouraged health promoting behaviours or do they actually serve an inhibitory function, particularly in their constructions of masculinity and violence?

There is research that suggests that messages about masculinity in the media can be contradictory as evidenced in the local work done by Schneider, Cockcroft and Hook (2008)

who did a discourse analysis of male sexuality in a South African men's lifestyle magazine called *Men's health* and concluded that male sexuality was no simple issue and was often a contradictory matter and often used as a means for assessing one's level of masculinity. This study saw masculinities as doing two things. On one hand, sex was viewed as a source of pleasure and power whilst on the other hand it created feelings of anxiety about the possibility of sexual failure which implies a contradictory experience for men (Schneider, Cockcroft, & Hook, 2008). Schneider, Cockcroft and Hook (2008) argue that for a man, sex can serve two purposes, to either consolidate or deny one's masculine gender identity. Clearly sexual health is important and depending on how masculinity is constructed and whether men believe that they can live up to these ideals will help one to understand men's health better. Similarly, violence and how is it is constructed may have some bearing on men's health Therefore the concept of violence is of vital importance especially given the context in which the study is happening and the high rates of men being violent in some form or another (Peacock & Levack, 2004).

Another contradiction pointed out by Stibbe (2004) in his analysis on *Men's Health* magazine, was that whilst giving rich, helpful pieces of health advice, the magazine does so in a way that reproduces hegemonic masculinity that is associated with negative health behaviours as opposed to positive ones as is initially inferred when one initially looks at the articles. Stibbe (2004) argues that the *Men's Health* may have some hidden ideological agendas that encompass the reproduction of male power and domination in the sense that the discourse in this publication places great emphasis on the importance things such as muscle size, abuse of alcohol, sports, and violence. In the current studies there may indeed contradictions of this nature in the constructions of masculinity and violence, that is, discourses in the same publication that may either promote health, for example, work to

reduce violence or have adverse effects on health, such as endorsing the use of violence, for example.

O'Brien, Hunt and Hart (2005) conducted a study in Scotland where they were interested in health seeking behaviour, specifically men's experiences of consultation in relation to their constructions of masculinity. The study found that there is a widespread acceptance of the hegemonic masculinity view that men should be reluctant to seek help in health matters. However, the study also pointed out instances in which men deviate from the dominant view of help seeking but it was linked to the preserving of a more valued enactment of one's masculinity such as sexual performance and function. In other words, men are willing to deviate from a dominant view of masculinity such as reluctance to seek medical help if there is a more valued masculinity ideal that has to be preserved such as sexual prowess. That is a particularly interesting avenue of research in the sense that possibly in the *Daily Sun* there may be constructions of masculinity that are more valued over others and what implications may this have for men's health, particularly the health issue of violence.

Ganon, Glover and Abel (2004) conducted a discourse analysis on newspaper articles pertaining to infertility and the stigma surrounding it. Men were seen as vulnerable and in danger from things that were outside of their immediate control. The results were also in line with the concept of hegemonic masculinity as has been the case with a lot of the studies reviewed. What was most interesting about this study was that it highlighted that men are offered a limited set of options in terms of perceiving and representing their bodies and their health, that is, they are usually presented in stereotypical ways with the use of mechanical

and war analogies. This is very important to the study because, one would aim to find out how men are presented in the publication under study, how are they restricted and what options are open to them in relation to masculinity and violence.

This section of the literature review provided a review of some studies that pertain to men's health and the media in order to provide some background for the current study and to show where this particular study will lie in relation to these studies. The next part of the literature review will now look to highlight on some of the gaps in the literature that have been alluded to throughout the literature review which this current study hopes to fill.

2.6 Gaps in the literature

The link between the construction of masculinity and violence has been estabished but not a lot is known in this specific context, particularly in this particular publication that targets the working class. Most studies have used media publications that do not tap into this particular cohort of men. It would thefore be vital to understand the constructions of masculinity and violence using a media format that is pouplar, far reaching and also targets the poor, working class sector of society, an often historically overlooked class (Wasserman, 2008). A lot of research has focused on publications such as *Men's Health* but the difficulty in using these publications is that these magazines are targeted towards middle to upper class males therefore what is found may not be applicable to for example, to working class men. Therefore using a publication like the *Daily Sun* provides a different entry point to undertsand constructions of masculinity and violence in the South African context.

How the data was selected for analysis is an important aspect to elaborate on. Even in those studies that have used newspaper publications that were not necessarily directed towards men specifically used articles where the main focus was men's health (for example, Gough, 2007) or they used a particular time period in which they thought that the topic of interest would be displayed the most (for example, Gibbs & jobson, 2011). This study did not specifically use articles that encompass men's health or used a special feature on men's health, rather the study used articles that are found on a daily basis that encompass issues of violence in order to tap into the actual lived experiences of the individuals that are featured in articles in the *Daily Sun*.

The literature review began by highlighting the importance of gender in the sense that this study has chosen to take post structuralist perspective on gender. It highlighted that gender was socially constructed and that it was a performance and media publication like the *Daily Sun* gives individuals symbolic tools in which to enact their gender. It then highlighted the importance of Cristical Studies on Men (CSM) as a means to with which one can examine detailed ways in which men exist in gendered power relations, with women, children, young people and each other which is a vital exploratory path in the study. The literature review then looked at violence as a particular health issue that could not be seperated from gender and power. Finally, the literature review provided an extensive review of studies on men's health and the media to show the importance of media as a medium through which men's health is made more meaningful to men and gives them tools as well as offers subject positions with which to act. Having provided an extensive literature review the report will now establish the main Research questions the paper intends to answer.

2.7 Research questions

1. How is masculinity constructed in articles related to violence in a popular South African tabloid newspaper ?
2. How do these constructions foreclose other ways of understanding gendered violence?
3. How do constructions of gendered violence reinforce existing systems of power such as patriarchy?

Chapter 3 Methods

The research emphasises the socially constructed nature of gender and based on this social constructionist leaning as well as the adoption of a critical stance it was decided that a qualitative methodology would be the most appropriate to adopt.

Research design

A qualitative research design is primarily concerned with interpretation as well as the distance between the researcher and what is being researched (Boonzaier & Shefer, 2006). Interpretation encompasses an understanding around human experience as opposed to offering explanations or predicting human behaviour by means of statistics. The centrality of the researcher to what is being researched is also emphasised. Qualitative research emphasises that as a researcher, one is not neutral and one should acknowledge the particular position from which one is coming from in order to highlight how one came up with certain interpretations and constructed meaning (Boonzaier & Shefer, 2006).

3.1 Data collection and source

The *Daily Sun* is a daily publication that was first established in the year 2002. It is only available in English and has an estimated readership of 4 million people making it the most popular publication in South Africa (Wasserman, 2008). Articles depicting violence from the *Daily Sun* were analysed.

The sample included articles that centrally and explicitly addressed violence of different kinds. Typically the type of violence that the researcher was most interested in was that of gendered violence given the study's focus on gender identities. Gender violence is a commonplace in most societies and can take various forms that include emotional, physical, dating violence, just to name a few (Thomson, 2002). In daily publications where there was more than one article that addressed violence, both articles were included in the sample. The sample only included news articles.

3. 2 Sampling

3.2.1 Sampling

The sampling strategy used was purposeful sampling specifically intensity sampling which looks for cases that are rich in information that manifest the phenomenon of interest intensely (Patton, 2001). In this specific research the phenomenon that was of particular interest was that of violence as a means to understand masculinity. Intensity sampling requires that the researcher do some prior exploration before data is collected in order to get a sense of the phenomenon as well as the variety that exists regarding this phenomenon (Patton, 2001). This is done in order to truly sample intense cases that are of interest to the research (Patton, 2001). The researcher began this endeavour by firstly merely reading the *Daily Sun* to get a sense of what kind of articles this outlet covers. The process was difficult in the sense that it was difficult to discern what would constitute an extreme or deviant case and even what would be considered more normal because they all appeared to be quite extreme given the

limited experience the researcher had with the tabloid format. This was made doubly difficult by the general sensationalist writing style that is characteristic of the paper.

3.2.2 Sampling procedure

Articles for inclusion in the sample were done using an online keyword search. The *Daily Sun* Newspaper has its own database where one can search for articles online. Ultimately the Daily Sun database was chosen owing to the convenience in accessing the database as well as the time allocated to complete this research report which was a relatively short period of time. Other databases included the computerised database that was formed in partnership with SA Media and the University of the Free State. This database is a more nuanced database as every article that is uploaded to the system is categorised into as a subject, however the problem with this database is that the researcher does not do the actual search, in the sense that one has to request the search to be done therefore one is not in control of refining the search and offer systematic explanation as to how the data set analysed was reached. Whereas the *Daily Sun* database is easily accessible to the public although the drawback is that it is a simplified and categorised only by the date and title on which the article was written therefore the search is basically a manual search. A time frame spanning a six month period were used. The time period was January 2011 to June 2011.A relatively wide time frame was used in order to get a large enough range of articles and hopefully get a good variation of articles.

Keywords that were used included men's health, violence, sexual violence, gender based violence, masculinity and men in order to find target articles. It was thought that articles with

the above key words would provide rich sources for the topic. Overall, 667 articles were found through this method.

Of these, 23 articles were chosen for the sample which is quite a small size in comparison to what articles had been initially found on the data base. The next step was to reduce the number of articles by establishing exclusionary criteria.

In order to get a handle on the nature of the content that was usually found in such a publication, I read the newspaper daily in order to establish what would be considered information-rich cases that would manifest the phenomenon of interest intensely but not extremely. The inclusion criteria for articles were as follows:-

1. All foreign based articles were excluded, for example articles on the Libyan crisis were excluded as I was looking for more localised reports of gendered violence.
2. I also excluded articles on xenophobic violence, which in recent years has been a focal point in South Africa however I chose to exclude such articles because even though some of the articles depicted gendered violence, it was a specific type of violence that was beyond the scope of what I actually wanted to study.
3. The article had to be gendered or rather, encompass a gendered discussion for example, between men and women.
4. Where it was found that articles were quite similar, for example articles that depict police brutality from a particular angle. Only one article was chosen in order to avoid repetition as well as to ensure that the sample size did not get too large. This choice

was based on a judgment as to which of the two similar articles were the most information rich and would prove to be more analytically useful. Therefore it was a case of going backwards and forwards as to which articles I found to be the most relevant. Eventually I ended up with 23 information rich cases which was considered an adequate sample size.

3.3 Data analysis

Discourse analysis was be used to identify constructions of masculinity and violence. Discourse can be defined as a "system of statements which constructs an object" (Parker, 1992, p. 6). Discourse analysis as a method has four main themes. Firstly, that of a concern with discourse, a view of language being constructive and constructed, and emphasis of discourse as a form of action, and finally the rhetorical organization of discourse (Gil, 2007). Discourse analysis is increasingly being used to analyse media texts and is an appropriate means with which to analyse the newspaper texts that will be used in the study as has been used in other studies which had similar goals in mind (For example, Schneider, Cockcroft & Hook, 2008; Stibbe, 2004).

The analysis will be guided by Parker's (1992) "Twenty step guide" for recognizing discourse. Discourse analysis is interested in finding out how particular texts are organized, specifically how language is constructive and why certain linguistic choices were chosen above others (Gil, 2007). The analyst had to constantly be reflexive and constantly question why some words were used instead of others and what kind of connotations these words carry

in terms of what subject positions are afforded to people and what the implications of such positioning in terms of enacting one's gender (Parker, 1992). Another important aspect to discourse analysis is the notion that "texts of various kinds construct our world" and therefore plays a role in what kind of choices are open to us. Parker (1992, p. 17) argues that "discourses frame the way we think about the objects they construct, and the way we are positioned as subjects". This serves as a good rationale for using discourse analysis as it is the aim of the study to try and see how masculinity is constructed because it can affect men in very real and practical ways in relation to their health (Seymour-Smith, Wetherell, & Phoenix, 2002).

A further rational for using a qualitative method of analysis is that there is general agreement that further qualitative research is required to further investigate the broad patterns evident from quantitative studies that have highlighted gender differences but not gone much further into explaining those gender differences in a critical way by looking at how masculinity is constructed (Courtenay, 2000). One of the most important things to note and bear in mind is that Discourse analysis does not search for a 'truth' per se but is rather concerned with the concept of power and how it is created by the different uses of language, in other words this is about our positioning as subjects and what that positioning means in relation to power (Parker, 1992; Deacon, Golding, Pickering & Murdock, 1999).

3.4 Specific Steps taken in the analysis

1. The chosen articles were initially read in order to get an overall impression of the various portrayals of masculinity and violence.
2. With the use of Parker's (1992) 20 steps each article was individually analysed. Parker's 20 (1992) steps are provided in the table 3.4a below with specific notes that pertain to Parker's (1992) various steps regarding how the author understood them and used them in the analysis. It should be noted that Parker's 20 steps (1992) was not to provide a structured method as such but rather to clear up confusion that often arises when doing a discourse analysis. The actual analysis by no means followed the steps in a structured way in the sense that the process was messy and complex. The table just serves as an indication as to some of the questions that the researcher asked herself when she was undertaking the analysis and also what things to keep in mind.

Table 3.4a

Parker's (1992) 20 STEPS	**Notes**
A discourse is realised in texts	
1. Treating objects of study as texts which are described and put into words	Who is addressed by this text? So for example, men, women, mistresses, parents, police, us versus them etc. How are they addressed?
2. Exploring connotations through some sort of free association	Having been addressed this way, what are they expected to do? What are the implications of being addressed in such a

	way? E.g. Men become powerless, out of control Exploring the connotations that these texts evoke
A discourse is about objects	
3. Asking what objects are referred to, and describing them 4. Talking about the Talk as if it were an object	How is the discourse hailing us and making us listen as a certain type of person i.e. what role are we having to adopt e.g. concerned parents. We cannot avoid the perceptions of ourselves that the discourse invites.
A discourse contains Subjects	
5. What types of person are talked about in this discourse, some of which may have already been identified as objects 6. Speculating about what they can say in the discourse, what could you say if you identified with them (what rights to speak in that way of speaking	What role does one have to adopt in order to hear and accept the message that is in the discourse? What are we expected to do when we are addressed in certain way? Meek acceptance on the part of women? Does it instil fear in us? Are we limited in the action that we can take? What is that we can say? How can one speak?
A discourse is a coherent system of meanings	
7. Mapping a picture of the world this discourse presents 8. Working out how a text using this discourse would deal with objections	Establishing a coherent set of statement regarding the topic? How does it present violence? Does it conform to ideas of hegemonic masculinities?

to the terminology	
A discourse refers to other discourse	
9. Setting contrasting ways of speaking, discourses against each other and looking at the different objects they constitute 10. Identifying point where they overlap, where they constitute what look like 'same' objects in different ways	Looking at how different discourses are directed against each other and how different discourses take different perspectives on the same objects.
A discourse reflects on its own way of speaking	
11. Referring to other texts to elaborate the discourse as it occurs, perhaps implicitly and addresses different audiences. 12. Reflecting on the term used to describe the discourse, a matter which involves moral/political choices on the part of the analyst	Looking at the literature review to develop the discussion, relating it to other texts.
A discourse is historically located	
13. Looking at how and where the discourses emerged 14. Describing how they have changed, and told a story usually how they refer to things that were always there to be	Where does this discourse come from? E.g. ideas of Ubuntu, how has it changed in this context in this particular historical period?

discovered	
Discourses support institutions	
15. Identifying institutions which are reinforced when this or that discourse is used 16. Identifying institutions that are attacked or subverted when this or that discourse appears	The institution of marriage may be supported in a text in many ways, e.g. frowning upon infidelity. The institution that is the School comes into disrepute when Teachers abuse their power, becomes an unsafe place for girls in particular
Discourses reproduce Power relations	.
17. Looking at which categories of person benefit from the employment of discourse and who does not 18. Looking at who would want to promote the and who would want to dissolve the discourse	Who does this discourse serve? Does it serve men? Who would benefit from such discourses and who would be interested in its maintenance.
Discourses have ideological effects	
19. Showing how a discourse connects with other discourses which sanction oppression 20. How discourse allows dominant groups to tell their narratives about the past in order to justify the present, and prevent those who use subjugated discourses from making history	How does familial discourse connect with patriarchal discourse

3. Having looked at each individual text thoroughly and asked various questions along the way, such as who is the text addressing and in what way? And having been addressed in this manner what are they expected to do? The analyst then identified specific discourses that ran through the texts analysed.
4. The analyst then highlighted some of text to illustrate the presence of such discourses.

3.5 Self reflexivity

Reflexivity can be thought of as the sensitivity that one would needs to adopt in order to acknowledge the specific ways in which the researcher and the research process have shaped the collected data, including the role of prior assumptions and experience, which can influence even the most avowedly inductive inquiries (Mays & Pope, 2000). I was definitely influenced by prior assumptions about the *Daily Sun* as a publication that had no true value due to its apparent disregard for professionalism in journalism in relation to the ideals of objectivity and neutrality (Franklin, 2008).

Prior to undertaking the study, I had been exposed to the paper and had quite negative ideas about the paper. Mays and Pope (2000) argue that one's personal and intellectual biases need to be made plain at the outset of any research reports to enhance the credibility of the findings. Throughout the entire analysis I was aware of my prior bias and it was one of the things that were at the forefront of the analysis. It actually served to make the analysis that much more difficult because I was tending to focus too much on what was happening in each and every story that at times I was more concerned with what happened in the article as opposed to how the story was represented which defeats the whole point of doing a discourse

analysis. I had to learn to look past that sensationalism and how ridiculous I found some of the articles to be and see what the paper was really about. This greatly slowed my progress towards providing a deeper analysis and look at what was happening through the use of language, that is, what it was doing, what was it representing and what was missing. It took me quite a long period to get a handle of what I was actually trying to get out of the data.

Another thing that did slow down my progress was the increasingly negative view I had of the paper. The more I read, the more apparent it seemed to me that this newspaper has set up a hierarchy of class. There is a certain sense of classism in the paper that I found quite distasteful in the sense that the daily sun readership consists of a predominantly working class population who have basic level education and are literate, however the stories did not necessarily always pertain to the lived realities of these individuals but rather of the lived realities of people who are uneducated and are illiterate. This results in the formation of a hierarchy of class.

There are also other factors that one would need to reflect on such as personal characteristics such as age, sex, social class, and professional status on the data collected and on the space afforded between the researcher and those researched also needs to be discussed in order to truly make one's findings more credible (Mays & Pope, 2000). Being a young, female researcher studying males has its own difficulties due to my feminist leanings in the sense that I used feminist theory to understand masculinity which some researchers would say is problematic as it may serve to re-exclude women however I worked hard to try and show that I was not attempting exclude women and at all but rather introduce men as a gendered subject that is equally restricted by systems of power. I also took great care to answer what this all

meant for women and in that way I felt quite justified to use the theoretical orientation that I did because I was not working to re-exclude women but rather involve them in this process. I would consider myself having come from a middle class background and I was aware of this given the fact that I was analysing a predominantly working class targeted newspaper, therefore there may have been some differences and power inequalities between myself and the those being targeted by the paper what with being a young black researcher.

3.6 Ethics

There are no ethical considerations in the traditional sense of the word given that I used secondary data for my analysis.

Chapter 4 Results and Discussion

4.1 Introduction

An analysis of the data resulted in the emergence of five distinct discourses that are connected to one another to a greater or lesser extent and give interesting insight into how masculinity and violence is constructed and often prescribes ways in which one should act whilst simultaneously restricting those acts. Particularly interesting was the fact the *Daily Sun* reinforces the very systems of domination that they argue they are helping to deconstruct and challenge.

4.1.1 Masculinity and control

The first discourse that will be discussed is that which regards the concept of masculine control. The idea of masculine control is constructed in various ways, that is, the apparent loss of control as a means of justifying the use of violence as well as the gender roles that are subscribed to that help to support male control and domination over women (Boonzaier, 2006). In other words, control appears to be an essential part of what forms part of some men's masculine identity.

The first article that will be examined that helps to illustrate the first discourse tells a story of an 18 year old female who was sexually harassed by a man in his thirties. The paper

insinuates that it was because she was bearing her body that is, wearing a short skirt which resulted in an altercation between the two. The article then goes on to say that the woman went to report the case to the police but she was greeted with laughter by the two policewomen who were on duty who refused to help her to lay a charge against the man who had harassed her with the assumption being made that it was because they were jealous or they thought the young girl was lying. The following extract was taken from the article:-

Extract one

SHE is 18 years old and like many young women (sic), she looks great in short skirts and shorts. But it seems that so-called “men” have never seen legs before and think girls who show their knees are looking for quick sex!

She was wearing a mini skirt and a man in his 30s saw her and followed her. Suddenly he was right behind her with his hands on her. Mpumi turned around and gave him a hot Klap. The sex-crazy guy retaliated and hit her back.

Mpumi went to the Orlando Police Station to report it, but the two women on duty there thought it all was a huge joke – or maybe they were jealous. Mpumi told Daily Sun: “I was so humiliated to be treated like that by police officers who themselves are women. Each cop who came into the charge office heard my story from these two policewomen who were laughing and pointing me out to the others. “I spent three hours at the Orlando station and left without being helped. I get the impression people think wearing mini-skirts in this 21st century is evil. Why are women still not free to wear what they want? It shows we are living in a very oppressive society,” she said. (3 March, 2011).

The article challenges the discourse on women and wearing sexy attire. Often, sexual abuse and violence against women is justified by the discourses that see women's sexy dressing as a form of female misbehaviour that should be rectified by men (Kennedy, 1992). In other words, often men are positioned as justified in their violent actions against women or that women are somehow responsible for the violent actions of men by tempting men with their bodies. This particular article challenges that kind of rhetoric by chastising men on their bad behaviour with statements like "But it seems so-called "men" have never seen legs before and think girls who show their knees are looking for quick sex!" This is apparently intended to educate men on the importance of not making assumptions based on what a woman is wearing. It further constructs men who think like this as "sex crazy".

However, simultaneously, the article reinforces existing systems of power in the language that is used. For instance, women are sexualised subjects in the sense that the article constructs young girls as being sexy, thereby offering an explanation as to why men possibly lose control with sentences like "She was wearing a mini skirt and a man in his 30's saw her and followed her. Suddenly he was right behind her with his hands one her". Therefore the 'mini-skirt' is used to explain men's bad behaviour. This constructs men as empty vessels who cannot control their sexual urge which does not necessarily absolve them of the bad behaviour but certainly offers a somewhat individual and essentialist way of understanding why gendered violence takes place. The same sentence also constructs men as predators that go for what they want as well as showing how women resist this.

Men are shown to be responding violently to women's resistance. Women's resistance can be seen as challenging one's masculinity and in order to reassert one's masculinity one resorts to

violence. Wearing a mini-skirt as a form of feminine resistance in the sense that women should be free to wear what they want and be free from the victimisation of "sex-hungry" men. Women's resistance is also seen in the form of the language used, that is, the man was given a "hot klap" which indicates reacting violently in the face of violence. The use of words like "hot klap" denote the everyday use of language which further serves to normalise the use of violence as naturally occurring.

The article is also constructed in such a way that individualises the problem in the sense that the interaction is between a man and a woman and the man is chastised for not having control and therefore the solution to such a construction would be for men to gain more control over their sexual urges. Therefore the *Daily Sun* provides an individualistic explanation of violence which forecloses the opportunity to understand this problem in a different way, that is, violence is understood in individual psychological terms, in this specific extract violence is explained as resulting from lack of impulse control (Boonzaier, 2006). This essentially constructs violence as an inevitable part of human experience, something that is internal or inevitable given the right provocation. It is also constructed as an individual's choice, that is, something that one responds to and must continually defend against.

Understanding gendered violence in this way obviously has implications for how this problem can be solved, for example, in this article gendered violence is understood in an essentialist, biological way, that is, violence occurred in this instance because of a lack of impulse control on the man's part. Therefore a solution to this would simply be to conclude that men should learn to control their impulses better in order to be better men and in order to reduce violence. However, this forecloses the opportunity to understand this problem in a

different way which limits the ways in which one can intervene on this problem. For example if we were to understand the problem in a contextual way, one would likely conclude that a man's propensity to violence is affected by a number of factors, some of those factors which are found at the individual level and others which can be found at the interpersonal level as well as the broader social contextual levels in which the individual is embedded in (Bronfenbrenner, 1977). These factors interact together and a result of that interaction may be gendered violence therefore only looking at the individual level will not fully account for gendered violence and if one cannot fully account for it, then any intervention that is designed based on individual biological and psychological explanations to address gendered violence will never be complete. In other words, the broader, structural factors that constrain individual behaviour such as poverty, gender, age and power are not considered (Gupta, Parkhurst, Ogden, Aggleton & Mahal, 2008). By simply not addressing such factors further serves to reinforce existing systems of power such as patriarchy because it is seen as naturally occurring and with no need of redress which further reinforces male domination and female subordination.

The *Daily Sun* also acts as a 'watchdog' of sorts for institutions such as the justice system. In this article the police were constructed as being an unhelpful resource in the sense that the woman who went to report her case was laughed at and not helped. This is problematic and may have implications for women and seeking help if they are victims of violence. Hynie, Schuller and Couperthwaite (2003) argue that constructions of female sexuality and wearing revealing clothes, for example may lead to stereotypical conclusions about one's sexual intentions and character. This discourse may serve to restrict women's actions in the sense that women are not likely to report violence against them if it is likely to lead to their

legitimacy of being a victim of sexual abuse will not be readily accepted. Challenging a man's right over your body may be a risky endeavour and one that you are not likely to win.

Additionally, the article shows how women may also be responsible for reinforcing patriarchy that is, the continued domination of males because of denying and restricting women's sexuality. This can be seen by police women, who in this particular article instead of helping the young lady, they ridiculed her. The paper assumes that the policewomen ridiculed her because they thought that she was lying as illustrated with the use of statements like "the two women on duty thought it was all a huge joke". This construction positions women as being partly responsible for the violence against them in the sense that it implies that women who wear sexy attire cannot be taken seriously and that indeed wearing sexy attire is a form of female misbehaviour. The *Daily Sun* also illustrates the contradictory nature of discourse. Livesay (2002, p. 319) argues that the contradiction that often arises as discourse comes into being is vital and allows "spaces for resistance and change and for new ways of imagining reality". There are contradictory discourses that run through this article but these do not necessarily serve to offer space for resistance and change but rather serve to reinforce existing systems of power in the sense that initially the article challenges the discourse that wearing sexy attire is a form of misbehaviour but simultaneously also reinforces this same discourse that it had initially challenged by constructing women as not being able to be taken seriously if they wear sexy attire.

The next extract also looks at the issue of 'mini-skirts' and it also looks at the discourse around masculinity and control but the unique thing about this article is the underlying reasons given for the gendered violence at least in the manner in which they are constructed.

The article analysed was titled “CURSE OF THE MINI SKIRT! Jealous anger leads to stabbing” (15 March, 2011). The article is about a woman who bought herself a mini skirt and modelled the mini skirt for her boyfriend who proceeded to assault her after accusing her of showing off her body to other men. An extract from this article reads as follows:

Extract two

> Rhulani Ngomane put the short skirt on to model it for her lover on Tuesday night...and all hell broke loose! He apparently accused her of exposing her wares to other men, and allegedly stabbed her several times. Then he set the house on fire.
>
> “He accused me of exposing his stuff to other men and ordered me to take the miniskirt off, but I refused because it’s my body and I spent my own money buying this skirt. But he suddenly pounced on me and stabbed me several times. And while I was bleeding on the floor, he ripped the skirt from my body and used it to start a fire that nearly burnt down my two roomed house (15 March, 2011).

As in the previous extract, this discourse constructs men as responding violently to women’s resistance. Women’s resistance in this extract comes in the form of wearing a ‘mini-skirt’ and subsequently refusing to take it off which then leads to the gendered violence. The use of words like “model” and “lover” constructs interpersonal nature of the interaction. The article shows how gendered violence does not just happen between people who do not know each other but rather can take place in the context of a heteronormative relationship. It constructs how normal interactions between men and women can quickly escalate into violence illustrated by statements like “Rhulani Ngomane put the short skirt on to model it for her

lover on Tuesday night...and all hell broke loose!" This suggests that violence is being understood as something that occurs out of normal heteronormative interactions, constructing it as something that is inevitable and naturally occurring in the presence of provocation, specifically women's provocation. The use of words like "model" serves to further subordinate women and position them as sexualised objects.

One of the most illustrative sentences is "He accused me of exposing his stuff to other men and ordered me to take the miniskirt off, but I refused because it's my body and I spent my own money buying this skirt". This sentence is particularly interesting because one can see two contradictory discourses at play, that is, a discourse that challenges masculine hegemony but one that also works to reinforce it. This sentence also happens to be the exact words that were presumably used by the subject in the article which illustrates how people use particular discourses and subject positions to make sense of themselves and other people. Firstly, the woman in the article objectifies herself. She constructs herself as a man's possession. This is illustrated in the sentence "He accused me of exposing his stuff to other men". But there is some resistance shown when she refuses to take the skirt off and justifies this refusal by acknowledging that it is her body and that she spent her own money in buying the skirt. However this justification is also problematic because of the way it is constructed particularly the part about having spent her own money to buy the skirt. This gives the impression that the outcome may have been different had she not spent her own money and perhaps she would not have resisted the man's 'demand' had it been the man's money. Therefore, this shows resistance to a certain extent but a deeper analysis of the same sentence suggest that it still reinforces patriarchy and the continued domination of men over women. This also says something about the issue of money being particularly important in gender relations and power. This will be explored later on in the analysis.

Women's resistance comes in the form of wanting to gain control over their own bodies and their sexuality. But seemingly men respond violently to this and attempt to reassert their domination by treating women as objects that belong to men and thereby offering justification for using violence against women. This discourse is about the regulation of women's sexuality (Breitenberg, 1993). Here, masculine identity seems to follow the notion that it is dependent on the "coercive and symbolic regulation of women's sexuality" (Breitenberg, 1993, p. 377). That is, in order to be a man, one has to make sure that they are in full control of women and one way of doing that is to regulate what they wear and if this essential part of being a man is denied or thwarted then a crisis of masculinity may take place which results in violence in an attempt to reassert a man's domination over women.

Again, the nature of the problem is individualised and reduced to individual psychological terms by providing a relational explanation for why the violence took place. This time, the explanation was that it was a matter of jealousy and insecurity which have all been used as explanations of male violence before. This forecloses the option to look at the problem more holistically in a more holistic, ecological way therefore only leaving individual solutions, like men having to change their jealous ways by gaining more control over their insecurities. In the case of extract two, the *Daily Sun* educates men on desisting from being jealous and practicing greater control.

To view violence in an individualistic way oversimplifies the multifaceted problem that is Violence. One way of avoiding this oversimplification is to adopt an ecological perspective when looking at violence because one cannot fully account for this phenomenon if we do not take into consideration the interaction between individuals and the context that they are

exposed to (Bronfenbrenner, 1977). Another way of explaining this that is more in line with the methodology that the paper is premised on would be arguing that ideas around masculinity are not naturally occurring nor do they occur in a social vacuum but rather is as stated earlier in the paper, influenced by the available historical conventions and context of the time (Butler, 1988). Adopting an ecological perspective on violence opens up new ways of thinking and conceptualising it because the problem is seen in a more nuanced way that does not place blame on the victim or the perpetrator but rather emphasises the incompatibilities that exist between an individual and his or her environment that has caused adaptations to this particular set of environmental circumstances in a dysfunctional, maladaptive way. This helps to develop interventions strategies that are more cognisant of this interaction that will aim to change the psychosocial context that surrounds the individual to lessen the incidence of violence. The *Daily Sun* does not engage with the social issue of violence in this manner but rather simplifies it to an individual act.

The legal and social shifts that have been made in women's rights in relation to sexual liberation may pose a threat to patriarchy and masculinity which may actually serve to increase violence as an attempt by men to reassert their perceived losses (Breitenberg, 1993). So the *Daily Sun* illustrates contradictory discourses where on the one hand they are seemingly in support of women's sexual liberation in the sense that they support the notion that woman should be able to wear what they want without fear of violence against them but on the other hand constructs this liberation as part of the problem thus reinforcing patriarchy by arguing that women's dressing may play a part on why men are violent.

Overall this discourse conforms to the traditional hegemonic view of masculinity of men needing to be "strong, powerful and in control" (Schneider, Cockcroft & Hook, 2008, p. 143). When men are denied this, they may use violence as a means to reassert their masculinity and regain control.

4.1.2 Women's credibility

Abuse of power by men is a common discourse that runs through the paper. This may have come about as a result of the role of the 'watchdog' of society that the *Daily Sun* has chosen to adopt as previously stated earlier. Highlighting such abuses goes some way in challenging discourses that serve to subjugate women; however, often this discourse is accompanied by other discourses that serve to reinforce the existing system of power. This discourse questions women's credibility and uses it as justification for the continued domination of men over women. Women's credibility is often questioned in these articles.

Extract three is an article about the troubles that sex workers are faced with. Sex workers can be considered marginalised women. The article is about police abuse of power. Policeman allegedly use their authority to get free sexual favours from sex workers by threatening these women with the loss of their livelihood. The extract reads as follows:-

Extract three

> THEY are kasi magoshas. They sell their bodies to men... Now they claim that some tough policemen who are in their kasi to keep the peace are demanding sex-for

> mahala! Daily Sun reported at the end of January that a special squad of policemen from the Special Response Unit had moved to Diepsloot, between Joburg and Tshwane, to bring an end to fierce riots in the kasi.
>
> Asked how they know it was the same cops who were demanding sex for free, the working girls said they recognised them from the picture on the front page of the People's Paper on 26 January! But the girls insist: No money, no sex!
>
> They said: "We are not doing this for fun. We sell our bodies so that we can support our children." And they say policemen are no exception....they must pay too! The local police chief has invited the ladies to open a criminal case against the men they are accusing.
>
> Maria Matlala (33) said they have been patient with the corrupt cops in the hope that they will change. "Our clients are no longer coming. If they come here, they fear that while we are busy, cops with guns will come and disturb us," she said. Another Magosha, Leboang Nkadimeng (23), said "This is rape-or is it not a crime when it's cops?" (11 February, 2011).

In this extract women are constructed as sexualised and commodified subjects as illustrated in sentences like "No money, no sex!" or "They sell their bodies to men... Now they claim that some tough policemen who are in their kasi to keep the peace are demanding sex-for mahala!". There is a lot that is not said in the second statement as it leaves a lot of room for interpretation. However, the statement seems to question the credibility of sex workers on whether this category of women deserves to have the same justice that is afforded to other women who are not prostitutes when abuse of power takes place by virtue of what they do for

a living. As readers we are position in such a way that makes us question the sex workers as being worthy of our sympathy given what they do for a living, that is, selling their bodies to men.

Extract three bears some similarity to extract one in terms of questioning women's credibility. Extract one questioned women's credibility based on what she was wearing, that is, it was insinuated that women cannot be taken seriously if they wear sexy attire whereas extract three questions a women's credibility based on her profession. The above statement basically questions whether these women deserve to be protected virtue of the fact that they sell their bodies to men. Their complaint of sexual abuse by policemen does not seem to be taken seriously with the use of language like "they claim". Essentially, sex workers are marginalised because of the trade that they engage in. So whilst chastising men in authority, namely policeman, they also question sex workers and their right to complain which serves to reinforce patriarchy. Therefore this can be used as a means to justify gendered violence and abuse of authority by policeman by questioning women's credibility and constructing prostitution as a form of women's misbehaviour thereby legitimising men's continued domination of women to control for that behaviour and also to lessen the rights of women to complain.

4.1.3 Male jealousy

Jealousy appears to be a running theme in a number of these articles. Jealousy is often used as a means to justify a man's violent acts towards a woman (Boonzaier, 2006). This also tends to follow on from the aforementioned theme of being unable to control one's self but in this

instance, not because one is overcome by sexual lust but rather jealousy or of a lack of acceptance regarding the apparent end of a romantic relationship or disintegration thereof is seen as a driving factor. Men are thus positioned as being driven to commit acts of violence against women and children and they position women as partly responsible for this loss of control.

The man in this instance is often portrayed in such a way that constitutes an apparent loss of the control of the senses as previously alluded to in the previous discourse. Women tend to be positioned as the ones to blame for this temporary loss of control by either wearing provocative clothing (as evidenced in both extract one and two) or on suspicion of infidelity as evidenced in extract four. Extract four provides an illustration of a man who allegedly murdered his wife because she threatened to leave him after she had said that she had found another man who could provide for her and was a better sexual performer. The article is entitled "One Jealous Blow too Many! Cops say Husband confessed" (10 March, 2011). The extract reads as follows:-

Extract four

> "I was going crazy because my wife was staying out all night. I believed that she had found another man and I was worried about losing her," the jealous man allegedly told cops. So on Monday Daniel and his wife argued all day. She had come home after being out all night, and he allegedly beat her up with a pick handle-so badly that she died!

> The marriage of Daniel Khalo (59) and his wife, Pauline (56) started going bad about two years ago when he resigned from his job. A neighbour said Daniel's wife was supporting him. "She lost her respect for him," he said.
>
> On Monday she told Daniel that she had found another man that supported her and gave her money...and that her new lover was better in bed than Daniel! That's when Daniel allegedly said he decided that he would cripple his wife by breaking her arms and legs (10, March 2011).

Masculinity is constructed in monetary terms in the sense that it is important to have a job and be able to provide for one's family and appears to form a vital part of a man's masculine identity. It also constructs women as being somehow complicit in this construction of masculinity given that the publication constructs women as indeed having lost respect for a man given his unemployed status. Statements that illustrate this include "She lost her respect for him" as well as implications being made that things started going bad for the couple when he had resigned from his job and his wife started to support him financially. Providing for the family is constructed as a role that is predominantly thought of as a male one. This article shows that when one is unable to fulfil his role as the provider of the household then it results in a crisis of masculinity. Women are also constructed as complicit in the belief that men should be the ones to provide for the family and they play a role in further stripping men of their masculinity by their behaviour, that is, showing a lack of respect.

This article constructs men as being doubly stripped of their masculinity. Firstly in not being able to provide for their family and fulfilling that particular role and secondly emasculation takes place in sexual terms. The article states "her new lover was better in bed". This is essentially quite emasculating in the sense that masculinity is constructed in such a way that

emphasises the importance one's sexual prowess in order to truly be considered a man. In the article the man offered the explanation of infidelity as to why he beat his wife to death, because of fear of loss which may speak to a certain kind of construction of masculinity that if one is not able to keep a women or satisfy a women sexually he is somehow less of a man (Schneider, Cockcroft & Hook, 2008) except in this case it has to do with both sexual satisfaction as well as financial satisfaction.

The idea of being able to provide financial satisfaction for women as being a vital part of one's masculine identity partly falls in line with Alexander's (2003) concept of "branded masculinity" that asserts that one has to be a financial success to be of any consequence as a man but not apparently in the sense of needing muscles and good fashion sense and financial success as Alexander (2003) argues but in terms of being able to provide for one's family. It is also linked to hegemonic understandings of masculinity. Unemployment may lead to violence because of the perceived loss of respect from women such a situation is likely to bring. So if a man loses an essential part of him that makes him a man, such as being the provider, one is likely to try and compensate and reassert their dominance over a woman by means of violence given that previous way to control women is foreclosed. Again it individualises the problem and does not consider the structural determinants of violence that speak a lot to social, economic, political, and environmental factors.

Violence is therefore used in order to reassert one's masculinity and to regain the control that was perceived to have previously been there. McInnes (1998) argues that modernity undermines patriarchy because of the changes that have taken place in society such as the sexual division of labour. Similarly, the increasingly high rates of unemployment in this

particular context have undermined men's masculinity and patriarchy because of the inability to provide for their families and to dominate as they once did. Additionally, men are losing the power that was once afforded to them as a result of their sex and this has led to increasing instances of violence to try and reassert their dominant position (McInnes, 1998).

In the same article a neighbour commented that their relationship was troubled because "She lost respect for him". Again the woman is positioned in such a way that implies her responsibility regarding a man's temporary loss of control. In addition it seems as though a great deal of responsibility is placed on the woman in order to maintain the relationship and she is consequently blamed if the relationship disintegrates to avoid a man feeling emasculated by this loss.

Seemingly situations of this nature constitute a threat to one's masculinity and women are portrayed as having to tread quite a careful line in order to prevent violence against them from taking place and by constructing women in this way it forecloses particular ways in which one could think about gendered violence. In the article it implies that the women became boastful and forgot her place when she began to question a man's authority which resulted in violence. Violence seems to also be endorsed, that is violence that may come as a result of questioning a man's authority or right to dominate. This undermining of women is supported by the literature that argues that in the home, some violence of men against women is often tolerated, if it is not too severe and serves a purpose such "punishing" wives for questioning a man's authority which then poses a threat to one's masculinity (Barker & Ricardo, 2005).

Extract five also illustrates male jealousy discourse. In this particular article a man was arrested after attempting to commit suicide by setting fire to his girlfriend's parent's house and throwing himself into the fire. This had resulted from the boyfriend believing that his girlfriend was cheating on him when she had come home with a new expensive cell phone that he thought she could not afford.

Extract five

> The jealous boyfriend believed his woman was finding warmth in the arms of another- and when she came home with a new cellphone, his jealousy turned to rage. In his rage he allegedly set a fire that ate her parents' house!
>
> Dikeledi Lebelo (34) told Daily Sun that she and her boyfriend were always a happy couple. But their sweet relationship went very sour. The boyfriend (38) suspected Dikeledi was cheating on him. And on Friday night she came home with an expensive new cellphone. It happened in Ramogoga section in Mathibestad, near Hammanskraal, North West.
>
> He questioned her about how she could afford a new phone. He was not satisfied with her answers and became angry. Dikeledi said: "He became violent and then pulled a knife out and chased us outside of the house. He locked himself inside and he set the house alight. And he threw himself into the flames to commit suicide." But some

> Brave community members got the man out before he could be burnt to death. The man was handed over to the cops at the scene. (1 February, 2011).

In this extract, men are constructed as being jealous and insecure with the use of statements such as “The jealous boyfriend believed his woman was finding warmth in the arms of another- and when she came home with a new cellphone, his jealousy turned to rage”. Whilst seemingly chastising men for being jealous and being overly suspicious of women they construct women in a specific way that serves to reinforce men’s domination over women. Women are constructed as having to always explain their actions and if those explanations are not satisfactory to men then it may result in violence. Men are also constructed as having the right to question women and a right to get angry if such answers are not satisfactory with statements like “He was not satisfied with her answers and became angry”. The way this is constructed assumes that this is a natural progression and holds women partly responsible for men’s anger. What is most interesting about this article is that violence, well at least the most destructive kind is not turned on the women but rather turned inward or rather onto himself in the sense that the man threw himself into the flames. This article shows how men are just as constrained by the system of power in the sense that some men may feel so helpless that they would rather end their lives than remain in such a position. The article shows that violence may not necessarily be turned against women but it can be turned against the self.

4.1.4 Violence used to reassert one’s masculinity

Leading in from the previous discourses is the idea that violence seems to be the only viable option afforded to men in order to be considered masculine because other options are

foreclosed to them. Literature shows us that there is a special relationship between men and weapons. Weapons take the form of anything that is used "as both a symbol and a tool to demonstrate and enforce this hegemony against others, including competing masculinities" (Myrttinen, 2003, p. 44). The *Daily Sun* illustrates this point in articles that emphasise the use of force to get one's point across. One headline reads, "How to shut up a Loudmouth...by the NECK! (2 March, 2011). The article was accompanied by a picture of one man lying on top of another man in a choke hold. An extract form the article reads as follows:-

Extract six

> Everyone hates being bored. And guys who think they know it all are always boring. The guy (the one underneath) thought he knew about money. So in a hair salon in Mabopane he started lecturing customers- he told them they were always broke, had no cars and lived in ugly houses because they didn't know how to budget. That was too much for this big guy (the one on top). The smart money said he would win...and so it was. The would-be financial advisor was grabbed by the throat and shown where he could stuff his budget.

This depicts the physical need for men to enforce their power onto others by means of violence. So far the analysis has shown how this has been directed at women but this can also be directed towards other men who threaten one's masculinity. As illustrated previously, this again speaks to Alexander's (2003) concept of branded masculinity in the sense that financial success is again proved to be important to a man's masculine identity and if this is not possible then violence may result. Violence may result between men.

The daily sun often depicts that a threat to ones masculinity will result in violent behaviour to try and reassert one's dominance and this appears to be the case in the extract above. The above extract provides a good illustration of this because this is regarded as a direct threat to the masculinity of the man and he responds by using a weapon, that is, his body, in an attempt to reassert his masculinity (Myrttinen, 2003). Extract seven illustrates a story of two men who were attacked by other men who accused them of using their money and their status to charm girls away from those who did not have the same status.

Extract seven

> A night out turned into a fight over girls and booze at Phiri's Tavern in Phahameng, Mangaung, on Saturday evening. Ward one councillor Steven Nakedi's son, Kabelo, was with his nephew, Kagiso Nakedi, and they were dancing with three pretty girls when a group of men confronted them. They accused them of using their status to charm girls.
>
> An eyewitness told Daily Sun: "Two men accused them of stealing girls. Then they were joined by a group of men who started to beat up the cousins.
>
> "They ran away on foot but left the cousin's BMW car behind. They went to the police station but while they were gone, we saw flames outside the tavern and we saw the BMW was on fire. (11 May, 2011).

Violence here is constructed as having occurred due to status. This emphasises that not all men are have the same advantage based on their sex (Barker & Ricardo, 2005). This article shows that other men are disadvantaged by the current system of power and these men also respond violently. Getting girls seems to be constructed as forming a vital part of one's masculine identity and when that is thwarted or denied then men are likely to respond violently towards this. These men who responded violently are constructed as jealous.

Violence is often regarded as a legitimate means with which one can respond in the face of violence. For example, often discourse around witchcraft is often constructed as a form of violence against women that can only be dealt with by engaging in more violence. Extract eight, is the story of a pastor who was accused of using witchcraft to have sex with women from a far. The title of the article read, "Pastor accused of poking from 200m away! KILLED FOR HIS MAGIC 4-5!" (2 march, 2011). Extract eight reads as follows:-

Extract eight

> They accused Albert (26) of using muthi to have sex with women in the village. Twelve suspects were bust and have been charged with murder and arson.
>
> A man who refused to give his name: "The pastor was using umshoshaphansi to have sex with our women. We told him to leave, but he didn't want to go. I think those who killed him saved us and our women..."

As previously mentioned, it appears important to be able to keep a woman in order to be regarded as masculine. Women become objectified and are sexualised with the use of language like “our women” thus constructing women as belonging to men. The presence of witchcraft appears to be quite an accepted practice and serves as reasonable justification for the use of violence and is further justified with the use of language like “I think those who killed him saved us and our women...” The action of murdering the Pastor was considered a justified course of action with the article going on to interview people, one of whom said “The pastor was using umshoshaphansi to have sex our women. We told him to leave, but he didn’t want to go” (2 March, 2011). The use of colloquial terms like ‘muthi’ and ‘umshoshaphansi’ denotes the everyday use of language which serves to normalise.

4.1.5 Women responsible for men's violent behaviour

A word of warning is given to the male to be wary of the vengeful women who will use violence against a male in a collective manner. For example, in an article titled "Angry women bust sex cheat! (11 April, 2011) women are positioned as an angry, irrational hoard that will use threat of force in order to control a man's behaviour. The article went as follows;-

Extract nine

> MEN who cheat on their wives should beware! A group of women at Endlovini in Khayelitsha have taught one cheat a lesson. Mlambo Ngcipho was caught out when his wife Nosamkelo answered his phone – only to hear the sexy voice of his mistress on the line. When Nosamkelo confronted Mlambo he got defensive and beat her! So she called her friends for back-up and a gang of about 20 women marched to the Ngciphos' house and confronted Mlambo. They ordered him to call his mistress and dump her then and there or face their fury. Mlambo realised he was outnumbered and did as he was told. The women warned him that he won't get a second chance. One of the women told Daily Sun: "We are tired of men cheating on us. Last year a married woman was stabbed to death by another woman because of a cheating man. "Mlambo was lucky he got a warning to stop his cheating ways and beating his wife. Next time we will beat him. If Mlambo hadn't done what we ordered we would have run his mistress out of the township," she said.

There are two interesting points about such a discourse. The first being that the importance of the family unit remaining intact is still desired above all and women seem to be viewed as those taking integral interest in maintaining the unit with collective threat of force to make sure that the family remains intact. Familial discourse therefore runs through some of these articles emphasising the still valued traditional notion of the family despite the harsh realities of domestic violence as well as infidelity. In other words, above all else the family unit has to stay intact.

The other interesting point in this particular article is the idea of the repercussions that have to be paid by not only the cheating husband but the mistress who seemingly may have to pay the highest price in the sense that she will be run out of her home. There is an obvious distinction between different kinds of women. Essentially the mistress is portrayed as the immoral women who "will have to leave" if she is caught cheating which is portrayed as deplorable and unbecoming of a woman. In essence these 'kinds of women' are treated as being less than women in that respect. Additionally the seat of blame is placed more on the women with her sexiness being frowned upon in the sense that women, that is mistresses are sexualised subjects with statements like "Mlambo Ngcipho was caught out when his wife Nosamkelo answered his phone – only to hear the sexy voice of his mistress on the line".

In another instance police women, a sub category of women as a whole, are portrayed as being jealous and unhelpful especially in instances when women report some form of sexual harassment against men. Instead of maintaining an objective, impartial stance, complaints of this nature are often met with derision and seen as a 'big joke' as alluded to in extract one where the women reported being sexually harassed by a man in the street because she was

wearing a mini-skirt, her complaints were not taken seriously and she felt humiliated by the experience, she said “I was so humiliated to be treated like that by police officers who themselves are women. Each cop who came into the charge office heard my story from these two policewomen who were laughing and pointing me out to the others” (3 March, 2011, p. 2). This discourse reinforces patriarchy, and seemingly women do this to themselves. It shows the deeply embedded nature of the patriarchal system in our institutions so much so that it becomes pervasive and difficult to challenge. It reinforces patriarchy in the sense that women are not likely to report instances of sexual violence or any kind of violence for that matter which serves to control and subjugate women in relation to their male counterparts thus reinforcing patriarchal systems.

4.1.6 Conflict between traditional and western masculinity

This was one of the more interesting discourses because it showed how discourses refer to other discourses (Parker, 1992). A discourse analysis affords one the opportunity to look at how different discourses are directed against each other and how different discourses take different perspectives on the same object. The object here was drinking and substance abuse. However, before going into the example it is important to first offer some context into what is meant.

It has been found that the *Daily Sun* to a certain extent, values the often marginalised discourse that is Ubuntu and bring it into the forefront of people’s minds, particularly young people. Ubuntu can be defined as the expression of “each individual’s humanity through his/her relationship with others and theirs in turn through recognition of the individual’s

humanity" (Askew 2006, p. 3). The idea of ubuntu has a moralistic undertone to it and as it is often seen as a call for respect, cooperation and care of the fellow community member as a means of guiding one's behaviour in the context of the collective community (Nyaumwe & Mkabela, 2007).

It appears as though South African men are at a particularly interesting juncture what with the infiltration of western values into contemporary society alongside the continued importance of traditional African practices meaning there seems to be an attempted incorporation of both values but not being able to fully doing both which has some implications for masculinity. This may have much to do with the African viewpoint and the Eurocentric viewpoint being fundamentally different in the sense that the "African viewpoint espouses harmony and collectivity, whilst the Eurocentric point of view emphasises a more individualistic orientation towards life" (Venter, 2004, p. 152). At present the Eurocentric values seem to be dominant over African values in the sense that "The modernization that was brought about by the western influence on the traditional African culture rendered ubuntuism to become a less dominant philosophy of social behaviour. Individual interests became "the impetuous of competition, social values, and other people gradually were regarded as nothing but a means to achieve individual ends" (Nyaumwe & Mkabela, 2007, p. 158). This kind of rhetoric is what is often seen in the *Daily Sun*.

There seems to be discourse surrounding the fact that often men are forced to straddle two different ways of living that is, westernisation and traditional African values which one can argue poses a dilemma of sorts and might contribute to violence. For example, The *Daily Sun* publishes a number of articles on substance abuse with most commentary flowing along the

lines of “THEY allowed alcohol to get the better of them – and then have committed some terrible crimes against women and children.” (15 June, 2011). Therefore there is an endorsed idea alcohol abuse has in one way or another contributed to violence which is illustrated in the following extract:-

Extract ten

> “For some reason, some men have this strange idea of what it is to be a man: They believe that a real man is someone who can hold his liquor, smokes and has many lovers. But this is wrong. A real man does not have to prove that he is a man, especially not by being reckless with his life” (15 June, 2011).

The above extract falls in line with the hegemonic idea of masculinity in the sense that it talks about masculine control. On initial inspection this relationship seems to be quite straightforward in the sense that the *Daily Sun* positions itself as the friendly advisor, advising the reader to drink less. Particularly instructing men rather than women to drink less because it causes increased instances in violence thus offering a prescription of sorts to live one’s life more healthily. On the other hand, other articles reveal the complexity in this relationship in the sense that in other articles they seemingly endorse alcohol consumption but offer ways in which this must be done to avoid violence from occurring. In other words, the alcohol abuse and violence relationship that seems to be initially endorsed is not the only discourse available to men to adopt. The other discourse hints that it is not drinking to excess that is the problem but rather the adoption of western values such as individualisation by young African males when it comes to drinking is what causes the violence. There is an

article that illustrates this idea quite well. It is titled “Cops called in to stop booze wars” (14 February, 2011). The article begins by prescribing advice with a warning, “DON’T drink alone! It’s the rule of boozing youths, who say people must share. And there will be violence! If they don’t...”. The argument in this article seems to be that if men maintained their African values and remained loyal to the idea of collective sharing then this would prevent violence with the statements such as “In our culture we should be sharing, so let’s do that in order to keep the peace” (14 February, 2011).

Therefore there seem to be multiple truths that exist in the sense that they offer men two alternatives one that argues for reduction in alcohol consumption to prevent violence from occurring and another that does not find anything wrong with drinking to excess per se but rather the loss of African values when it comes to drinking and a lack of a sharing mentality that is actually considered responsible for causing violence particularly amongst young men. The second alternative is particularly interesting because it highlights a dilemma that men considering the contradictory forces that impinge on their daily lives hence the title of the theme as that being a dilemma of sorts.

4.2 Concluding Thoughts

This chapter looked at the six discourses that have been found in this analysis and specifically showed how masculinity is constructed in the *Daily Sun* publication. Each discourse was discussed in relation to the three research questions initially laid out. It specifically looked at how the idea of control was intrinsic to one’s idea of masculinity and the need to dominate

and control women in particular and in the face increasing power being afforded to women, violence is being used in order to reassert one's masculine identity. In other words men's violence is occurring in the light of women's resistance. Men are also appear to be resisting this change that is taken place.

The chapter also highlighted how these constructions may foreclose other ways in which gendered violence can be understood. The analysis showed that the problem of gendered violence seems to have been individualised with no acknowledgement of the broader context in which the individual lives which may serve to reinforce existing systems of power such as patriarchy. This is essentially left unchallenged because they are never positioned as problematic or affecting the gendered lives of both men and women. In other word, because gendered violence is individualised it often forecloses other ways of understanding gendered violence which in turn also forecloses how the problem can be addressed. The analysis essentially showed how men behave badly but also showed what possible implications such behaviour has for women and also showed how despite its role in educating men not to behave this way, it still reinforces systems of power such as patriarchy in various ways such as undermining women's credibility, making women sexualised subjects and making women property of men thus reinforcing men's domination and women's subordination.

This study focused mainly on the social constructed nature of gender. However, future research in this domain should focus on the additional constructs of race and class. The constructs of race and class were not dealt with in this research however it is clear that gender, race and class are interlinked and would be of great importance to increasing one's understanding of violence in this context.

Chapter 5 Conclusion

The research has shown how violence can be thought of as a signifier of masculinity. The study showed how violence is seen as a legitimate instrument that men use in the negotiation of their status and social position as men. This appears to have come about as a perceived loss of position given women's increased agency.

Masculinity in articles related to violence is set out in a number of ways. Some are contradictory and some offer prescriptive ways in order to reduce violence for example men are often constructed as being solely biologically driven beings when it comes to matters of sex which tends to offer some form of explanation or justification of sexual violence against women because of the discourse that suggests that men often lose control. The *Daily Sun* offers individualised explanations which foreclose any other opportunity to think about the problem differently which is problematic as the individual does not live in isolation but rather in a social context which both affects and affected by the individual. Additionally by individualising the problem of gendered violence means that the system of power is left intact and remains unchallenged which reinforces men's right to dominate women and women to be subordinate.

This loss of control can take the form of sexual drives or jealousy drives that all lead to use of violence against women. This kind of male construction is however frowned upon in favour of the construction of men as being in control and having a certain amount of agency which falls in line with the hegemonic understanding of masculinity. Both these constructions are found in the texts analysed however, it must be noted that although the paper seems to

endorse a man who is in control and responsible, there seems to be no real prescription regarding steps to achieve that in a socially appropriate manner which may also serve as further understanding reading why violence is so abundant in this context. It also works to reinforce patriarchy.

Additionally, discourse about needing to be in control may inadvertently cause violence because men may perceive themselves to be out of control and thus exert force in order to gain that control or authority back in an attempt to rectify a perceived masculine identity crisis (Boonzaier, 2006). This is the case regarding the theme around violence being used as a symbol of potency which may go some way into understanding men as some constructions of masculinity actually serve to justify use of force particularly if one's masculinity is threatened either by the actions of a women or the actions of other men who may endorse different masculinities that serve to delimit the men who feel threatened by others acts.

Women, although seemingly given more agency are also delimited in very real ways in the sense that the reader of the various articles is placed in such a position where retaliation regarding one's actions is a real possibility which may result in a meek acceptance of infidelity because of fear of force being used against them. Women are positioned as having to tread a very careful line with any misstep possibly leading to the use of violence against them.

Finally there seems to be a dilemma that is faced by young men with appearing to be at the juncture where they have African values and Western values that do not necessarily sit well

together which may create anxiety in men and may lead to instances of violence. Further research in this area would prove to be vital in understanding violence.

Some of the discourses in the *Daily Sun* serve to reinforce patriarchy, for example the continued need to control the sexuality of women. This is problematic given the increasing influence of western discourse on sexuality which looks to liberate women sexually which places women in greater danger of gendered violence from men who may perceive increased sexual liberation as a form of female misbehaviour and an attempt to challenge male dominance. The *Daily Sun* seems to have a somewhat contradictory stance in the sense that on the one hand sexual liberation is encouraged but simultaneously patriarchy is reinforced.

Violence can be thought of as a signifier of masculinity. Violence is seen as a legitimate instrument that men use in the negotiation of their status and social position as men because they too have been restricted and have no other way in which they can reassert their dominance. Work that looks into redefining what it is to be a man needs to look at dismantling current constructions of masculinity that are seemingly embedded in violence not only to the detriment of men themselves but also for women and children.

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