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DEVELOPING FUTURE MEN: EXPLORING TEENAGE BOYS' PERCEPTIONS OF BEING A MAN IN A CONTEMPORARY SOCIETY

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For the degree Master of Arts in Social Development

SUPERVISOR: Mrs. P. Gerrand

CO-SUPERVISOR: Dr. A. Warria

October, 2014

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this research report for the degree of Master of Arts in Social Development at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, School of Human and Community Development is my own original and unaided work. All references to other sources and other authors' work have been properly cited and referenced. Furthermore, this research report has not been submitted previously for any other degree or examination. .

_____

Noluthando Khunjwa

_____Day of _____, 2014

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There were times during the course of this research study whereby I felt weary, exhausted and doubtful. However, certain people were there to uplift and refocus me to the set goal. Both their verbal and nonverbal communication stuck in my mind and kept on replaying when such moments of doubt hit. Firstly, I would like to thank my supervisor, Mrs. P. Gerrand for her support, there were difficulties along the way but she remained in the path with me. To my co-supervisor Dr. A. Warria for her additional support which I am truly grateful for. She became the light at the end of the tunnel.

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ABSTRACT

Hegemonic masculinity beliefs, such as toughness, dominance over women and acquisition of multiple sexual partners is prevalent amongst men and boys in societies worldwide and including South Africa. Subsequently issues such as domestic violence, substance abuse, HIV infections, and crime develop as some of the outcomes of these beliefs in turmoil. The aim of the study was to explore teenage boys' perceptions of being a man in a contemporary society. The study employed a qualitative research approach using a case study as a research design. Participants were recruited using purposive sampling from a teenage boys group at Sophiatown Community Psychological Services (SCPS). Data was collected through individual interviews and focus group. A key informant was interviewed for triangulation purposes. Data analysis was done using thematic content analysis. An interesting finding was that women are the main agents in gender socialization of teenage boys in the study. In addition, they seem to be torn between traditional masculinity beliefs and modern masculinity beliefs. Lastly, their masculine ideals with regard to what makes a man were divided between the present; to be achieved in their current stage of development; and the future; to be achieved later in their lives.

Key words: contemporary society, masculinity, perceptions, socialization, teenagehood.

October, 2014

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

AIDS-Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome

HIV-Human Immunodeficiency Virus

MMC-Medical Male Circumcision

NGO-Non-Governmental Organization

SCPS-Sophiatown Community Psychological Services

STD-Sexually Transmitted Diseases

TMC-Traditional Male Circumcision

WHO-World Health Organization

CHAPTER 1

GENERAL ORIENTATION OF THE STUDY

1.1 INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

The world is highly segregated and one of the main factors for this segregation is gender. Gender is one of the central concepts that have a great influence on people's everyday living experiences. However, there are no simplicities on gender as there are other subordinated gender types in addition to the two well-known and widely accepted ones; male (masculinity) and female (femininity). Nonetheless, the focus of this study is on masculinity. Watson (1995) posits that masculinity is acquired, achieved, and initiated into, a process that may even involve painful mutilations.

Masculinity is a product of social and cultural processes (Silberschmidt, 2001); it is a process entailing specific behaviors and practices that result in acquiring the status of being called a man or masculine. However, some of these behaviors and practices, men cannot partake in them in isolation and there are certain resources that a male person must have in order to achieve masculinity (Khunou, 2006). However, sometimes accessibility to these resources is inhibited by social issues. For instance South Africa has high rates of unemployment, poor education system, substance abuse, family breakdown, promiscuous behavior, and the rise of the phenomenon of absent fathers (Morrell, Jewkes & Lindegger, 2012); which all have an impact on the process of attaining masculinity.

In addition, it can be argued that some of these problems are deeply linked to hegemonic masculinity beliefs; which have the connotation that power lies with men. We are then left pondering on how young developing men perceive masculinity in contemporary society marked by such problems.

1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM AND RATIONALE OF THE STUDY

Men are often placed at the top of human order therefore having authority and dominance over women as traditionally posed in traditional marriages. This position of 'power' is something that influences them from a very young developmental age. This is appropriately captured by the quote "when I was a little boy I was often told to be a man" (Cohen, 1990, p. 1). This is a typical lesson that boy children get across society although there might be variations on socialization process depending on the context and period. Gender socialization occurs at an early stage of male children's lives and both adults and children have a great influence on this learning process.

Masculinity construction has gone through various transitional stages. Ouzgane and Morrell (2005) argue that African men have the legacy of colonialism. Uchendu (2008) and Oluwole (2010) explain that the legacy of colonialism has left African men defining manhood based on European standards which include intelligence, quick wit, power, and action. The transitions in conceptualizing masculinity as indicated by the authors show the challenges sometimes paused by singularizing masculinity. Uchendu (2008) argues that the European model and African model of masculinity exist side by side.

Van der Wall (2007) argues that in gender studies, academic attention given to the male gender is as a by-product of the feminist movement. This contributes to the imbalanced attention attributed between these two genders in terms programs, interventions, and research hence there is an issue of gender inequality. Uchendu (2008) particularly posit that there is little research on adolescent boys about their perceptions on masculinity. With limited available research on young men and masculinity internationally, regionally and nationally there is co-existence of both hegemonic and none hegemonic masculinity beliefs.

Research done in America on young men revealed the persistent dominance of hegemonic masculinity beliefs of giving superiority to the male gender; characterized by sexual prowess and objectification of women (Wallace, 2007; Bell, Rosenberger & Ott, 2014). However, Bell et al (2014) study had an interesting additional finding contrary to the hegemonic belief; that young men also valued trusting, intimate and caring relations which are often described as being feminine. It is worth noting that masculinity is multidimensional; there is a relational dimension which the above mentioned finding speaks to. Additionally, there in an economic dimension;

being the most used by people when exploring masculinity perceptions or when talking about men's roles.

Wade and Rochlen's (2013) research found that young African-American males defined manhood in terms of being a provider, aggressiveness, competitiveness, and ambition. This finding is similar to the findings of an Asian study by Khalaf, Low, Ghorbani and Khoei (2013) that states that young Malaysian men listed having a good job as the most important masculine ideal. Findings in Korea, China, Japan, and Taiwan in particular had a bit of variation; being a man of honor, being a family man and being in control were mentioned as important; in addition to having a lot of money. This is very similar to Africa as reported by research conducted in Botswana, Nigeria, South Africa, and Uganda by Barker and Ricardo (2005); which reported that achieving financial independence; employment; subsequently starting a family; education attainment, virility and macho image (Uchendu, 2008) are key requirements to masculinity attainment in Africa.

Studies on hegemonic masculinity particularly in South Africa focused on beliefs such as toughness, perpetuation of violence and acquisition of multiple sexual partners which contributes to HIV/AIDS rate (Groes-Green, 2009; Shai, Jewkes, Nduna & Dunkle, 2012). Such beliefs have a negative impact on young developing men and thus, as Groes-Green (2009) argues it is essential to scrutinize the social background in which masculinity emerges. Such beliefs lead to men denying aspects of their emotional selves that go against the belief of toughness. This results in them acting violently; and violence contributes to family breakdown and dysfunctional communities. Lastly, the belief of acquisition of multiple partners which contributes to high rates of HIV/AIDS increases the rate of orphanages in the country and the burdensome responsibility by grandparents, mostly grandmothers (Zimmer & Dayton, 2003; Reijer, 2013). These beliefs are dominant in communities in which the young men in the study are living in.

South Africa has high unemployment rate which greatly affects black youth; there is extreme wealth inequalities; rise in absent fathers' phenomenon; high levels of violence; high rates of HIV/AIDS; and poor education system (Bunati, 2005; Morrell et al., 2012; Msila, 2001). All these issues pose as a threat to the process of achieving social development goals; which are about promoting people's wellbeing (Midgley, 1995). This research aimed to explore teenage

boys' perceptions of masculinity in contemporary society. Exploration of teenage boys' masculinity perceptions is important within social development as detrimental masculinity conceptions have dire impact on achieving social development goals.

1.3 AIM AND OBJECTIVESOF THE STUDY

The main aim of this research was to explore teenage boys' perceptions of being a man in contemporary society. To achieve this, the following objectives were formulated:

i. To explore influential people in the formation of teenage boys' perceptions of masculinity
ii. To investigate teenage boys' views of the roles and responsibilities men have in society;
iii. To explore whom teenage boys' regard as being 'true' men and why do they think so

1.4 RESEARCH QUESTION

How do teenage boys perceive what it means to be a man in today's society?

1.5 OVERVIEW OF RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

This study used a qualitative research approach. Qualitative research approach aims at discovering and understanding the experiences, perspectives, and thoughts of participants, that is qualitative research explores meaning, purpose, or reality (Neuman, 2000). The purpose of this research study was exploratory in nature. The research design used is the case study. Case studies assists in exploring and understanding a phenomenon (Baxter & Jack, 2009). Individuals formed the unit of analysis. Recruitment for participants was done through purposive sampling, with the researcher selecting participants with an agenda in mind. And data collection through individual semi-structured in-depth interviews followed by a focus group for further exploration of the subject under study. Analysis of data was done through the use of thematic content analysis.

1.6 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIVISM

Social constructivism is one of the used approaches in understanding the world. Scott and Marshall (2009) explain that social constructivism emphasizes that society is produced by human beings. This approach strongly emphasizes active participation of human beings in producing social life. Linking this approach to the study of masculinities Khalaf et al (2013) pleasantly capture it; "the social construction of masculinities explains that gender and role expectations are related to the environment in which we grow up, as well as how we live our lives within as social context. It also emphasizes the influence of social interactions and cultural norms in shaping masculine behaviors and role expectations" (p. 2). This theory shows that boys are not just passive in their process of socialization; rather they are also main actors in the process. They can decide to submit to gender expectations for boys (maintaining) or they can reject (negotiating).

Social constructivist acknowledges the change process. "Social constructivism theory believes that masculinity is socially and culturally constructed, no model would be useful for very long as human experiences are always changing" (Kahn, 2009, p 89). This theory posits that there is no singularity in masculinity as it has for a long time been assumed. van Klinken (2012) argues that singular masculinity is problematic, because gender is a social and cultural construct (Beynon, 2002; Edga, Borgatta, & Montgomery, 2010). Social constructivist theory assists in understanding the concept of masculinities.

Longland (2008) argues that masculinities are diverse, not only between but also within societies. This speaks to multiple masculinities that there is no singularity in being a man. There are many ways of being a man and they should all be respected and accounted. Multiple masculinities are assumed to be developed, learned, considered, selected and enacted as a man partakes in a constant construction of gender (Sobal, 2011). Multiple masculinities grant men a chance to exercise their sense of agency without fearing punishment or devaluation.

Imms (2000) outlines three characteristics of multiple masculinities. Firstly, masculinity is not homogeneous or condensed to a set of simple standards. This goes back to gender stereotypes, which explain behaviors and practices for men and failure to adhere to them often leads to exclusion and one's sexuality being questioned. Secondly, individuals and societal structures

construct gender. Thirdly, gender is a relational construct; boys and men do not construct what it means to be a man separated from the influences of femininity and other men. Even though boys do not like to be associated with girls, girls are central in their construction of what it means to be a boy or men. Lastly, multiple masculinities diversify hegemonic power structures.

Kahn (2009) explains that hegemonic masculinity includes four types of relations that are hierarchal. First, is dominant masculinity that refers to socially expected way of being male; the emphasis is on competition, wealth, aggression and heterosexuality. However, the reality is that not all men are able to attain dominant masculinity. For instance, we can take the element of wealth; linking this to the economic status of our country with high unemployment rate, most men never acquire this element. Competition is also linked to wealth. According to dominant masculinity, homosexual men are not considered masculine.

Secondly, it is complicit masculinity which refers to masculinity that is not dominant but supports dominant masculinity. Thirdly, there is marginalized masculinity, which refers to groups outside dominant masculinity. The last one is similar, that is marginalized masculinity; masculinity that is seen in demeaning forms and not viewed as legitimately fitting to what men do (Kahn, 2009). Gay man would fit to the last type.

Social constructivist helped the researcher in understanding teenage boy's role in further perpetuation of already present beliefs on what it means to be a man or how they reject, transform or construct new meaning of being a man in contemporary society. Multiple masculinities enabled the researcher to have an open mind as she conducted the research, and gave participants a chance to be themselves.

1.7 DEFINITION OF KEY CONCEPTS OF THE RESEARCH STUDY

Contemporary Society- These two central concepts will be used in the study. Society is "a group of people whose relationships are organized and structured by a culture" (Stark et al, 1973). "Modernization refers to a process which the societies goes through such as industrialization, urbanization and other social changes that completely transforms the lives of individuals" (Paliwal, Phil, & Paliwal, 2011, p. 58). Therefore, contemporary society is society

that has been transformed from being traditional through social change processes such as urbanization, industrialization, globalization to modernity.

Perception-This is the "process that organizes sensations into meaningful patterns. Sensation is the process that detects stimuli from our bodies and surroundings" (Sdorow, 1993, p. 180). Perceptions provides contact with the external world, its role is to provide description of the world. It provides basis for all our interactions with the world (Scott & Spencer, 1998)

Socialization- "refers to the process by which individuals become distinctive and actively functioning members of the society in which they live" (Zigler, Lamb & Child, 1982, p. 13). "Socialization refers to the learning of expectations, habits, skills, values, beliefs, and other requirements necessary for effective participation in social groups" (Landis, 2001, p.35). For the purpose of this research the second definition is used.

Teenagehood- teenagehood is synonymous to adolescence. Therefore the researcher defined this key concept on basis of adolescence definition. Stevens-Long and Cobb (1983) define adolescents from three perspectives; biological, sociological and psychological perspectives. Biological perspective defines it as a period of sexual reproductive growth. Sociological perspective defines it as a transitional period from a dependent state of childhood to a self-sufficient state of adulthood. And lastly psychological perspective defines it as a process of forming a stable self-identity and transition of roles bridging the childhood they must leave and adulthood they must enter.

1.8 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Ethical considerations applied in this study included; voluntary participation which is about participants willingly taking part in the study. To ensure this participants information sheets (Appendix A (I) were read for participants and with participants. Secondly; informed consent; the researcher invited parents or guardians to sign the consent form through their sons after explaining the research purpose and process to them. Main participants also signed an assent form. Thirdly; non-maleficence which; is about not causing harm to participants during the course of research. Psycho-emotional support was made available to participants in case participants experience emotional difficulties due to the research process. Lastly;

confidentiality/violation of privacy/anonymity; this is about protecting participants identification information. Pseudo names and numbering were used instead of participants' real names, however complete anonymity could not be maintained as there was direct contact with participants during data collection.

1.9 ORGANIZATION OF THE RESEARCH REPORT

The research report comprises five chapters, which build on each other as described below:

Chapter One orientates the reader to the topic of the research study and briefly gives an outline of the presenting problem that signifies the study. It also familiarizes the reader to the layout of the whole research report.

Chapter Two provides a general idea of available literature on the topic understudy that is masculinity, in particular teenage boys' perceptions of masculinity. It looks broadly at adolescence, masculinity, gender socialization process, gender stereotypes, men and power, and masculinity transition periods.

Chapter Three presents a map on how the study was conducted; it describes the research approach, research design, methodology, ethical considerations, and limitations of the study.

Chapter Four focuses on presentation of results and discussion of findings on teenage boys' perceptions on what it means to be a man in a contemporary society. Results are textual in nature due to the research approach used which is informed by the research question.

Chapter Five discusses a summary of main findings of the research study. It also includes general conclusions of the study as well as recommendations for future research, policy as well as social development.

1.10 CONCLUSION

This chapter gave an orientation to the research report. It highlighted that masculinity is a process that one has to achieve and it starts early in a boy child's life and its construction occurs in various contexts and periods and may be influenced by various people. In addition

masculinity is not achieved in isolation; but may be influenced by historical factors; socioeconomic conditions and societal systems which may pause as a challenge to attaining masculinity. It also gives a general overview of masculinity studies with young men in other countries.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents an in-depth discussion of available literature on the subject of masculinity. There is enormous research done on gender, however, the focus has been hugely on females and less on males' which poses an imbalance. This could be due to the fact that gender studies find its base in feminist scholarships (Sinha, 1999). Hence this research aims at contributing to the developing research arena on men's studies in particular young men. The discussion will engage with the following themes; adolescence as a development stage, a definition and discussion of masculinity as a social and cultural construct; South Africa's transitional periods and their impact on conceptualization of masculinity, socialization as a process of masculinity construction and sources of socialization. The chapter ends with a conclusion which summarized the chapter's discussion.

2.2 STAGES OF DEVELOPMENT: ADOLESCENCE

Adolescence is a stage marked by numerous changes (Oluwole, 2010). The changes happen at different spheres of an adolescent's life. Hence there are different theorists who explain the respective developmental areas; which gives a comprehensive understanding of the adolescence stage. These developmental areas include; biological, psychological, psychosocial, cognitive and social (ecological) as illustrated in Table 2.1. One of the main theorists in the biological developmental area is G. Stanley Hall (as cited in Sdorow, 1992) who defines adolescence as a transition between childhood and adulthood. The main processes in biological development are puberty and sexual maturation which include skeletal growth between the age of 10 and 12 years; and puberty which involves enlargement of testes, first ejaculation, body hair and changed voice (Sdorow, 1992; APA, 2002). The manifestations of these changes serve as a confirmation to one's masculinity process as reported by the findings of a Nigerian study with adolescent boys by Uchendu (2008) who expressed a macho image which entails broad shoulders, muscular body and virility as signs of masculinity.

The other developmental area is cognitive with Jean Piaget as the main theorist. According to Piaget's (as cited in Scott & Spencer, 1998) stages of cognitive development at the age of 11 or 12 years of age children enter the stage of 'formal operational thinking' which refers to the ability to think in abstract, logical and systematic ways. Sdorow (1992) further explains that formal operation thinking is about problem solving through testing hypothesis. It can be argued that this is the age where young developing men begin to engage with what they have been taught during early socialization about being a man. Cognitive development involves changes in reasoning, thinking and understanding; the ability to think in terms of cause and effect. Attainment of higher level thinking is symbolized by ability to think about the future, evaluating alternatives and ability to set personal goals (APA, 2002). There is a close link between cognitive development and the man's expected roles such as that of a provider and attaining masculine status. This is illustrated by Nice (2001) that "real man is someone who feels the need to rise to the challenge of the opportunities available to him to increase his honor by pursuing glory and distinction in the public sphere" (p. 51). Cognitive development is also a base for moral development, which is about a sense of values and ethical behavior (APA, 2002).

The third area of development is psychosocial development with Erik Erikson as the main theorist. "According to Erikson psychosocial theory of development, the most important task to adolescence is to resolve the crisis of identity versus role confusion. The adolescent develops a sense of identity by adopting his or her set of values and social behaviors (Sdorow, 1992, p. 155). There are two central concepts in this process; self-concept referring to set of beliefs about oneself; and self-esteem which is about how one feels about oneself (APA, 2002). Linking this to masculinity, it means an adolescent boy's beliefs about himself must be fitting to those of masculine ideals in a particular society. In addition, how he feels about himself is determined by whether there is a fit between self-beliefs and societal masculine ideals.

Another central aspect of psychosocial development is emotional intelligence, which entails ability to manage stress and sensitivity towards others as well as self-awareness and relationship skills (APA, 2002). However, it is posited that women, on average, are more aware of their emotions, show more empathy, and are more adept interpersonally; due to these abilities women's emotional intelligence tend to be higher than that of men (Ahmad, Bangash, & Khan, 2009). Beyon (2002) explains that men tend to repress their emotions; they learn to do this from the environments they grow up in which are marked by gender stereotypes.

The last developmental area is the ecological. Bronfenbrenner (1994) posits that human development occurs through reciprocal processes between the individual and the environment. He outlines five systems that influence the developing individual; microsystem (family); mesosystem; exosystem; macrosystem; and chronosystmem. Cooper and Denwer (1998) pleasantly explain the connectedness of these systems in peoples' lives by saying; "people are nested within the immediate social and material setting or microsystem within linkages across settings or mesosystem and interacting with more distant exosystem and macrosystem, all see in across historical time (chronosystmem)" (p. 564). Ecological development entails the social structures that form part of the adolescent child's life; family, peers, school, and community (APA, 2002). Oluwole (2010) states that at this stage, the adolescent child withdraws a little from the family and clings more to peers; and acceptance by friends results into higher levels of self-esteem and academic achievement. However, it can be argued that this does not always lead to positive results as gaining peers acceptance might not always be easy. At times it might lead to one doing bad things in order to be accepted, and those things might be detrimental to academic performance. This research has the basis of the psychosocial and ecological developmental areas.

Table 2.1: Theories of Adolescence adopted from Spano (2004).

Theories of Adolescence
(Muuss, R., et.al., 1996; Rice and Dolgin, 2002)

Developmental Area	Primary Theorist	Main Focus
Biological	G. Stanley Hall, Arnold Gesell, James Tanner	Focus of the period is physical and sexual development determined by genes and biology.
Psychological	Sigmund Freud, Anna Freud	Focus on adolescence as a period of sexual excitement and anxiety.
Psychosocial	Erik Erikson	Focus is on identity formation; adolescents struggle between achieving identity and identity diffusion.
Cognitive	Jean Piaget	Focus is on formal operational thought; moving beyond concrete, actual experiences and beginning to think in logical and abstract terms.
Ecological (interaction between individual and environment)	Urie Bronfenbrenner	Focus is on the context in which adolescents develop; adolescents are influenced by family, peers, religion, schools, the media, community, and world events.
Social Cognitive Learning	Albert Bandura	Focus is on the relationship between social and environmental factors and their influence on behavior. Children learn through modeling.
Cultural	Margaret Mead, Carol Gilligan	Focus is on the culture in which the child grows up.

2.3 MASCULINITY

The term man and male are often used interchangeably; however, there is an error in doing so because there is a distinction between the two terms. Hence, sometimes there is a distortion on how society and even men themselves understand the meaning of being a man due to failure to draw this distinction. Man and male speaks to gender and sex. Udry (1994) explains that gender is relationship between biological sex and behavior. Ratele (2008a) clearly explains how an individual becomes a male by saying that maleness is biological. For a baby to be a boy is through the Y chromosome contributed by the father; a sex determining gene. The sexual body and separate reproductive functions serve as predictions to being female or male (Ouzgane &

Morrell, 2005). This explains the biological aspect of being a man, however there is also a social aspect that is gender.

Gender is a social construct on what differentiates individuals, it is based on social and cultural beliefs; it is about power relations, gender hierarchies, and inequalities (Khunou, 2006; Kahn, 2009; Wyrod, 2011 & Barker & Pawlak, 2011). There are different gender types, however only two are widely accepted; that is femininity and masculinity. Nonetheless, the purpose of this study is mainly on masculinity. Ratele (2008a) argues that society needs masculinity not just testicles.

Watson (1995) posits that masculinity is acquired, achieved, and initiated into, a process that is painful and may even involve painful mutilations. This means that a male individual toils before he could gain the status of being a man; Udry (1994) states that inability to participate in these rituals or practices maybe lead to exclusions or hush punishments. For instance in the Xhosa culture; man who has not been to traditional initiation school are excluded from association with men who have been. This may lead to pressure resulting to young man taking steps, which they or their families are not yet ready for. Men are acculturated and formed of social coded behavior which they learn to reproduce in culturally suitable ways (Beyon, 2002).

Beyon (2002) explains that masculinity is always interposed by cultural, historical and geographical location. The three elements mentioned by the author points out to the position that there is no uniformity in masculinity. However, historically, in many cultures the widely accepted form of masculinity is traditional masculinity, what Beyon (2002) termed *neuromuscular amour* which is about coercing men to suppress their tenderness, emotions, and signs of vulnerability. Suppressing these feelings is not something that men are born with; it is something that they learn in gender socialization to being men. Addis and Mahalik (2003) explain where this learning comes from; the authors explain that we learn about gendered attitudes and behaviors from cultural values, norms, and ideologies about what it means to be a man.

Even though masculinity is one of the generally known accepted genders, not everyone is in agreement of the idea of masculinity. MacInnes (as cited in Beyon, 2002) argues that masculinity exists in the first place only as a fantasy about what men should be like, a chimerical construction to help people order and make sense of their lives. From this argument,

it can be further argued that femininity is a fantasy too. Secondly, if it orders and gives sense to people's lives then, it has an element of reality and existence. However, this can be disputed by saying that in contemporary society where marked by high rates of unemployment hegemonic or traditional masculinity is a fantasy to many men. This would then make the notion of *hybridized masculinity* by Beyon (2002) relevant; "that masculinity is experienced and displayed differently at different times in different situations" (p.5). An example of this can be a man who is the 'head' in his home therefore acts in a certain way that makes the wife and his children subordinates but yet at his work because he is an employee there are some people who are above him, with more power and prestige as a result he is an subordinate, this can also be the case with friends. Beyon (2002) outlines factors that shape masculinity in the following diagram.

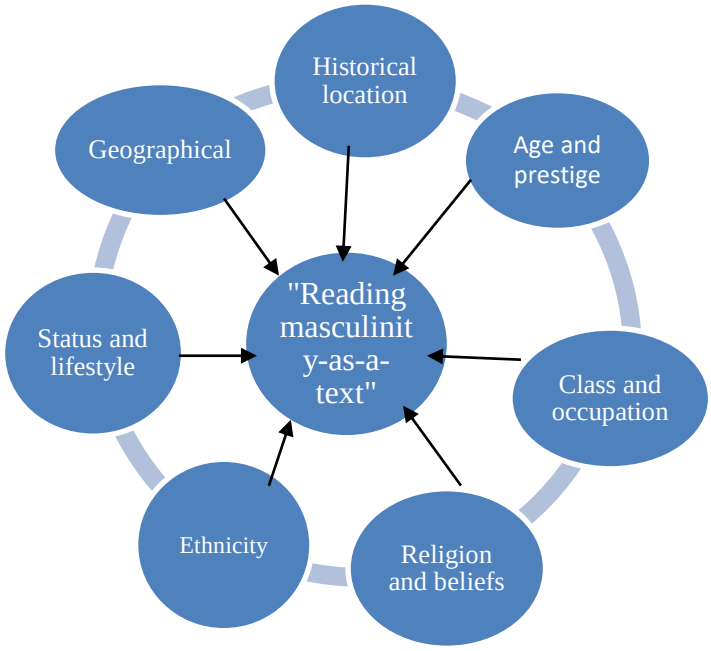


Figure 2.1: Factors That Shape Masculinity Adapted from Beyon (2002)

2.3.1 HEGEMONIC MASCULINITY AND PATRIARCHY

Imms (2000) posits that masculinity is innately patriarchal and hegemonic. The primary figure of hegemonic masculinity is Connell; the theorist who expanded on Antonio Gramsci's concept of cultural hegemonic. Hegemonic masculinity is the pattern of practice that permits the

continuation of men's dominance over women (Donaldson, 1993; Connell, 1996 & Kahn, 2009). Power is the main factor in the relationship between men and women. The imbalances of power may lead to other problems between the two genders such as domestic violence for one. Christian (1994) continues to say that is also about what sustains their power and what is the majority of men who are motivated to support it. The central reason for support is the benefits that men enjoy from the subordination of women. One of the possible benefits could be that of self-esteem and hype.

Tosli (2007) describes three types of power; power-over, power-to, and power-within. Firstly, power-over in relation to gender analysis refers to power as predominantly wielded by men over other men and over women. This shows that inequality is not only present between men and women but also among men themselves. The author continues to outline the spheres in which this power is practiced; politically, economically, socially and culturally and is practiced over the marginalized groups. Tosli (2007) describes this power as *"finite supply"* or as *"zero sum"* "meaning that one group or person's increase in power leads to anther's loss of power" (p. 31).

Secondly; power-to which is defined as "generative and productive power, which creates new possibilities and actions without domination. It relates to having decision making authority" (Tosli, 2007, p. 32). This is the ideal type of power, which speaks to the issue of gender equality. This type of power also influences one's life experiences. Where there is power-to people are likely to be able to make independent choices and to pursue their own goals. This type of power may also liberate men from dominant hegemonic masculinity beliefs. Marinova (2003) further argues that men should learn to listen to women. This can be achieved through the practice of power-to as opposed to power-over.

The last type of power is power-within; which entails people organizing with a common purpose or understanding to attain a collective goal. It has the sense that the whole being is greater than sum of individuals (Tosli, 2003). This type of power has an element of systematic thinking and gender equality. The reality is that often gender equality is talked about in relation to women. However, as we have seen when describing power-over that power or domination is also exerted over other men by men themselves. This signifies that there is gender equality needed among men as well. However, in hegemonic masculinity the most exercised type of power is power-over.

Kimmel, Hearn and Connell (2005) argue that hegemonic masculinity organizes and legitimatize men domination. In other words, it normalizes the power given to men over women. Women who attempt to fight this imbalance of power face great challenges that might sometimes pose danger to their lives. Donaldson (1993) explains what men can do with hegemonic masculinity that they can analyze, distance from, appropriate, negotiate, challenged, reproduce, separate from, give-up, choose, confront, or impose. This means that it is not a given that all men accept and practice hegemonic masculinity. The author further says that not all men practice hegemonic masculinity even though they benefit from it. These are the few men who are not in agreement with it, however due to their minority and possible fear they remain voiceless as a result they do not challenge it.

Gwata (2009) explains that those who are in opposition of hegemonic masculinity have to fight and negotiate their way out of hegemonic masculinity which often comes with punishment. Those who adhere to hegemonic masculinity tend to manifest hegemonic male behavior; which is about "extended periods outside home during evenings and weekends with male friends, which may also serve as an opportunity for womanizing" (Barker & Greene, 2012, p. 12). Those who adhere to this behavior expose their heath and that of their partners to diseases such as HIV/AIDS and other Sexually Transmitted Diseases (STD's).

Donaldson (1993) also explains what hegemonic masculinity does to men; that it fascinates, undermines, appropriate some men's bodies, organize, harm and deny. It can pressurize and imprison some men as it seems as being natural in its transition. It can deny some men of exercising their autonomy and agency of being a man. Patriarchy is the basis of hegemonic masculinity.

Hearn and Morgan (1996) talk of two forms of rule of men, patriarchy, and fratriarchy. Patriarchy is about rule of the fathers (Hearn & Morgan, 1996, Hooper, 2001). However, Hooper (2001) also continues to define patriarchy as the historical and contemporary oppression of women by men. Macleod (2007) argues that patriarchy makes all men enemies and women victims. Giving meaning of being a man from a patriarchal lens would mean one is a man if he exerts power over women. However, there is a problem with this as it has an aspect of normalizing the abuse of women and children especially girl children. Nevertheless, in contemporary society there are mechanisms put in place to fight the abuse of women and girl

children, which might leave men who still define and understand their manhood in relation to being oppressive to women feeling less manly.

Watson (1995) further explains patriarchy as dominance of older men over younger ones, fathers over daughters and husbands over wives. This then means that the 'benefits' of patriarchy are fully enjoyed by older men than younger men and it may lead to younger men looking forward to getting to that stage hence practices and behaviors associated with being a man are generational. However, Kimmel et al (2005) reported that younger generation in Germany were rejecting of patriarchal models of gender relations and in favor of egalitarian relations, which require a compromise between the two genders.

However, egalitarianism must ensure that gender roles which are functional to society are not blurred, but rather mutual respect must exist between the two genders and oppression of women done away with. Marinova (2003) argues that for many men, patriarchy is a more symbolic than material, that to some it might even be an illusion. This means that it is not all men who have dominance over their wives, younger men, and daughters; however it does not mean that it is not something that they aspire to. Marinova (2003) further explains that a patriarchal society is a violent society.

2.3.2 GENDER STEREOTYPES: BLACK MEN'S MASCULINE IDEALS

"Gender stereotypes are beliefs concerning the characteristics of men and women and they contain negative and positive traits" (Baron, Byrne & Branscombe, 2007, p. 156). It is stereotypes that sometimes hold homosexual men from disclosing their sexual orientation, the same stereotypes sometimes imprison heterosexual men. Prentice and Carranza (2002) argue that gender stereotypes justify and perpetuate the status quo of inequality between men and women. Common gender stereotypes linked with men include; aggressiveness, lack of emotions, loud, naughty, moneymaker, math and science, invincible, and indomitable (Gilbert & Gilbert, 1998 & Aksu, 2005). With regard to violence and aggression, Wood (2005) gives a possible explanation for that; that during the colonial and apartheid economies men were hugely disadvantaged by the exploitative migrant labor system, which led to the domestic sphere being the primary sphere where they reassert their sense of masculinity.

Gender stereotypes are about what society makes a man to be. According to research conducted in the Democratic Republic of Congo by Lwambo (2011) a good man is described as earning an honest living and has time to be with his family, he is not a drunkard and does no waste money with other women. This is an interesting difference from the South African context, which normalizes drinking and having multiple sexual partners as a norm for men (Peacook et al, 2008). The notion of having multiple sexual partners is sometimes interpreted as a key masculine requirement. Barker and Ricardo (2005) explain male circumcision in East Uganda that after, the young man must have sex to expel the evil and boyish spirit and the sex should be unprotected. This is also the notion in South Africa and this exposes men to HIV/AIDS and other Sexually Transmitted Diseases (STD's).

Having employment is outlined as one of the main elements to the question of what makes a man (Hunter & Davis, 1994; Barker & Ricardo, 2005; Khunou, 2006 & Hobza & Walker, 2007). Rochlen and Wade (2013) and Hunter and Davis (1994) explain that being black and in America put one at risk of being unemployed. Looking at the relationship made between masculinity and employment; it means that black males' sense of masculinity is in crisis in America; which is also a case in South Africa as the unemployment rate is high and it mostly affects black youth (Morrell et al., 2012). Hunter and Davis (1994) outline an order of men roles sanctioned by men; provider, husband, and father. However, with the increase of women's participation in paid work it leads to some men earning less than women, some even depending on women's earning. However, economic dependence of women negatively affects men's self-esteem, stigma, and loss of dignity (Marinova, 2003). This is the disadvantage of mainly defining manliness on economic resources.

These are linked to access to income, one must have money in order to marry and be husband to someone. Having a stable income is a way to being socially recognized as adult man which is linked to family formation. However, Hunter ((2005) posit that many young men today struggle to form families due to the high cost of *lobolo* (bride worth). Lack of stable income may lead to delaying marriage and family formation. However family formation remains important for men in African culture (Hunter, 2005). Nevertheless, Scott (2006) argues that there is now a decline in family and a rise in cohabitation and other forms of intimate partnerships. Although, those who engage in such partnerships often are faced with pressure to get married.

Overall, gender stereotypes are easily internalized by both men and women. With regard to women, Agassi (1989) talks of *obligatory heterosexuality*, "this is a form of male dominance, men's use of women as objects of exchange. Women are raised to internalize their 'inferior' status" (p. 67). The internalization process leads to women normalizing the dominance that men exert over them. With regard to men, Mahalik (2003) talks of *gender role conflict*, which "identifies the negative consequences for men's wellbeing for adopting particular masculinity ideologies" (p.7). These negative consequences are mainly hegemonic masculinity ideologies.

2.4 MASCULINITY: PRE-COLONIAL, COLONIAL AND POST-COLONIAL IN SOUTH AFRICA

Shoenberg (1993) states that "an understanding of what constitutes masculine behaviors or how a man should lead his life in order to be considered manly changes with the time and with space" (p. 29). The world has gone through transition periods which had has an impact of how people experience the world and their gendered selves. There are various factors that influence notions of masculinity including historical experiences (Uchendu, 2008). South Africa is one of the many African countries that were impacted by colonial rule which altered the lives of its citizens. As the researcher discusses these three periods; pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial distinctions between Western and African masculinities automatically come to the fore.

Morrell and Swart (2004) explain the basis of masculinity ideals pre-colonialism; "manliness was based on the fathers and husbands dignity, reflected in the respect from juniors in his family, his wives, and most importantly his self-restrain. The male head of the household was the decision marker and controller of its wealth" (p. 102). What is mostly evident from this is the presence of patriarchy, the man had the power and he could marry more than one wife. In addition fertility was essential in that one's manliness was based on being a father. This might have placed extreme pressure on couples who could not have children, more so on the wife. The wealth that defines men's manliness status was measured by the number of cattle one has which was the basis for having more than one wife (Hadebe, 2010). Wealth seems to have been the basis of what defined men's manliness status and because it was measured by cattle men had some level of control over their wealth as opposed to the present time; whereby there are external factors that individuals have no control over.

The pre-colonial period was followed by the colonial period which eroded the pre-colonial socioeconomic structures. The colonial period basically challenged traditional masculinities by deconstructing the means through which men used to exercise authority over their families (Huisman, 2011). Men were now recruited to build rail roads and urban centre's (Hadebe, 2010). Nonetheless, this new system could not accommodate everyone; some could not find work in the cities as a result had to return home; with cattle no longer existing they did odd jobs with insufficient pay which they did not spend on their families but alcohol and women and this also led to the rise of domestic violence (Morrell & Swart, 2004). The enticement with alcohol and women seems to be indicative of their frustrations as the little pay could not maintain their big families. The changes brought by colonial period seem to have led to the breakdown of African family system. In addition, colonizers impressions of African men as stupid, lifeless, and lacking power while the European model of manliness was given superiority characterized by intelligence, wittiness, power and action (Uchendu, 2008); further added to challenges faced by African men in colonial period. As a result colonization led to African men incorporating European model masculine ideals to their sense of manliness.

Then there came an apartheid regime which shared some traits with the colonial powers. During the apartheid regime wealth was concentrated in the hands of white industrialists who exploited African black men though the migrant labors system (Hadebe; 2010; Morrell et al., 2012). Hadebe (2010) further explains that during apartheid black men were regarded as boys by white men; even a young white boy would be senior to a black man. Migrant labor also brought changes in the family system, in that husbands were separated from their wives and children. Although these periods have passed; African men still have the legacy of colonialism (Ouzgane & Morrell, 2005).

Overall, these periods were marked by gender inequality. "Gender inequality is thought to show in a hierarchal view of genders, where the men are above the women, who are considered inferior and less valued by their gender; it involves hierarchy of power" (Mikkola, 2008, p. 12). Gender inequality stems from the dominant gender stereotypes that exist in society from ancient times. However, it is worth highlighting that inequality also existed within black men.

2.5 CONTEMPORARY MASCULINITIES

Uchendu (2008) posits that there have been great changes in masculinity ideals and expressions of masculinity in Africa since the ancient times. These changes were brought about with the adoption of gender equality; which is enshrined in the Constitution of 1996 Section 9 (3) which states that no one can be discriminated against on the grounds of gender. Post 1994 new laws were introduced that had the basis of gender equality (Morrell et al., 2012). However, the authors further highlight that it has not been a smooth sailing in realizing gender equality. There have been different messages portrayed by South Africa's democratic presidents.

Mandela introduced gender equality; however his successor Mbeki was viewed as being resistant to programs of gender equality. The current president Zuma is "asserting in the name of tradition, masculinities that is heterosexual, patriarchal, implicitly violent and that glorified ideas of sexual enticement notably polygamy and conspicuous sexual success with women" (Morrell et al., 2012, p. 17). There is also an element of women objectification, which can be further supported with the rape case against the president. In addition, Morrell et al (2012) argue that Julius Malema promotes youth masculinity that celebrates assertions of power and wealth with acquisition predicted on entitlement. It can be argued that this contributes to violent behavior by men due to lack of actualization of wealth that one feels entitled to. However, all these do not change South Africa's ultimate goal of gender equality.

"Gender equality means an equal visibility, empowerment and participation of both sexes in all spheres of public and private life (Walby, 2003, p. 7). Gender equality is not about sameness but about equal respect of the distinct roles that women and men play in society. In order to achieve equality between women and men there needs to be a change in the traditional roles of men as well as women and in the family (Marinova, 2003 & Dudte, 2008). Agassi (1989) states that according to the family structure and household, private family restricts women to household work and child care which results to inequality.

Barker and Pawlak (2011) explain gender inequality aspects; the difference in gender roles between men and women. The fact that men are expected to be economic providers and breadwinners (Hunter & Davis, 1994) while women are expected to be providers of care and be primarily responsible for reproductive aspect of family life. This is similar to the findings of an Asian study of four respective countries; China, Japan, Korea and Taiwan that men's primary

role is that of an economic provider. In addition, an American study by Beer (1983) found husbands as providers thought that it is only fair that the wife performs the domestic chores.

However, in order to achieve this there also need to be changes in policy. For instance men who are working are not given time off for family responsibility in the birth of their children. Barker and Greene (2012) describe the differences concerning paternity leave in various countries. In Brazil there is five day paternity leave; Chile increased it from two days in the year 2000 to five-days taken within the first month of birth. Since 2011 women are permitted to transfer up to six days of their maternity leave to the father. This can be seen as a form of cooperation and shared responsibility. In Mexico there is ten days of paternity leave. According to the South Africa's Basic Conditions of Employment Act 75 of 1997 Section 27 only makes provision of three paid days for men to be used at the time of birth.

Marinova (2003) and Barker and Greene (2012) posit that young men are supportive of gender equality, especially those from educated middle class. Younger men are becoming involved in child care and other domestic work than older men. Agassi (1989) argues that as a precondition for gender equality, there needs to be an extensive change in the marriage contract and household division of labor. In addition, for this to happen there needs to be a decline in women's economic dependence on men; increase in women's control over their reproduction; and for men to gradually realize that a gender egalitarian dual role of occupational and domestic work is integrated in their long-term interest.

2.6 SOCIALIZATION PROCESS AND ITS AGENTS

Tripp (1992); Kimmel and Aronson (2004); Richter and Morrell (2006); and Ratele (2008b) argues that masculinity is achieved. Masculinity is achieved through the process of socialization. "Socialization is a process by which a person learns the ways of a given society or a social group so that he or she can function within it" (Gwata, 2009, p.6). It is a lifelong learning process; boys start learning about being a man from very early stages of development, as the psychoanalytical theory argues that it starts immediately after birth (Kretchmar, 2009). "Gender socialization is learning society's gender roles and regulations and becoming adept at behaving in accordance with the socially accepted gender patterns associated with our sex" (Curran, 1999, p. 23).

Gilbert and Gilbert (1998) argue that men or boys have to bond with each other to achieve masculinity. There has to be interconnectedness with other people. The two authors also continue to say that they also need to pull away from women in order to become men (Garden of Eden myth). This is not a possibility, as both genders cannot live in isolation from each other. As they are conceived and carried to term by women; they form friendships and intimate relationships with women, as result pulling away from women is impossible. Rather it can be argued that they need to act in ways that are distinct and make it easy to identify them as men.

2.6.1 FAMILY-THE ROLE OF THE FATHER IN A BOY'S LIFE

Family is the main agent of socialization and is central in a child's life. Therefore, there are claims that children need both mother and father and this has a connotation that men and women parent differently in ways that are significant to child development (Biblarz, 2010). Parents are perceived and believed to the most significant sources of gender socialization, they treat their children based on gender (Kretchmar, 2009). The author continues to posit that infants are similar; however parents put an effort to make them appear dissimilar. With regard to boy children, the presence of the father in the family is given more emphasis and treated with importance for healthy development of a boy child. According to psychoanalytical theory gender formation start developing with identification with a same gender parent; and it is an unconscious psychological process (Kretchmar, 2009). Hence the father's presence is believed to be crucial for gender development of boy children. Shaw and Lohan (2012) posit that men's role as a father is fulfilling for both the father and the child. The man takes pride in being the father and the child takes pride in having a father.

Murray (2002) states that fathers tend to demand toughness from their sons, mothers demand protectiveness and strength. For instance if a father believes in rigid notions of hegemonic masculinity, he might not be accepting of a homosexual boy child. Fatherhood is often thought of in biological terms. However, Richter et al (2011) explain fatherhood with an open minded approach; "fatherhood occurs in contexts of intimae social relationships in which men play a significant role in parenting including the children who are not biologically their own" (p.51). This speaks to the phenomenon of social fatherhood.

Ratele, Shefer and Clowes (2012) adds the aspect o fathers 'being there' which relates to the quality of time spent with the child, not just physical time together. Schoenberg (1993) explain the role of a male figure as that of offering guidance to the young man by teaching them both formal and informal ways of being a man**.** Children are greatly aware of the presence of their fathers, and not knowing, losing, feeling neglected by him may lead to experiencing pain and stigma (Richter et al, 2011). This speaks to the growing phenomenon of absent living fathers. Lewis (2007) and Ratele et al (2012) argue that it affect mostly boy children. Ratele et al (2012) outlines causes of absent fathers as; unemployment, consequences of intimate partner violence, migration, abandonment, and masculinity ideologies. Therefore dealing with these issues would contribute to the development of future men with healthy sense of manliness. Biblarz and Stacey (2010) state that the father is viewed as the disciplinarian, problem solver, and play mate who provides crucial masculine parenting. In addition, it is insinuated that boys need fathers in order to develop appropriate masculine identity and to stop; and that boy children who are raised by their female parents lack discipline, have challenges with problem solving, and are deprived the privilege of masculine parenting.

There are certain dysfunctional behaviours and negative effects associated with absent fatherhood. These are listed as follow; antisocial behaviours such as violence, substance abuse, criminality, early childbearing, gang activities, stress, depression, low educational levels, poverty, lack of cultural identity and social impact such as cultural practices that involve fathers such as traditional circumcision rituals (McLanahan, 1986; Thupayagale-Tshweneagae, Mgutshini & Nkosi, 2012; McLanahan, Tach & Scheider, 2013; & Langa; 2014).

It is argued that children who grow up with two married parents tend to fare better than others (McLanahan, 1986 & Musick & Meier, 2010). McLanahan (1986) further argues that children from two parents have the privilege of growing up in families with financial stability; high levels of educational attainment and occupational attainment (Musick & Meier, 2010). However, with the alarming rate of substance abuse, unemployment, and domestic violence, even the above mentioned benefits cannot be assured to children in setting of both biological parents being present. Therefore, it is argued that what is of great importance is the relationship between the two parents, either biological or social. Hence Bablarz and Stacey (2010) argue that there is little research investigating whether the gender of the absent parent was accountable for different child outcomes in single-versus-two parent families.

2.6.2 SCHOOL

"Schools are social settings where gender and social identities are constructed, negotiated, and officially sanctioned, the overall educational environment offers influential messages about gender" (Stromquist, 2007, p. 8). The school environment is one of the contexts in which children develop to be people society expects them to be. Martino and Meyenn (2001) and Longland (2008) argue that schools are arenas where traditional and rigid gender stereotypes are strengthened.

Gilbert and Gilbert (1998) outline two types of behavior in relation to masculinity and schooling. Firstly, behavior that is a result of power imperatives such as bullying, sexual harassment, aggression and destructive behavior, and competition. Secondly, behavior that results from self-denial which includes poor social skills, fear of exhibiting weakness, intellectual and social problems. From this, it can be argued that boys are very restricted and are given no space to be themselves; this is a manifestation of dominant masculinity.

Teachers are the key agents of socialization in the school environment; as Stromquist (2007) posits that majority of the time is spent with the teachers. They are the secondary agents of socialization which takes central role as the child grows. Stromquist (2007) explains how teachers contribute to gender socialization; by sending multiple gendered messages through curriculum and organizational divisions. How they attribute worth to the work of girls or boys as well as treatment in the classroom. Teachers are also likely to suffer from *gender blindness*- "many teachers express the viewpoint that they treat boys and girls equally and that their gender is irrelevant. Gender blindness provides false sensitivity and impartiality, often at variances with actual practice" (Stromquist, 2007, p.p. 7-8). Addis and Mahalik (2003) argue that such affects individual's experiences.

2.6.3 PEER GROUP

Gender intercepts all life contexts; even children; their play tends to be sex segregated in nature (Kretchmar, 2009). For instance boys play with cars and guns, while girls play with dolls and domesticated toys. Even in cases where they play together as boys and girls, there still exists separate gender roles, girls will still play with domesticated toys and boys with cars. There

might be few instances where you find boys being fascinated and playing with domesticated toys and vice versa. However, this is often reprimanded by parents and fellow peers.

Marinova (2003) posits that peer pressure influences adherence to gender specific stereotypes. Lesser and Pope (2007) define peer pressure as a desire to please friends. Often in the school environment, there is rigidity in terms of how one should behave as a boy and deviation from the set behavior may lead to uncomfortable and unjust behavior from other boys. Longland (2008) explain that boys who associate with girls risk being teased and bullied; boys have to act, talk and do boyish things and failure to do so leads to being labeled as a sissy. The only time that a boy child can associate with a girl is only under sexual attraction, which then can be interpreted as being masculine. It is in this regard that peer pressure become extensive.

Peer pressure contributes to boys acting in accordance to the boy code. "Boy code of mask of masculinity is a kind of swaggering posture that boys embrace to hide their fears, suppress their dependency and vulnerability and present a stoic, impervious front" (Martino & Meyenn, 2001, p. 34). This leads to boys being in denial of their feminine side. Prentice and Carranza (2002) explain that violation of the boy code may lead to punishment and devaluation. These may lead to exclusion and mockery, which negatively affects the young man's desire for popularity.

2.6.4 CULTURE: TRADITIONAL MALE CIRCUMCISION

One way of gender socializing most black boys in most African ethnic groups is through male circumcision and often Traditional Male Circumcision (TMC) is often favoured over Medical Male Circumcision (MMC). Although, Nkosi (2013) argues that Traditional Male Circumcision (TMC) is highly contested; other people favour it while some are against it. Often those who are for it argues that it is culture and it must be honored while those who are against it quote incidents of the deaths that occur in the process. Male circumcision becomes central when conducting men studies or masculinity from black men's perspective. Gwata (2009) posits that male circumcision carries layers of learning. These meanings are on different levels, from micro, meso level to macro level. In the Xhosa culture an uncircumcised man cannot inherit his father's assets, cannot form a family, and cannot participate in ritual ceremonies' and that no Xhosa woman would knowingly and willingly marry an uncircumcised man (Nkosi, 2013).

TMC is a rite of passage to manhood (Gwata, 2009; Nkosi, 2013; and WHO, 2009). In cultures that adhere and inherently believe in the ritual of male circumcision, a man who has not been circumcised is not considered a man. “The ritual of male circumcision is a means of entrenching social norms and imparting cultural knowledge” (Gwata, 2009, p.7). There is an inherent assumption in this explanation that men cannot learn about social norms and cultural knowledge in relation to their gender outside male circumcision ritual. TMC is a process consisting of different phases; and all these phases’ journeys the initiate to manhood (Nkosi, 2013).

The first phase of traditional male circumcision is the *separation phase.* This phase entails physical, social and spiritual dimension (WHO, 2009). What follows in the separation phase is the actual circumcision; during this the initiates have to endure pain as traditional circumcision is done in absence of anesthesia (Gwata, 2009). Following the separation phase is the *transition phase.* This is the phase of creating a socially responsible man (Nkosi, 2013). It is the phase where the passing of social norms and cultural knowledge takes place.

2.7 CONCLUSION

This chapter reviewed existing literature on masculinity. There is extensive research on the subject of masculinity; however there is limited research on young men and masculinity as argued by some authors. The main argument in this chapter is that masculinity is a social construct that is embedded with hegemony and patriarchy; boy children are not born with it but rather socialized into it. In addition, masculinity construction has undergone various transition periods, which can be argued contributed to the concept of masculinities. The main argument in this concept is that there is no singularity in masculinity. Masculinity is acted out differently in different contexts and time. Although a boy child is not born masculine, socialization process to the masculine gender starts very early in a boy’s life. There are various people who play central roles in the socialization process; parents, peers and teachers. It is then argued that that masculinity cannot be achieved in a vacuum.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter outlines the research process in conducting this study. The research approach and design are discussed as are the strengths and limitations to the approach taken. Finally, the research methodology is discussed in terms of sampling; research instrumentation; pre-testing of the tool; data collection and data analysis. Methodology focuses on the phenomenon under study, the place and time of research, the specific methods of data collection and analysis of the data and the definition of the research units is defined (Sarantakos, 1998). Lastly, ethical consideration and limitations specific to the study are discussed.

3.2 RESEARCH APPROACH

Methodology serves as a strategic guide for the research. It is the science of knowing (Babbie, 2010). There are three methodological approaches; post-positivism, interpretive and critical. However, the researcher employed the critical approach. “Critical approached suggest that we live in a power-laden context. They look at how power and hegemonic discourses shape experience and understanding” (Babbie, 2010, p.15). South Africa is still a highly patriarchal society, therefore this research aimed to explore how the patriarchal and hegemonic system in our country influence teenage boys’ perceptions on what it means to be a man.

The purpose of this research study was exploratory in nature. Babbie and Mouton (2001) explain that one of the reasons for an exploratory study is satisfying the researcher’s curiosity. The researcher’s curiosity regarding masculinity is whether teenage boys also believe in hegemonic masculinity beliefs as a result adhere to hegemonic male behavior? Babbie (2007) adds that exploratory studies are also done with the purpose of desiring to gain better understanding of the phenomenon understudy.

To achieve the aim and set objectives the researcher conducted this study through the use of qualitative research approach. A research approach is pre-determined by the research question

understudy (Mashall, 1996). This means that the research question is the main determinant in research approach selection. Qualitative research approach aims at discovering and understanding the experience, perspectives, and thoughts of participants; that is qualitative research explores meaning, purpose, or reality (Neuman, 2000). Through the use of qualitative research approach the researcher was able to gain teenage boy's perceptions on masculinity; she explored the meaning that they attach to being masculine or being a man in contemporary society.

Qualitative research is theoretically founded in constructivism and interpretivism which are central in the establishment of participants' perceptions. "Constructivism focuses on the firm belief that there is no neither objective reality nor objective truth. Meanings do not exist before a mind engages them. Constructing reality means making accounts of the world around us and gaining impressions based on culturally defined and historically situated interpretations and personal experience" (Sarantakos, 2013, pp. 38-39). People construct their reality based on culture and history.

The process of construction is facilitated by interpretivism (Sarantakos, 2013). Creswell (2003) states that interpretivism is fundamental in qualitative research. Interpretivism entails 'reflective assessment of the reconstructed impressions of the world and integration of action processes in general context" (Sarantakos, 2013, p. 40). Participants reflected on their perceptions of what it means being a man; which also made them to reflect on their behaviours in pursuit of masculine status.

3.3 RESEARCH DESIGN

Research design is the essential part of research. Blanche et al (2006) define research design as "a strategic framework for action that serves as a bridge between research questions and the execution or implementation of the research" (p. 34). Research designs answers the how part of research process. Flick (2011) posits that research design is about the planning of a research study with particular attention on how data will be collected and analyzed and the selection of unit of analysis. Basically, a research design draws up a map of research process.

To further explain research design, Sarantakos (2013) distinguishes between two types of research designs in qualitative research; fixed model and flexible model qualitative designs. Fixed model qualitative research design is about employing a structured approach whereby the steps in the process are linear. Whereas flexible model qualitative design is flexible this gives the researcher freedom to move between the steps of research process. This research study employed the flexible model of qualitative research. The researcher moved between data collection and data analysis. Individual interviews were conducted and focus group guide developed following the analysis of data collected from individual interviews.

A case study was used as a research design to guide this study. Flick (2011) explains the term case that it can be individuals, social communities, organizations, and institutions as subject of a case analysis in a research study. In this research study individuals were used as subjects of case analysis; a group of adolescent boys from Boys' Lekgotla psychosocial group that runs on weekly basis during school terms at SCPS. The main purpose of this group is to render adolescent boys a safe space to talk about issues that affect them with the aim of developing them into better future men. With that being said, this specific group served as an ideal case analysis selection for the posed research question.

Baxter and Jack (2008) argue that a case study is based on a constructivist paradigm, which claim that truth is relative and that it is dependent on one's perspective. This acknowledges the significance of subjective human experience. However, it does not utterly reject the notion of objectivity. Teenage boys' in the study were able to give their perceptions of what is means to be a man in, however, their perceptions were also influenced by existing knowledge about the phenomenon. In addition this showed the element of objectivity in case study research.

There are certain reasons or justifications for the use of case studies. Baxter and Jack (2008) outlines these as follow; you can use case studies when you want to answer why and how questions. Secondly, when you want to explore whether there is a relationship between contextual conditions and the phenomenon understudy. Lastly, when the focus is on contemporary rather than historical. Linking these to the research question, in essence the question is on how teenage boys' perceive being a man in contemporary society

There are different types of case studies, however this study employed intrinsic case study. Intrinsic case study is undertaken when the researcher "have a genuine interest in the case and

when the intent is to better understand the case. It is not undertaken primarily because the case represents other cases or because it illustrates a particular trait or problem, but because in all its particularity and ordinariness, the case itself is of interest" (Baxter & jack, 2008, pp. 548-549). The main aim of intrinsic case study is to gain in-depth understanding of the case with no intentions to generalise. Sarantakos (2013) further explains that intrinsic case study is conducted in order to learn about the case. The use of this type of case study enabled the researcher to learn about teenage boys' perceptions on masculinity.

3.4 POPULATION, SAMPLE, AND SAMPLING PROCEDURE

This part of research methodology particularly speaks to the subject of the research study. In defining the subject of a research study Blanche et al (2006) explain that this is about the researcher being precise about who or what they want to draw conclusions about. This is about the unit of analysis. Babbie (2010) explains that there should be a distinction between the unit of analysis and aggregates. He further states that when the researcher wants to explain, describe, or explore then individuals become the unit of analysis. This study used individuals as units of analysis.

Research questions are often based on social issues, phenomenon, and programs that affect a large population. However, due to the nature of academic research; studying the whole population becomes impossible (Sarantakos, 1998); this is due to time constraints, resources and the right of people to voluntary participation in research. In research, population refers to the large pool from which sampling is selected from, and from which we want to generalize our findings (Blanche et al, 2006). In order to overcome the challenge of failure to study the whole population in academic research, researchers engage in sampling procedures. Sampling is a "process of selecting cases to observe" (Blanche et al, 2006, p. 133). Sampling ensures that the researcher include relevant participants in order to answer research questions.

The whole population for this study would be teenage boys' in general. However, the sample for the study entailed teenage boys' from SCPS "Boys Lekgotla" teenage group. This is a closed group that runs over a year. This attended to some of the principles of sampling explained by Sarantakos (2013); that sample units must be easily identifiable and clearly defined, must be uniform and appear once in the population.

Blanche et al (2006) explain that sampling requires careful thinking about which units of analysis to be included and how they should be selected. Samples can be identified through self-selection or through probability or non-probability sampling procedure (Sarantakos, 2013). However, this study employed non-probability sampling procedure. “Non-probability sampling refers to any kind of sampling where the selection of elements is not determined by the statistical principle of randomness” (Blanche et al, 2006, p. 139). Sarantakos (2013) further explains that non-probability sampling does not ensure representativeness and generalization; and is mostly used in exploratory research. In addition, the sample size is not determined in advance (Neuman, 2000). This explains the challenge faced by qualitative researchers in achieving the number of participants proposed in the beginning of research process. Initially the researcher aimed at interviewing fifteen teenage boys’, however eventually managed eight.

Participants were selected through the use of purposive/judgmental sampling. In purposive/judgmental sampling, “the researcher purposely choose subjects who, in their opinion, are relevant to the project” (Sarantakos, 2013. p. 55). Selected participants must be viewed as able to answer to the research questions. Purposive sampling relies on the judgment of the researcher (Sarantakos, 1998; Neuman, 2000; Silverman, 2000 & Bless, Higson-Smith & Kegeen, 2006). This supports the notion of a researcher being an instrument in social research. Bless et al, (2006) continues to argue that purposive sampling is one of the ways of ensuring trustworthiness of your research study. It ensures that relevant units of analysis are selected as participants in the study.

Morgan (1998) outlines different types of recruiting for a focus group; existing list, random sampling, referrals, intercepts, and open solicitation. The researcher recruited through existing list and intercepts. Intercepts is about finding participants at the location where the focus group will be held. The researcher used the attendance register of the “Boys Lekgotla” group, on the actual day of the focus group which was the day of their weekly group session and it depended on group members who were present.

The sample comprised eight teenage boys for individual interviews; with age ranging from13-17 years. In addition to this eight there was an additional three participants for the focus group which amounted to eleven participants for the focus group, the oldest being 18 years of age. Participants were recruited from SCPS in Johannesburg. The mentioned organization offers psychosocial services to disadvantaged and marginalized communities. One of their missions is

to work towards social justice and social change. In working towards accomplishing their mission they work with their clients on different levels; individual, group, and community level. Boys' Lekgotla which is a group were participants for the study were recruited is one of the functional groups in the organization with the purpose to develop good future men. The group's purpose has a direct link to the mission of social change. Participants had to be within the age group of adolescence stage and be part of the group. In addition, one key informant the group facilitator was interviewed. A key informant interview refers to getting information from an individual who is knowledgeable about the topic of interest and regarded as the expert source of information (Kumar, 1989; Marshall, 1996). The use of key informant was done for triangulation purposes which one of the ways to build legitimacy of the study.

3.5 RESEARCH INSTRUMENTATION

Individual interview schedule

Individual interview schedules were used in the study. Blanche (2006) and Mack, Woodsong, MacQueen, Guest and Namey (2005) state that qualitative research encourages open-ended question (Appendix D (I), which in turn ensures detailed data collection. Rich data contributes towards ensuring trustworthiness in qualitative research (Shenton, 2004). Open-ended questions encourage participation which leads to the occurrence of exploration. The feature of open-endedness in qualitative research is about qualitative research being emergent as opposed to being prefigured (Marshall & Rossman, 2011 & Creswell, 2013). This means that there might be changes and refinement as a need arise as observed by the researcher.

Focus group guide

Focus groups were also used in the study and focus group guide was developed after individual interviews. The guide entailed issues that emerged from individual interviews. Krueger (1998) explains that the guide can contain words, phrases or sentences that remind the researcher of issues for exploration. The guide had three issues which lead to the session lasting for ninety minutes. Krueger (1998) posits that focus groups should last from sixty minutes to hundred and twenty minutes.

Krueger (1998) further explains that a researcher can either use a topic guide or the questioning route. The researcher used the topic guide, a list of topics or issues to be pursued in the focus group. One of the advantages of topic guide is that it is more conversational (Krueger, 1998). Blanche et al (2006) outlines four components of focus group interviewing; procedure; interaction; content; and recording. Procedure is about laying out norms for the group in to give structure. Due to participants being used to being in a group the researcher experienced no challenges in this regard. Their interaction pattern took round robin pattern, with intervals of free floating pattern. Round robin pattern is when group members take turns while free floating is about all group members interacting and making meaningful interaction on the topic (Toseland & Rivas, 2009).

Pilot testing of research tool

Pilot-testing of research tool was done prior the actual data collection. Pilot-testing of the research tool is essential in research as it gives the researcher a chance to make necessary changes or readjustment. Maxwell (1998) states that pilot-testing focuses on research methods and their implementation. It also helps the researcher to check clarity of questions, administration time and layout (Blanche et al, 2006). The researcher piloted the study with one of the participants for individual interviews. The participant was from the same age group of adolescence stage and was part of the "Boys Lekgotla" group. During piloting the researcher realized the need to readjust some of the question in the interview schedule as she realized that there was repetition. She developed more open-ended questions which gave participants free expression which enabled detailed data collection. This also overcame the challenge of short duration of interviews. There was no piloting for the focus group because the guide for the focus group was developed after individual interviews were conducted.

3.6 METHODS OF DATA COLLECTION

Data collection is one of the practical steps of research process. Creswell (2003) explains that data collection is about collecting information which can be done through various methods. This research employed two data collection methods, in-depth individual interviews with main

participants and with one key informant, and focus group with main participants. Creswell (2003) further explains that qualitative research occurs under natural environment which enabled the researcher to be absorbed in participants' experiences. The process of being absorbed contributed to the researcher being empathetic which build rapport. Rapport is one of the important elements of success in qualitative research (Creswell, 2003). Sarantakos (2013) explains empathy as a feature of qualitative research as aiming to understand people

Individual Interview

Qualitative research commonly uses interviews which can be either being semi-structured or unstructured (Sarantakos, 2013). In this research study semi-structured interviews were employed. Semi-structured interviews involve the development of an interview schedule with a number of questions that cover the overall scope of the interview. However, the researcher does not strictly stick to the exact formulated set of questions (Flick, 2011). This specifically attends to the elements of qualitative interviewing outlined by Sarantakos (2013); which are openness which is about readiness to change, flexibility which is about adapting to change as need emerges in the interviewing process; and primacy of participants which is about treating participants as experts to provide valuable information. In addition Blanche et al (2006) add the element of naturalism, which is the natural form of interaction.

Individual interviews were face-to-face; which opened doors for rich data collection because researcher did not only rely on audio-typed data but also on observations made during the interviewing process. The focus was also directed to non-verbal communication of participants such as their tone of voice and facial expressions. However, in order to do this adequately it required the use of audio recording in order for the researcher to have time for observations without compromising on the verbal information that the participant is saying.

There are various steps prior the actual interview, from planning, setting up, starting, and ending the interview (Blanche et al, 2006 & Sarantakos, 2013). With regard to the planning stage the researcher had a meeting with the Clinical Director/Supervisor at SCPS to discuss the proposed research. She then had a meeting with the Director who granted permission (Appendix F) for the researcher to conduct her study. Following all that, the supervisor had a meeting with the facilitator of "Boys Lekgotla" group to inform him about the study being conducted with his

group. Thereafter the researcher had a meeting with the group facilitator as well getting the names and contact details of group members. Sarantakos (2013) explain that one of the tasks in this step is getting prospective participants names and address.

In explaining the step of setting up the interview Blanche et al (2006) explains that the researcher must ensure that the venue for the interviews is undisturbed and that participants are aware of the duration of the interview. Prior the actual interviewing process, the researcher met with prospective participants and gave information regarding the research (see Appendix A). In addition, arrangements were made with the Clinical Director at SCPS to use one of the counselling rooms at the organization. The parents of the boys signed consent forms (appendix B (I) and the teenage participants signed assent forms (Appendix B (II). During the actual individual interviews, the third step of the interviewing process, the researcher once again read together with participants the Information Sheet (Appendix A). Blanche et al (2006) emphasize that the researcher must know the research schedule sufficiently in order to avoid referring constantly which might be a disruption of flow of the interview. The duration of the interviews ranged between 20-60 minutes and were audio- typed with permission (Appendix C (II) from participants. Babbie and Mouton (2001) state that the use of audio recording ensures credibility of data.

The last step of the interviewing process is ending the interview. Sarantakos (2013) argues that the ending should be done smoothly with mutual respect in order for participants to feel valued and appreciated for their participation in the research. The researcher ended the interviews with thanking participants' and informing them that if they would like access to the research findings they can request it.

Focus group

Focus group interviewing/group discussion is a term given to a research interviews conducted in groups consisting of people with similar experiences (Blanche et al, 2006; Sarantakos, 2013). Participants for the focus group included teenage boys' from the age of 13-18 years. Stewart and Shamdasani (1998, as cited in Bickman and Rog, 1998) outline the advantages of focus groups, that they enable the researcher to ask follow-up questions, provides the researcher with

an opportunity to collect large and rich data, they are also good for collecting data from children as they build on each other's responses.

Morgan (1998) posits that a focus group should be between six to ten participants in order to ensure variety of opinions and to stimulate discussion. However, participants for the focus group were eleven; nonetheless there was still high involvement. What was discussed in the focus group were issues extracted from data collected in individual interviews. Blanche et al (2006) further explains the last component; recording that it can be done through note taking or video recording. In this research study audio recording was used. Focus group was duration of an hour and a half. The focus group was conducted in the absence of the group facilitator to ensure openness. The combination of individual interviews and focus group attended to the element of triangulation in research.

3.7 DATA ANALYSIS

The process of data analysis is a core of research process, it is through data analysis that the researcher analyzes whether the research question is answered. Schurink, Fouche and de Vos (2011) (as cited in de Vos, 2011) state that data analysis requires that the researcher go back to the purpose of the study. Generally, "analysis of data involves summarizing the mass data collected and presenting the results in a way that communicates the most important features" (Hancock, 1998, p. 16). There are different approaches of data analysis. One of them being interpretive analysis, which is about providing a thick description of process, characteristics, transactions and contexts of the phenomenon understudy. There are different qualitative analytical traditions under the umbrella of interpretive analysis; one of them is thematic content analysis (Blanche et al, 2006); which was employed in this study.

"Thematic content analysis is a method employed to analyze data focusing on themes, identified by means of coding. It employs an inductive approach, whereby themes emerge from data and are not pre-constructed by the analyst; and data collection and analysis occur concurrently" (Sarantakos, 2013, p. 379). There are two central concepts in thematic content analysis; themes and coding. A theme is about categories that share the same meaning; and coding is a process of creating categories (Sarantakos, 2013). There has to be a connection between themes. Thematic content analysis entails several steps in creating these themes.

Zhang and Weldemuth (1966) outlined the steps of this process as follow; the process begins during the data collection. The first step is to prepare the data by transcribing the interview recordings; using themes as units of analysis; developing categories, assess coding consistency; draw conclusions from the coded data and report your methods and findings. Blanche et al (2006) explain the stages as follow; familiarization and immersion; inducing themes; coding, elaboration; and interpretation and checking.

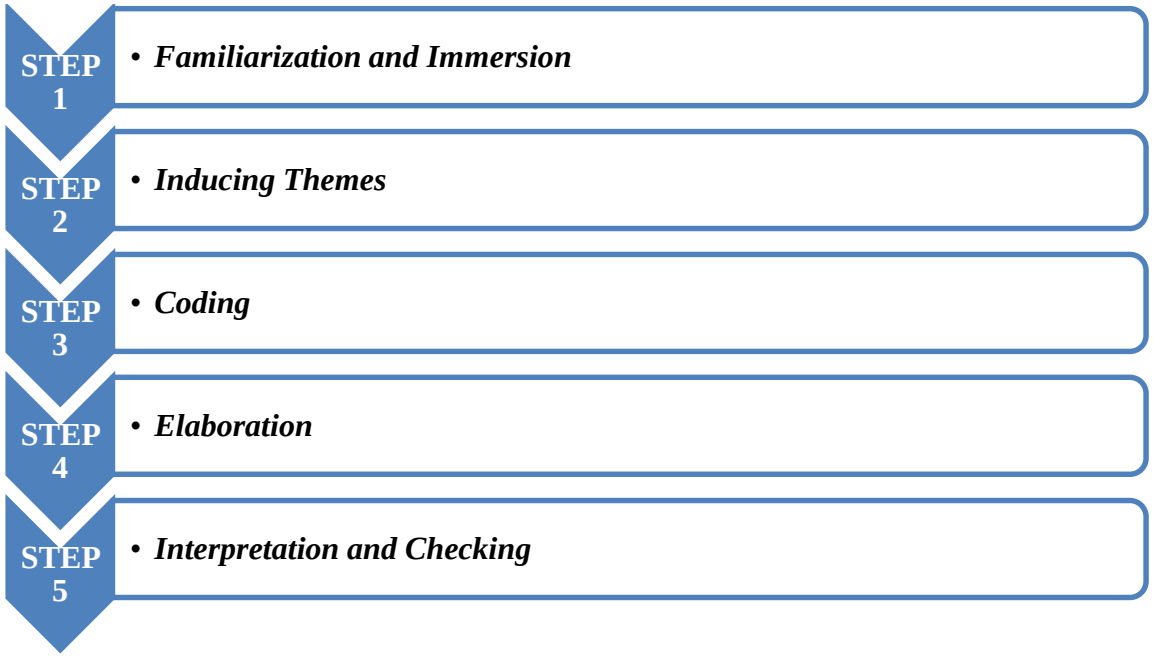


Figure 3.1: Data Analysis Process according to Blanche et al (2006)

The first step of familiarization and immersion links to Zhang and Weldemuth (1966) first step of data preparation which involves interview transcription. Blanche et al (2006) add that the researcher reads through the transcribed data; this ensures familiarity. The researcher conducted the interviews and transcribed them herself which made the step of familiarizing and immersion manageable. This step requires the researchers to think of data as something to embrace and get to know better (Marshall & Rossman, 2011). Second step; inducing themes, entails using participants' languages as opposed to theoretical language (Blanche et al, 2006). This speaks to the bottom-up approach employed in theme induction. Sarantakos (2013) adds that this process can take spiral form moving between data analysis and reduction to data organization. This step

of data analysis can be complex; however Blanche et al (2006) argue that some studies are specific which limit the complexity.

The third step of coding is about the development of themes. Blanche et al (2006) explain that different methods can be used for the selection of themes such as using coloured markers, word processor or other software programs. In doing this the researcher printed data transcripts and used different coloured markers to highlight texts according to themes. Marshall and Rossman (2011) further explain that in writing up the themes; the following elements are important; literature review, participants' actual words and behaviors in data, and researcher's creative insight. In writing up these occur sequentially, researchers' creative insight, verbatim responses from participants, then literature review.

The fourth stage is elaboration which links to drawing conclusions (Zhang & Weldemuth, 1966). Elaboration is about exploring theme closely (Blanche et al., 2006). As the researcher did this, some themes emerged which led to the development of sub-theme. The last stage is interpretation and checking which involves writing up of the phenomenon understudy (Blanche et al, 2006). The process of interpretation is about "the researcher bringing meaning and insight to the words and acts of participants in the study" (Marshall & Rossman, 2011, p. 210). This is about the researcher engaging with collected data and giving meaning to raw data. Marshall and Rossman (2011) further explain that this step entails transforming data into findings.

3.8 REFLEXIVITY

The researcher as an individual is important in research. Researchers are individuals with personal values and beliefs. In order to avoid these values and beliefs directly influencing the research, the researcher has to be conscious of them and this is what reflexivity entails. May and Perry (2011) explain that reflexivity is about the actions and understanding of a researcher and how they impact on research practices. de Vos (2011) adds by saying it is about the thoughts and feelings of a researcher during research practice. Marshall and Rossman (2011) posit that when these thoughts and feelings are in the open they are better managed. The researcher embarked on this research with impressions that traditional hegemonic masculinity beliefs are still dominant and that even young people adhere to them.

Blanche et al (2006) further explain that reflexivity is about human attributes of the researcher and subject and their role of identification or misidentification with subjects which might influence research process. With the researcher being a black person who is able to speak the languages used by participants might have given participants assumptions that she knows what they are talking about. However, in contrast, the researcher had to reserve her knowledge of some of the things that participants were talking about in order to encourage free expression by participants'. In the first interview the researcher was anxious due to lack of engagement from the participants. There was doubt that the way that the questions were structured would elicit thick descriptions in order to answer the research question. Following the pilot interview the researcher went back to the drawing table and restructured her questions in order to ensure that collected data answers the research question.

The researcher was also worried that openness will be compromised based on the fact that the researcher is also an employee in the organization therefore has working relationship with the group facilitator. However, emphasis on research ethics seemed to have settled participants and the exclusion of the group facilitator from the focus group encouraged freedom of expression. In this process the researcher learned that there is willingness from young men to engage on masculinity issues. Future studies on challenges faced by young men with regard to masculinity would be worth conducting.

3.9 TRUSTWORTHINESS

Trustworthiness is about legitimizing the research study and the four procedure to ensure trustworthiness in qualitative research are; credibility, dependability, conformability, and transferability.

Credibility is about the study testing or measuring what it intended (Marshall & Rossman, 2011). There are various ways to ensure credibility such as triangulation, tactics to help ensure honesty in informants, iterative questioning, and researcher's reflective process. With regard to the first form, the researcher used triangulation of data through gathering data from two sources, main participants and key informant who is a male. As well as methodological triangulation through employing individual interviews and focus group.

Tactics to help honesty in participants is about explaining research ethics to participants in order to ensure that participants participate willingly (Shenton, 2004). Research purpose and research ethics were explained to participants through participant information sheet (Appendix A). Iterative questioning entails use of probes to ensure thick data; this is done through free flow during the interview process which enables the research to move back and forth (Shenton, 2004). This was achieved through the use of semi-structure interview schedule which allowed flexibility.

Transferability is the ability of the study to make its findings applicable to other contexts (Blanche et al, 2006). This can be achieved through giving context background; clear criteria of participants; number of participants, data collection methods; and duration of data collection sessions (Shenton, 2004). The researcher gave background of the organization where participants were recruited (SCPS) and of the "Boys Lekgotla" group. This directly links to reliability procedure.

The last procedure of trustworthiness in qualitative research is conformability. "Here steps must be taken to help ensure as far as possible that the work's findings are the result of the experiences and ideas of the informants, rather than the characteristics and preferences of the researcher" (Shenton, 2004, p. 72). This was achieved through the researcher's awareness of her feelings and thoughts experienced during the research process and also through the inclusion of participants' verbatim responses and inclusion of few transcripts (Appendix E (I) main participants and E (II) focus group.

3.10 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Blanche et al (2006) state that research ethics are of great importance for researchers in all stages of research; in planning, designing, implementing and reporting. Ethical practice legitimizes the whole research study (Payne, 2004). They also ensure that participants are protected and are aware of their rights with regard to being research subjects.

Voluntary participation: People are to participate in research willingly, not forcefully which is what the ethic of voluntary participation is about. Invitation for participation was done

following obtaining clearance certificate from the University's Research Ethics Committee. Researchers need to be honest which contributes to participating with free will. The researcher gave the information sheet to participants explaining what the research is about as well as their rights pertaining to their participation in this research. It was explained to them that they have a right to either be part of the research or not and their refusal will not impact on them in anyway, for instance being kept or excluded from the "Boys Lekgotla" group.

Informed Consent: In order for participants to make an informed decision whether to participate or not; it requires the researcher to give potential participants sufficient information. The researcher invited the parent or guardians to sign the assent form after explaining the research process to them. Due to parents/guardians schedules these forms were sent with the participants for parents to sign. The relationship that they already have with the organization became an advantage in this regard. Main participants and key informant also signed a consent form (Appendix B).

Non-maleficence: It is important that researchers does not cause harm to participants. At times, harm is done unintentionally for instance psycho-emotional harm. As the researcher conducted the interviews both individual and group, she realized that most of the boys' carry the emotional pain of not knowing their fathers. Because they were from a group, this was communicated with the group facilitator (key informant) as one of the findings to integrate it in the program. In addition, counselling was readily available for them.

Confidentiality/violation of privacy/anonymity: Ensuring confidentiality has a great potential to increase openness and honesty with participants. Babbie and Mouton (2001) write that as soon as the researcher has conducted the data with participant's particulars those should be replaced with identification number. Because focus group was also conducted, confidentiality could not be maintained among the participants. Participants' names are not included in the report and this ensured anonymity with an exception of the researcher. The interviews were conducted in one of the counselling rooms which ensured confidentiality.

3.11 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

Sampling

Babbie and Mouton (2002) state that qualitative study is less interested in generalizations. Its interest is in contextualizing. To overcome the issue of generalization transferability can be applied. “Here the researcher asks whether the findings of the research can be transferred from a specific situation or case to another” (de Vos et al., 2011). The researcher provided sufficient details on the sample and methodology in order to increase the possibilities of the study’s transferability.

Dual roles

The researcher conducted her research at her workplace. This was a challenge for both the researcher and the participants. The researcher was aware not to overlap the role of being an employer for the organization and an independent researcher. During the research process, the researcher was very aware of this therefore she was cautious. With regard to participants, they might have been anxious about confidentiality. Nonetheless, the researcher explained to them that what they share will be treat with confidentiality and that their identifying details will not be included in the research report. In addition, during the focus group interview, the group facilitator was not present.

Data collection methods

The researcher could have used more data collection methods but due to certain limitation she could not. She adequately used two data collection methods; individual interviews and a focus group. The researcher attempted data analysis of group reports by the group facilitator, however they did not offer adequate information as they are not on weekly basis but per theme.

3.12 CONCLUSION

This chapter gave a detailed map on how the research study was conducted. It employed a qualitative research approach and was exploratory in nature. Through the use of qualitative approach, the researcher was able to explore teenage boys' perceptions on what it means to be a man. Case study was used as research design. Data was collected through individual semi-structured interviews and a focus group; the use of a focus group enabled the researcher to get in-depth detailed data about the phenomenon understudy that is masculinity and how teenage boys perceive it. Collected data was analyzed through thematic content analysis.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents results and discussion of findings. In doing that, participants demographic information summary and context background are provided in order to enhance richness of data gathered from participants. The primary aim and secondary objectives of the study are then discussed through an integration of key themes that emerged from data collected. Findings are compared with relevant literature reviewed. Several verbatim responses of participants were added to exemplify the themes and to allow the reader to fully comprehend the lived experience of the participants. Researcher's insight to data gathered in also integrated in the discussion.

4.2 PARTICIPANTS' DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

A description of the study's participants' demographic information is provided in Table 4.1 below.

Table 4.1: Participants' Demographic Information

Participant	**Research Instrument**		**Race**	**Ethnic Group**	**Age**
	Individual interview	***Focus Group***			
1	✓	✓	Black	Sotho	13
2	✓	✓	Black	Xhosa	17
3	✓	✓	Black	Xhosa	17
4	✓	✓	Black	Xhosa	17
5	✓	✓	Black	Zulu	14
6	✓	✓	Black	Zulu	17
7			Black	Sotho	15

	✓	✓			
8	✓	✓	Black	Sotho	15
9		✓	Black	Zulu	16
10		✓	Black	Tswana	18
11		✓	Black	Zulu	16

The study comprised of eight main participants for individual interviews and additional three to make it eleven for the focus group; and one key informant. All participants were from the black racial group; mainly from four ethnic groups; three were Xhosa; three were Sotho, four were Zulu and one Tswana. In addition, there are no insinuations and assumptions made that the racial and ethnic groups not included in the study are exempt or included in the perceptions withheld by participants in the study.

4.3 PRESENTATION OF THEMES

Figure 4.1 presents a summary of themes that emerged through thematic content analysis. The items listed under each theme are listed in the order to significance as expressed by participants.

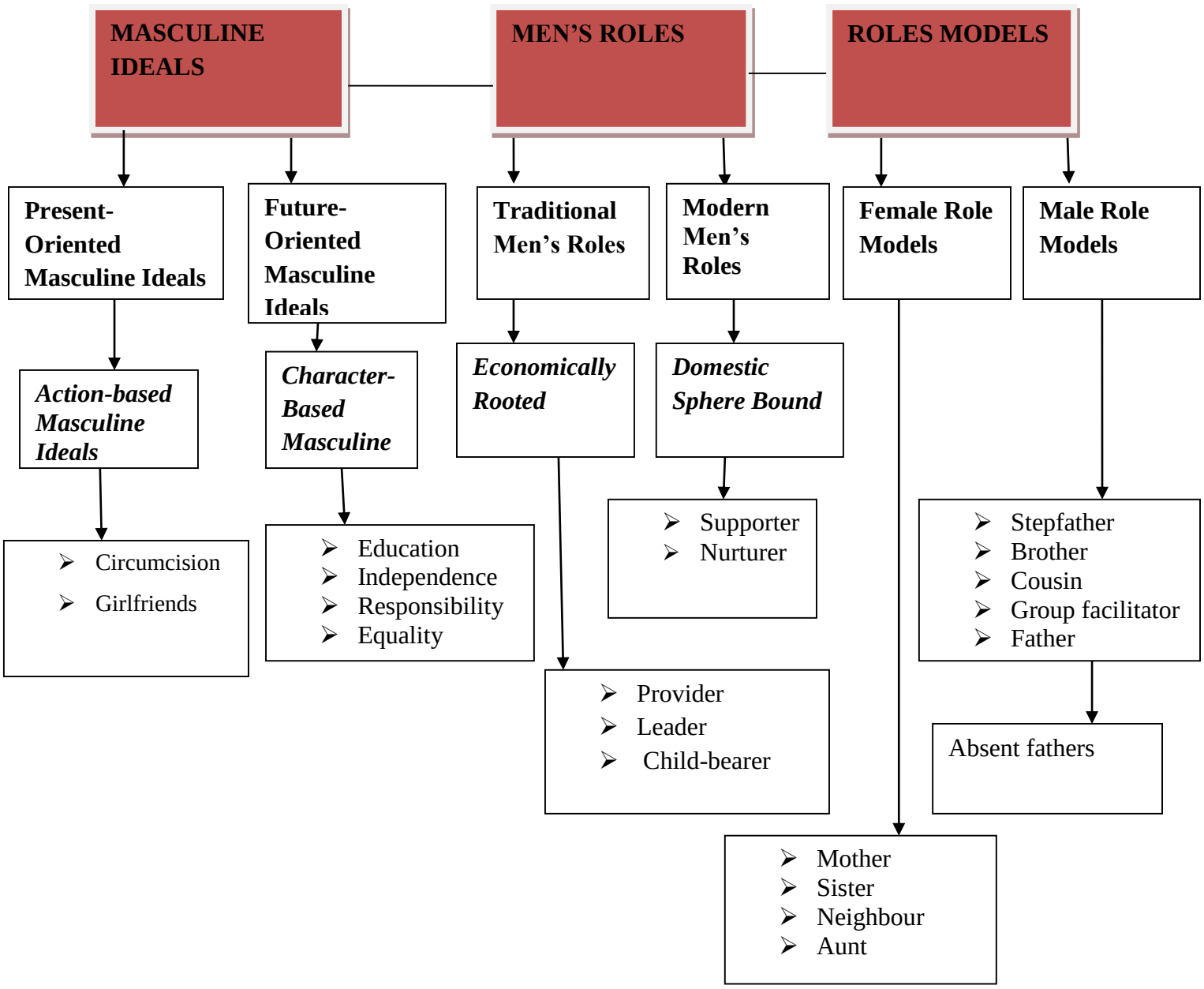


Figure 4.1: Teenage Boys' Perceptions on Masculinity

4.4 DISCUSSION OF THEMES

This section gives a brief introduction of themes that emerged. The first theme is masculine ideals which present teenage boys understanding of being a man. Their understanding of masculine ideals is categorized into two, present orientated which are action-based and future

oriented which are character-based. These signify that masculinity is achieved over a period of time. Secondly; men's roles are discussed, which are divided into traditional and modern roles. The traditional roles are deeply rooted in economic resources, while modern roles had an element of femininity. The last theme discussed in role models for teenage boys. They listed both male and female role models; however female role models were more influential compared to male role models.

4.4.1 MASCULINE IDEALS

Construction of masculinity ideals is a process that starts at a young age in a teenage boys' life. As a result as they mature some thrive to match up to what they have been taught about being a man. However, some struggle finding a common ground between what they have been taught growing up which is often traditionally based and the results of their conceptions of manhood following their active participation in the construction of what it means to be a man. Often masculine ideals that are unique to societal expectation pose a challenge to the possessor in terms of implementation. This may result to one giving in to societal expectations not because of agreement to them but due to the frustrations and discouragement that comes from lack of suitable context for the implementation of modern masculine ideals. However, participants in the study appeared zealous about their belief in modern masculine ideals, which is a deviation from the typical traditional masculine ideals

However, there was still an element of the presence of traditional masculine ideals. Although some ideals seem more relevant and urgent at the current stage there are at, some ideals they spoke of in future tense.

4.4.1.1 PRESENT-ORIENTED MASCULINE IDEALS

4.4.1.1.1 Action-Based Masculine Ideals

The teenage boys' in the study were able to broadly share their perceptions of what it means to be a man. However, their perceptions are sequential in order depending on their developmental stage. They have a good idea of what is expected from them as future men and what is required

from them in order to attain it. However, at the developmental stage that they are at, their masculine ideals are action-based. The focus is more on what one must do in order to be considered a man as opposed to what one must be in order to be considered a man. Majority of the participants indicated an action-based masculine ideal of circumcision. This is illustrated by the quotation below;

> *"…a man is not a person who has not been to the mountain to be circumcised…* (Participant 4, Individual Interview).

This study supports findings by Gwata (2009) and Nkosi (2013) which emphasize male circumcision as a rite of passage to manhood. However, in this study not all participants gave importance to male circumcision. The main participants who made special mention of male circumcision as a way of gaining the title of being a man were those from the Xhosa ethnic group and they were specific in saying traditional male circumcision. There is great prestige given to men who have been traditionally circumcised in this ethnic group, and those who do medical circumcision are often belittled and referred to as boys as illustrated by the quote below;

> *"But for me…if they got circumcised in hospital they are still boys, that's it"* (Participant 3; Individual Interview).

Nevertheless, those who have done medical circumcision attach the same meaning as those who have done traditional circumcision as indicated by one of the participants from the Zulu ethnic group. This indicates that what is important is not the procedure but the actual act of the procedure.

"Being a man…ok you see me, before the school closed, I went to Baragwaneth Hospital to be circumcised" (Participant 6, Individual Interview).

Male circumcision, either medically or traditionally is one of the aspects of being made into a man. However, Gwata (2009) and Nkosi (2013) specifically state TMC as a rite of passage to manhood. The superiority given to TMC over MMC shows that circumcision is not solely about the removal of foreskin even though some participants in the study seem to conceptualize it like that, it is also about the other procedures involved at the initiation school.

The second action-based masculine ideal listed by participants is having a girlfriend, which is often used as a factor for judging one's sexuality. Based on the overall teenage boys' perceptions of what it means to be a man, heterosexuality permeated. In addition, having a girlfriend is one way of acting out one's heterosexuality. Nonetheless, having a girlfriend is not solely dependent on them; the other party which is the girl is an active participant in this. It is also worth noting that it is not only about having the girl, it is also about what you do with the girl; that is having sexual intimacy which is sometimes influenced by pressure from friends. The below verbatim quotation shows how friends can influence the activities between the boy and the girl;

"Of course having a girlfriend we guys are more focused on that…If you do not you are stupid and you are side-lined. Some of my friends tell me that they do have sex with their girls but I have not experienced that…I feel bad because I did not have the opportunity because I also wanted it but my girl said she is not ready and I had to go along with what she says; I feel stupid a bit because if I did not do it they tell you that uyishimane (scared of girls)" (Participant 3, Individual Interview).

Being circumcised either medically or traditionally and having a girlfriend are two ways expressed by participants to acquire or achieve masculinity. Watson (1995) posits that masculinity is acquired, achieved, and initiated into, a process that is painful. It can be argued that this process is also humiliating, embarrassing, and belittling when failing to fit to the

standard of acquiring, achieving, and initiating masculinity. This also indicates that masculinity is not only about achieving, there can also be failure to achieve as indicated by the above quote, being *Isishimane* because of not having a girlfriend. *Isishimane* is used by both Xhosa and Zulu speaking people; to describe a man who is too scared of girls and at times does not even have a girlfriend (Hunter, 2005).

The adolescence stage is a stage of identity formation. Being curious as a result wanting to experience sex is common at this stage. Judging from the high teenage pregnancy rate in our country, it shows that most people start being sexually active at this stage of adolescence. However, even though they might all have the desire to experience it, not all have equal opportunities to do it. Some do not have girlfriends because they are scared of girls, but because they are rejected by girls. In addition, this also creates a scar on the boy's self-esteem. One of the participants' shared the impact of rejection as indicted by the quotation below;

> *"It means that you are not ok, you ask yourself, what is wrong with me. I have been in that situation many times and it makes you feel bad, but I let her go. First thing is that you are ugly and you do not love yourself"* (Participant 8, Individual Interview).

The above quote shows how failure to fit to the boy code on what it means to be a man dents teenage boys' psychosocial development which is about developing a sense of identity. There are two central concepts in this process; self-concept referring to set of beliefs about oneself; and self-esteem which is about how one feels about oneself (APA, 2002). The above quotation shows that the development of self-concept and self-esteem is also dependent on other people, either same sex and opposite sex. However, the challenge is that sometimes there is a gap between the two, what fellow peers set as a standard for a model of a man is not what girls see as being an ideal model of a man.

4.4.1.2 FUTURE-ORIENTED MASCULINE IDEALS

4.4.1.2.1 Character-based Masculine Ideals

It can be argued that masculinity is a process with various steps which are ideally developmental stage specific. It seems like in adolescence stage the focus on masculinity is based on what one can do, and as one matures the focus collaborates what one can be, which is about the character of a person. Character is about an individual's personality, values and beliefs. Majority of the participants emphasized on the value of education. This is illustrated by the quotation below;

> *"Being a man…you have to be educated so that you will be able do your things"* (Participant 5, Individual Interview).

There seems to be an entrenched belief that being educated ensures one employment which fosters independence, independence being one of the beliefs about masculinity that teenage boys' have; that in order to be a man one must be independent. This perception is planted in their minds from society, when they are encouraged about education they are told about how it ensures a brighter future for them. However, the reality is that there are people who are educated and without jobs, nonetheless their rate is lower than those who are uneducated and unemployed. There is also a gap between the social benefits and personal benefits of being educated. Often young people study in order to be employed which is about personal benefits and not to create employment which still has personal benefits at the same time greatly contributing to social benefits.

The other character-based masculine ideal is equality. Participants favoured gender equality. However, there were more focused on the future, how they can implement gender equality principles as adults in terms of shared domestic chores. Participants demonstrated this by quotations below;

"They have been lying you know, saying that boy's do not do laundry etc. But as I grew up I realized that we are equal" (Participant 7, Individual Interview).

"If you are all working and the man is off maybe he must do all that has to be done at home and not wait for the wife to come back home because she will be tired and you still want her to cook…No" (Focus Group).

Barker and Pawlak, (2011) explain how male dominance can be conquered in order to achieve gender equality; "the attainment of gender equality requires examining men's and women's participation, roles and inequalities in various dimensions of political, social, and family life ranging from household to state house" (p.11). Participants showed great understanding of what needs to be done in order to achieve gender equality; they emphasized more on change in the domestic sphere, having men involved in domestic life and women's participation in male dominant jobs. In addition, they spoke about women's economic participation. However, they expressed women's economic activeness while the man is not working as threatening to a man's sense of being masculine although the feeling of being threatened is not openly shown. However, being a man is not solely about having a jab as illustrated by the quotation below;

"If you are a man who is unemployed it does not mean that you are less of a man but that is dependent on how much you trust and believe in yourself because some people do not trust themselves, when they do not have money they look down upon themselves. Men must not look down on themselves, they must be focused on things that they want to do because that is a man that is wanted, a man who knows what he wants" (Participant 4, Individual Interview).

This supports what Beyon (2002) posits that masculinity is experienced and displayed differently at different times in different situations. Basically, the author argues that there is no singularity is masculinity; financial resources which enable one to be a provider are not the only means of manifesting ones' sense of being a man. It is worth noting that most of the participants grew up in home environments where there was not father figure, with the mother being the sole

provider yet they still view the role of provision as being mainly for the man. This shows the power of hegemonic masculinity beliefs and it could also be that is what they longed in their lives that their fathers were there to provide for them.

4.5 MEN'S ROLES

Society is highly segregated; gender roles are one of the segregating factors. Although participants outlined men's roles in society; there was also awareness of societal transition which has resulted in overlapping of some roles between men and women. For instance the role of a provider, nonetheless even though they are aware of this overlap, they still perceived that men should be the ones who take primary role for provision. This shows the power of traditional hegemonic masculinity beliefs; participants outlined both traditional and modern men's roles

4.5.1 TRADITIONAL MEN'S ROLES

4.5.1.1 Economically Rooted

The first role outlined by participants was that of a provider. Often when talking about the provider role is about financial provision hence when men are unemployed they feel less of men to their wives and less of a father to their children. Whereas when a women is unemployed there is no sense of being less of a mother and there are low chances of children having such thoughts because of the other roles she fulfills. This shows the importance of men's involvement in none traditional male parental responsibilities, in order to broaden their roles which widen the contexts of exercising their manhood. Majority of participants' thinking was towards this perspective; however the provider role as a man was given more priority at demonstrated by the quotation below;

> *"You must make sure as well that there is no shortage of anything at home"* (Focus Group).

This supports Hunter and Davis (1994) argument of the role of provision as the first one in the order of men's roles. This means that the man should entirely provide for the needs of his family which has an element of a man being the sole provider in the family. However, they acknowledge that times have changed and women also participate in the public sphere, which sometimes lead to women being sole providers in the house, which the teenage boys in the study were against. With being a provider they emphasized that a men must take care of the family to show his ability to provide.

> *'…he (man) takes care of it (family) by doing everything at home. There are people who fight at home when the mother is earning more than the man and that leads to fights"* (Participant 8, Individual Interview).

However, the rise of unemployment challenges men's ability to act out their role of provision through caring for their families. Unemployment is a challenge to masculinity hence we are having problems such as crime. And most of the crimes committed by men have an economic aspect such as robbery, mugging etc. Having financial resources have an element of power, therefore men who are not working might feel powerless which is detrimental to their sense of being men as illustrated by the quotation below;

> *"How can I prove myself that I am a man because the money I do not even touch the money…. So how would the children see that I am a father, a man and I can provide for them?"* (Focus Group).

Watson (1995) further explains patriarchy as a dominance of older men over younger ones, fathers over daughters and husbands over wives. With the rise of unemployment, men need to explore other ways to define their masculinity beside financial resources as fixation to financial resources as the sole defining factor for being a man contributes to crisis is masculinity.

Suggestion of the use of informal ways to make income in order to support families such as recycling, informal trading and other suggested the child support grant was expressed by participants in the focus group as illustrated by quotations below;

"There is grant money. He has children"
"Maybe one month you will not eat in order to open a business"
"You can do recycling" (Focus Group)

However, there was a debate about these strategies as some felt these economic activities do not have dignity. Therefore, it is not just about having a job or source of income but also about what kind of job or how one makes the money.

One participant had something different to say which does not have material aspect, which argues that being a man lies within an individual; which means that if you do not have the material resources that society expect from you as a man you will not feel as if your masculinity is being challenged.

The second role is that of child bearer. All participants expressed the importance of having a family as a man; in addition their perception is that family formation should only happen in marriage relationships. Their conception of a family is that of a nuclear family, father, mother and the children. One participant strongly argued that a man without a family is not a man;

"….hai…that is not a man and he does not respect himself and he does not love himself' (Participant 2, Individual Interview).

"…he must respect his family and must not undermine them" (Focus Group).

However, existing research argues otherwise; Scott (2006) argues that there is now a decline in family and a rise in cohabitation and other forms of intimate partnerships because of the cost involved in formally and traditionally having a wife and a family. With regard to having a family, they dwelled more on biological children.

The last traditional role is that of a leader. In explain the leader one of the participants' had this to say:

> *"In the community, it must be them who go places to fix their community; it must not always be women who do things like putting food on the table. It must be the man always, they can help each other but the man must lead"* (Participant 3, Individual Interview).

The role of a leader links back to the provider role, however in this role there is an element of responsibility and accountability to the community. The presence of these two elements would contribute to a society with honorable men, which will change the view of men being from problem perspective with regard to social issues to solution perspective. Overall, all the roles discussed have an economic base, in order for a man to be a provider; financial resources are required which will enable him to take care of his family. And that gives him the leadership role.

4.5.2 MODERN MEN'S ROLES

4.5.2.1 Domestic Sphere Bound

There is a great distinction between traditional and modern men's roles. The former focus more on what a man can materially do, while the later focus on what a man can do without material resources. In addition, it also brings forth the feminine warmth aspect in men. However, men need to realize that they do not need to separate the two, one does not have to be unemployed and without financial resources in order to see the relevance of modern roles. These roles can be carried out concurrently as this would ensure that we have a society with husbands and fathers who are emotionally and financially present for their families. Other roles such as being a supporter for the wife and nurturer to the children are central in men's roles. As illustrated by the quotation below;

"If your wife is the one who is working, then your job is to do the things that a wife had to do in the house, washing dishes, making sure that the children have eaten, and all the other things that the wife was supposed to do, not that all these things have to wait for the wife to come back" (Participant 4, Individual Interview).

This supports the findings by a research conducted in the Democratic Republic of Congo by Lwambo (2011) which describes one of the aspects of a good man as having time to be with his family. And the time spent with the family the man should be helpful, supportive and nurturing. However, because of the top priority given to the role of provision, very few men would stay at home and fulfill the modern roles; they would rather go market for a job or do other things such as being with friends.

Adapting to modern men's role comes with the risk of name calling. Some participants in the focus group expressed how they fear being called names such as *isiyoyoyo sendonda. Isiyoyoyo sendonda* means a man who is controlled by a woman, who cannot speak for himself. Such name calling further isolates men from domestic chores. Participating in them leads to one compromising his sense or status of being a man. However, some understand that times have changed therefore find participation in domestic tasks as a form of contribution to the functioning of the family.

4.6 ROLE MODELS

Human beings are social beings; they do not develop in a vacuum. For an individual to be a functional community member goes through a process of socialization. Various people play central role in this process, according to developmental psychology certain people are given more significance than others. However due to social problems such as family breakdown, the rise of absent fathers phenomenon and unresponsive primary caregivers, very few children have the opportunity of the presence of these significant others as posited by developmental psychology. With boy children, socially, fathers are given more importance, however in this study mothers and other female role models took central role in teenage boys' construction of

manhood perceptions. However, there are male role models but the fathers rated least on the list of male role models.

4.6.1 FEMALE ROLE MODELS

It is often insinuated that a boy child learns about being a boy from their fathers, however, that is not always the case. There is a growing number of female headed households with both girl and boy children. This leaves mothers being the sole immediate role model for the children. In the study there were various female role models outlined; mainly the mother, then sister, female neighbor, and aunt.

> *"My mother guides me and gives me advice on what to do and not to do"* (Participant 7, Individual Interview).
>
> *"My aunt and my cousin who is older than me"* (Participant 6, Individual Interview)

It was few of them who have the advantage of growing up with both parents. Some mentioned growing up with their parents, however, when the researcher probed further they were referring to their mothers. With those who grew up with both parents, there was a similar finding in that they gave importance to their mothers and had a better relationship with at. This is exemplified by quotations below;

> *"..she is caring, she does not like bad things, she is quiet she does not like talking. She does not like bad things that we do….Yooh my father is strict, I'm very scared of him"* (Participant 3, Individual Interview).

This support Bussey and Bandura (1999) and Kretchmar's (2009) position that the mother is a primary caregiver. However, for boys in developing a male gender identity he must first reject the identification with the mother and identify with the father. Nonetheless, most participants do

not have fathers due to various reasons. The group facilitator also spoke about this issue of single parenthood and how it affects boys. As demonstrated by the quotation below;

> *"Most of the boys are raised by single parents, and it becomes difficult when they get to this stage and perceive themselves as young man"* (Key Informant).

Whitehead (2002) states that men function as socialized beings; being a man is learning process. However, teenage boys lack male figure to help them in their learning of being a man. The female role models are doing a great job as reported by participants. These include mothers, sisters, aunts, and grandmothers. However there is a great longing in them to have their fathers in their lives.

4.6.2 MALE ROLE MODELS

Most of participants did not know their fathers while some their fathers have died. Those who do not know them their mothers were not willing to talk to them about the issue. This is one of the reasons that contribute to fathers being at the bottom of the list of male role models. Male figures such as stepfather, brother, cousin and the facilitator of the group have taken the role of modeling the teenage boys' as young developing men. As echoed by the quotations below;

> *"…in the group, when Sizwe (pseudo name), the group facilitator taught us these things* (Participant 7, Individual Interview).
>
> *"My stepfather I did not know he is not my biological father…He treated me like his own child"* (Participant 8, Individual Interview).
>
> *"…he (my brother) is the one who guides and motivate me, and like I play soccer he encourages me even with school work"* (Participant 3, Individual Interview).

Fathers need to be present and involved in the lives of their children; staying in the same residence with your child does not constitute being there for him. Ratele (2012) adds the aspect of fathers 'being there' which relates to the quality of time spent with the child, not just physical time together. Although participants were appreciative of other male role models in their lives, they had an inherent desire of the presence of their fathers in their lives.

4.6.2.1 Absent Fathers

The issue of absent father is broad and it cannot be attributed to a sole factor. However, in this study two factors were derived. Absent fathers due to death and the mother's unwillingness to tell the family or the child the truth.

> *"I do not know my father and mom have not said anything"* (Participant 2).
>
> *"I do not know my father"* (Participant 7).

Ratele (2012) highlights the growing phenomenon of absent fathers, which is said to affect mostly boy children Looking at the black culture, knowing your fathers is seen as the core of your identity. Therefore not knowing your father as a young man may cause complication to this crucial stage of identity development. There are different reasons given to the rise of absent fathers, these reasons might be from the micro level to the macro level. Participants in the focus group explained them as follow;

> *"When I look at it, the man runs because of the situation at home and he realizes that even if he tries there is nothing comes up. When he is told about the pregnancy he thinks about the situation and tells himself that if he denies or runs away it would be better. He fears failing that is why they run"* (Focus Group).

This supported Ratele's (2012) outline of the causes of absent fathers; unemployment, consequences of intimate partner violence, migration, abandonment, and masculinity ideologies. Some of these reasons can be interpreted as self-centeredness in that the man thinks about his sense of dignity and self-esteem not about what the child needs. There seems to be a conception that in order for a man to be a father to his child, he needs financial resources. As demonstrated by the quotation below;

> **"***They run away because they are not working and the mother is working, so they think that they will be better off without him. The mother will take care of them"* (Focus group).

It could be that men feel threatened by women, feeling like women are taking their position as primary financial providers. Some of the participants described men who ran away as confused; being just after sex and in cases of pregnancy deny that the baby is his; and being naughty. The boys manifested intense anger with not knowing their fathers. It can be argued that the issue of absent fathers it is not a problem on it its own, but at symptom of other problems. Attending to such problems such as unemployment, masculinity ideologies, communication in relationships, intimate partner violence growing phenomenon of absent fathers might be tackled. The phenomenon of absent fathers has dire effect on teenage boys'. As illustrated by the quotation below;

> *"…doubts, am I a child of rape or why do I have only a mother, was I a mistake, maybe I am a child of rape maybe he was caught and jailed"* (Focus group).

Such thinking may also affect the boy's relationship with the mother due to the unanswered questions that the child has. Mother's unwillingness to talk about the boys' father seems to leave the boys' with a sense of feeling they would be satisfied with knowing about him as

opposed to knowing him. Such problems such as absent fathers are the problems impacting on teenage boys' perceptions of being a man in contemporary society.

4.7 CONCLUSION

This chapter reported on findings of this research study. Various themes emerged based on thematic content analysis of data gathered. The findings show that teenage boys are at a stage whereby they are intensely engaged with the construction of masculinity. Their construction is both influenced by traditional and modern masculinity beliefs with an element of gender equality. They are also aware of the challenges that face men in terms of masculinity such as unemployment. However, they favour the involvement of men in domestic chores which will hopefully expand men's arenas of masculinity construction. Overall, participants' were able to give their expressions of masculine ideals; however they expressed them in distinctive stages in that they portrayed some as more important to achieve at adolescence stage while some were viewed to be achieved in the future.

CHAPTER 5

MAIN FINDINGS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter summarizes the study's main findings. Achieving masculinity is one of the main tasks that teenage boys' are faced with and they are at a stage whereby they are actively and creatively participating in masculinity construction. Their perceptions bring features of the structure-agency debate in that they are aware of what they have been and are taught from social structures about masculinity as well as their own thinking. Recommendations for future research, social policy and social development are discussed thereafter concluding remarks are provided.

5.2 SUMMARY OF MAIN FINDINGS OF THE STUDY

The aim of the study was to explore teenage boys' perception of being a man in contemporary society. The following themes were discussed in meeting the aim of the study; masculinity ideals, men's roles, and role models. These were constructed in relation to the objectives of the study.

With regard to the first theme, participants' perceptions of what is means to be a man (masculine ideals) are on a continuum basis, which runs from their current stage to adult stage. The current stage is about what one can do in facilitating the process of being a man. Two ideals were emphasized, that is circumcision and having sexual intimacy with a girlfriend. With the first one, there were two debates, most of the participants who mentioned circumcision strongly believed in TMC while others believed in MMC. Those who expressed strong beliefs to TMC were mainly from the Xhosa ethnic group. While those who were for MMC were from the Zulu ethnic group. With regard participants from other ethnic groups there was no specific mention of either of the two procedures.

The similarity in these beliefs is that they all believe that both TMC and MMC serve as a step of achieving masculinity. However, those who favor TMC have a sense of superiority over those who believe in MMC. This could be the different measure of pain endured in these two

procedures as in TMC the removal of foreskin is done is the absence of anesthesia whereas for MMC individuals are given anesthesia. Therefore TMC initiates feel they are more men because they were able to endure the pain. In addition, the fact that with TMC there is an awareness and inclusion of the public who act as an agent in validating the initiates sense of being a man might be adding to this sense of superiority as opposed to MMC which is done privately.

The second action-based masculine ideal is having girlfriend. This is not just about having a girlfriend but it is centrally about what you do with her, do you have sexual encounters with her. Like other masculine ideals, having a girlfriend is not only depended on the teenage boy but the girl has to consent; which is sometimes what teenage boys are challenged with. There is a challenge of peer pressure with both of these masculine ideals. The pressure in the family mainly comes from the father as having a son who has been to the initiation school also positively impact on his dignity. Pressure from friends is mainly about fitting in. In addition pressure can also be from the girlfriends.

The second sub-theme of masculine ideals focused more on the future and is character-based. It is more about the individuals' personality, values and beliefs. These included value for education and independence, responsibility and equality. In elaborating on these, participants spoke of them in future tense, things that are beneficial or implementable in the future.

Men's roles were the second theme. There are two types of men's roles, that is traditional and modern men's roles. Participants showed adherence to both of them, however there was more emphasis on the traditional role of a provider which has direct impact on other traditional roles such as leader and child bearer. Their belief of gender roles is a demonstration of their shift to the incorporation of gender equality principles. They seem aware of changes in law and policy and how that impacts on households as a result men's roles. Participants were open to the involvement in the domestic sphere and they interpreted that as shared responsibility and teamwork with the wife. However, they strongly believe that the man must be the primary economic provider even if the woman is also working.

The last theme looked at role models, both male and female role models. Although fathers are argued to be important in the lives of boy children they are not living up the importance given to them. This argument is based on the increasing rate of the phenomenon of absent fathers.

This has left other male people such as brothers, stepfathers', cousins and group facilitator becoming role models. Most participants did not have fathers; only two had their fathers present in their lives; however they described the relationship with them as distant. Those with absent fathers it was due to death or the mother not disclosing about the father's identity. Not knowing the father created anger for the boys and they do not seem to have platforms to deal with this anger as their mothers get angry whenever they inquire about their 'unknown' fathers.

This issue of absent fathers left women with the responsibility to raise these young men. They also mentioned their mother, sisters and aunts as being influential people in their construction of what it means to be a man.

5.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

Research studies create further awareness of the gaps that still exist in research, policy and practice and this recommendation section gives an overview of gaps that geminated from the current study's findings.

5.3.1 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

There was anger vented out by participants about not knowing their fathers and the mother's emotional uproar when they enquire about them. Therefore, it would be of value to conduct studies on mothers' feelings towards the man whom she has separated with impact on the relationship with the child. Research on the impact of unemployment is also recommended, since employment was mostly mentioned as a form of being a man, of showing and achieving your masculinity. Looking at how unemployment impacts on young men's gender socialization process and how unemployment can be addressed.

5.3.2 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR SOCIAL POLICY ON GENDER

Social policy developers need to pay attention to their use of the concept of gender; and clarity and emphasis should be made that this concept applies to both men and women. It is a reality in

South Africa that in discourse and programs about gender men are often excluded, the focus on them is only directed when discussing problems. The belief is that if they could include both men and women in planning, design, implementation and evaluation of programs and policies there would be a positive impact in that men will also see themselves as key role players in gender issues. Men need to be included in discourses of domestic violence and should be at the fore of gender related campaigns such as 16 Days of Activism for instance. In addition, male ministers in genderized government Departments; such as Social Development and Children and People Living with Disability department is also recommended.

5.3.3 RECOMMNENDATIONS FOR SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

Social development is about enhancing people's wellbeing, and unemployment is one of the hindrances to social development goals. In addition, being a provider emerged as main defining factor of manhood. Therefore, there needs to be economic strategies put in place to decrease unemployment in order to contribute towards developing healthy future men. In addition, young people should be made aware of them. There also need to be increased encouragement and motivation for young men about the importance of education at all levels.

5.4 CONCLUDING REMARKS

Studies on men or masculinity are not conducted as often as studies on women or femininity. This might be due to the historical conception that gender is about women and the inequality they have been exposed to. However, gender is both about men and women. In most cases men studies are problem orientated. This research aimed at exploring teenage boys' perception of masculinity in contemporary society. It can be argued that it is proactive in that it has an element of what could be there in teenage boys' perceptions on this subject that might cause possible problems, or what might be present in society that might lead to teenage boy's being problematic. This was done by zooming in to being a teenage, challenges that exist, existing gender stereotypes, assessing whether they passive in that they just assimilate these gender stereotypes to their behavior or they are participative in that they interrogate them and make negotiations where possible. Teenage boys' are like a slate in which we write the future of the

men we desire to have in society, however the presence of hegemonic masculinity beliefs are a threat to this.

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APPENDIX A (I): Participant Information sheet

Dear Sir/Madam

My name is Noluthando Khunjwa, a post graduate student at the University of the Witwatersrand doing Masters in Social Development. In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree, we are required to conduct research. My research explores how teenage boys understand and attribute meaning to being a man in contemporary society. I therefore wish to invite your son to participate in my study. His participation will be voluntary and refusal to participate will not disadvantage nor advantage him in anyway. If you agree for your son to be part of this research, interviews will be arranged at a time and place that will suit him. The maximum duration of the interview will be 45 minutes arranged at the time best suited for your child. The focus group will take an hour as well. He may withdraw from the study at any time and may refuse to answer any questions that make him feel uncomfortable. The organization Sophiatown Community Psychological Service has granted me permission to conduct my research within the organization. With your permission, the interview will be audio-recorded to enable the researcher to engage fully in the interview. No one other than my supervisor will have access to the recordings. The tapes shall be kept in a safe place in order to ensure confidentiality. However, maintaining if within the group cannot be ensured. Your children's names will not be included in the report; identification coded will be allocated to participants. They will be kept for a period of two years following any publication or six years if no publication emanate from the study. Please be assured that your son's name and personal details will be kept confidential and no identifying details will be included in the final research report. Participants who may need counseling due to the research will be referred to relevant services. Please contact me on 072 8247431 or email on nmqakelana@yahoo.comor 011 717 4472for my supervisor, the department secretary will link you to her if you have any concerns regarding the study or email on Pricscilla.Gerrand@wits.ac.za. If you wish to receive a summary of the results of the study, an abstract will be made available on request. I appreciate you taking the time to consider participating in the study.

Yours Sincerely

Noluthando K

APPENDIX A (II): Participation information sheet for the group facilitator

Dear Sir

My name is Noluthando Khunjwa, a post graduate student at the University of the Witwatersrand doing Masters in Social Development. In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree, we are required to conduct research. My research explores how teenage boys understand and attribute meaning to being a man in contemporary society. I therefore wish to invite your son to participate in my study. The purpose of your participation is to give me your experience of working with teenage boys' and the challenges they face with regard to issues of masculinity. With you're the interview will be arranged at a time and place that will suit you. The maximum duration of the interview will be 60 minutes arranged at the time best suited for you.

With your permission, the interview will be audio-recorded to enable the researcher to engage fully in the interview. No one other than my supervisor will have access to the recordings. The tapes shall be kept in a safe place in order to ensure confidentiality. They will be kept for a period of two years following any publication or six years if no publication emanate from the study. Please contact me on 072 8247431 or email on nmqakelana@yahoo.comor 011 717 4472for my supervisor, the department secretary will link you to her if you have any concerns regarding the study or email on Pricscilla.Gerrand@wits.ac.za. If you wish to receive a summary of the results of the study, an abstract will be made available on request. I appreciate you taking the time to consider participating in the study.

Yours Sincerely

Noluthando K

APPENDIX B: Informed assent form

APPENDIX B (I): Assent Form for Participation in the Research: Parents or Guardians

I_____ hereby assent for my son - _____to participate in the research project. The purpose and procedure of the research has been explained to me. I understand that his participation is voluntary and that he may withdraw at any stage of the research without any negative impacts on him. I understand that his identifying details and responses will be kept anonymous by not including them in the report, identifying codes will be allocated.

Researcher's Name_____

Name of Participant:_____

Date: _____

Signature: _____

APPENDIX B (II): Consent form for Participation: Main Participants (teenage boys)

I_____ hereby consent to participate in the research project. The purpose and procedure of the research has been explained to me. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I may withdraw at any stage of the research without any negative impacts on me. I understand that my identifying details will be treated with anonymity with an exception of the researcher. Information shared will be treated with confidentiality by other participants.

Researcher's Name_____

Name of Participant:_____

Date: _____

Signature: _____

APPENDIX C (I): Permission to Record Interview

ASSENT FORM FOR AUDIOTAPING OF INTERVIEW

I_____ hereby assent that the interview with my son _____will be tape-recorded. I understand that his confidentiality will be maintained at all times and the tapes will be destroyed after two years after publications and six years if no publications occurred.

Researcher's Name: _____

Name of Participant:_____

Date: _____

Signature: _____

APPENDIX C (II): Permission to Record Interview

CONSENT FORM FOR AUDIOTAPING OF INTERVIEW

I_____ hereby consent to tape-recording of the interview. I understand that his confidentiality will be maintained at all times and the tapes will be destroyed after two years after publications and six years if no publications occurred.

Researcher's Name: _____

Name of Participant:_____

Date: _____

Signature: _____

APPENDIX D (I): Interview Schedule for main participants

Participant Code:

Date:

Place:

Duration:

1. Tell me about being a teenage boy.
2. Growing up what, have you been told about being a man?
3. What are your perceptions on what it means to be a man?
4. Who are the people who have an influence in your life as a teenage boy?
5. What have you heard/seen about what one have to do in order to be considered a man?
6. In your view, what are men's roles in society?

APPENDIX D (II): Tool for focus group

TOPICS/ISSUES

1. Gender stereotypes
2. Being a man and unemployment
3. Absent fathers

APPENDIX D (III): Interview schedule with key informant

Indentifying details:

Date:

Place:

Duration:

1. What has been your experience working with teenage boys?
2. What are the challenges presented by teenage boys when it comes to issues of masculinity?
3. In your view, who are the influential people in a teenage boy's life and why?
4. How do you think society influence teenage boys perceptions of being a man?
5. What would you say is the way forward to good future men?

APPENDIX E (I): Transcript for main participant

Identify code: 3

Age: 17

Race: Black

Before the commencement of the interview, the researcher went through the Participant Information Sheet with the participant and explained that if he would like the findings of the study they can be made available at his request. She emphasized that if he does not understand something he seeks for clarity. Thereafter, she went through the signing of consent from and audio recording following the participants' agreement to participate. I also explained that there is not right or wrong answer to the interview questions.

Tell me about how it is being a teenage boy or young men.

So far it is difficult hey….there is many things that I am faced with. This year I have been in fights at home and outside. There are many things I have done, so far I have started even going to places I never use to go to. It is a big thing for me being a teenager; I've experienced dating and going to bashes and a lot of other things. Some of these things I do them because I do not want to be called stupid such as going to bashes. Last week there was a bash and most of my friends went and I did not go and they said I no longer want to go with them and that I'm losing it, those are the things that make me join them. We contribute money and to trips.

What happens at these trips?

Mostly is drinking and taking girls with us and do a lot of things that are done by teenagers.

What are these other things?

A lot, taking girls with us, chatting with them, buying them alcohol and when they are drunk some of the guys they take their girlfriends with them but I don't. When we are done we take

the girls back to where we got them. But the problem is that some tell me that they do have sex with their girls but I have not experienced that, we just sit there and drink then after we go.

So what do you think and feel when they tell you what they get up to with their girls?

Tjoo..i feel bad because I did not get the opportunity because I also wanted it but my girl said she is not ready and I had to go along with what she says I feel stupid a bit because if you did not do it they tell you that *uyishimane*(scared of girls) and they said you will get it (sex) when you are forty or you will never get it and die. So I feel bad because I did not do and they have experienced it.

So you saying some of these things you do them in order to fit in?

Yeah to fit in and to show them that I can do these things and they are not better than me.

So tell me about your growing up.

Growing up it was good; there were both parents and my three siblings. There is nothing I can say was bad, they raised me well even now it is still good. What I want I get and I'm at school.

How would you describe your mother?

Yoh..she is caring, she does not like bad things, she is quiet she does not like talking. She does not like bad things that we do. Even when I go to bashes I do not tell her I just say I'm coming back and come back very late. Yooh maybe 03:00 in the morning and they will not even notice that I took the key so that I will be able to open in the morning. I open slowly and come back and sleep. When they ask when I came back I say around 22:00, they sleep early. But my mom does not like such things.

And how would you describe your father?

Yoooh… he is strict yooh. He does not like such things; if he were to hear that I'm at a bash she would kill me (with a low voice). He does not like people of bad company. I'm very scared of him yooh…he is strict, he is not rude he is just strict.

Growing up what were you told about being a man?

Of course having a girlfriend we guys are more focused on that. Even now when you get to teenage stage there must be a girl. If you do not you are stupid and you are side-lined. And doing all the other things that are done by people of bad influence.

What are these things that people of bad influence do?

Smoking, most of my friends I have had since grade five most of them smoke and drink and they know the experience of life because they have done a lot some have even been to prison; they have done a lot of things Yooh. Each and every Saturday when I go to the bashes they are there, trips they are there and lot of things they do, they smoke and have multiple girlfriends…Yoh they do them. If you don't do them they look at you…yooh. If you are focused on one thing like soccer they will tell you that they have never seen you doing the things that you do and you end up joining them. There is pressure. They do want you left behind.

From where you are now what would you say it means being a man?

Is to take care of yourself and not just doing what other people do, and being focused at all time. Doing both good and the bad things, you cannot be always doing good. But mostly you must take care of yourself and respect.

How do you see that this man takes care of himself?

When he does not smoke, not being violent even when people try to be helpful and pushing them aside.

It is like being caught in the two worlds?

Yeah people want you to do them both. When we are get drunk at the bashes we fight a lot. But when the older guys are there they do not fight, they drink and leave. But us teenagers we fights, we fight about girls and all these small things.

Fighting also makes you in, they respect you while others take you down. Most girls they will be very scared of you even if you approach them they won't agree to date with you because they know you as a fighting person.

It is like you get respect from men but the people you want to get close to girls you don't?

Yeah.

When you think about your life who are the influential people who help you to understand about what it means being a man?

My parents..yooh it's my parents. Even though they do not tell me how it is but they guide me. Also some of my friends those I do not spend most time with, those from school ahhhh….they are wrong.

What is it that your parents tell you about things that men do in order to get that title of being considered a man?

I'm a sports person and they want me to pursue that. And going to church, my mom is always pressurizing me to go to church but honestly church makes me tired. But mom always wakes me up early to go to church but it is difficult waking up for church. Sometimes I will let them leave, then an hour late I go because I am scared of mom if I was not I was not going to do it. But I respect her. She tells me about studying hard.

How does studying hard contribute to one being a man?

You know parents like seeing their children driving beautiful cars and having money and working. Studying ensures that you are able to do things for yourself, you do not bother people even when your children want things you are able to buy them.

How does church help a person to being a man?

Respect and taking care of yourself and refraining from doing bad things and being a good person who is calm.

You have talked about how mom helps you in your journey of being a man, so how would you say dad helps you in this?

Mostly in my knowledge even seeing my friends, when you are not circumcised they talk to you any how because they have been there. When I tell my father that I want to go to hospital he gets very crossed with me because he wants me to go to the mountain and it is a must that I go because he went. That is where he pressurizes me and also helping me with soccer. He believes that going to initiation school you become a man.

What does he say is the significance of going to initiation school?

He tells me that if I go to hospital to get circumcised, when I go to the rural areas he will be the one who gets humiliated and shamed. And also me, I will not be able to join other men as they will still be seeing me as a boys because I did my things in hospital. But when I go to the mountain he can also be proud of me because most of his friends and colleagues when they are at home they say that I am old and I should go to the mountain and he tells them that he has set time for me. But they pressurize me and tell me that I should go in December but he says he has set time. He tells me that during his days they would go at the age of 20 years. But I tell him that is a shame 20…..here when you are not circumcised they laugh at you that it why I also pressurize him that I go there.

According to you what is the right age to go?

18 and 19 years, 20 is too old.

What else does he say you get to learn when you go to the mountain?

Respect, sisters now there is no respect, it is just boys things, which messes up. He tells me that you see that is being a boy. He tells me that when I go to the mountain I will fine and stop doing boy things.

Those who went to the hospital I will treat them like they are treated in rural areas, that they are still boys. But here in Johannesburg it will be fine walking with them. But for me…if they got circumcised in hospital they are still boys, that's it. Because they would say the same thing to me if I were to go to the hospital.

What would it mean for you to go to the mountain?

Tjoo I will say then I am now getting away from bad things because when you are a boy it is difficult gaining entrance in most places, because you cannot even be with older guys, you cannot eat meat with them talking to them. Even if is your brother or twin at gatherings you cannot talk to him, you will only do so when you get home.

What is this behaviour you will stop when you go to the mountain?

Going to bashes or maybe I will go and someone's 21st party but with my friends I will have to leave them, most of my friends I am one some two years older than them. So I will have to leave them and be company with those who have been to the mountain, older ones so that they teach me how it is being a man. Those I have seen from the mountain, their dress code changes, they no longer dress the swagger that we are dressing, all their old clothes they given them to their younger brothers or sold them. Now they dress like fathers, they wear suits, good things like gold t-shirts. And the things that they do, you not see them walking with many girls, they stick to one girl until maybe they break up.

In your view, what are men's roles in society?

It is to be respected, for them to be leaders. They must be respected by both old and young people. And they must not do things that boys do.

Where are men supposed to show their leadership?

In the community, it must be them who go places to fix their community, it must not always be women who do things like putting food on the table. It must be the man always, they can help each other but the man must lead.

What do you mean to put food on the table?

Like working.

What does it mean then when the man is not working and it is the woman who brings food at home?

That means he is not a leader, he is not showing his manhood, that he is in charge. He can be a man at home but to other people he is not showing. He must be able put food on the table and protect his family. Protect your family from different things, he must be at home.

At the end the researcher extended her appreciation to the participant for his time and contributions.

APPENDIX E (II): Transcript for focus group

Number of participants: 11

Who has ever heard of gender stereotypes or stereotypes?

Sizwe: I have heard about it, it is like judging someone

Tshepang: gender stereotypes are about inequalities between girls and boys; growing up we were told that a boy cannot clean the house it is only girls who do that. That is what I think.

Xolani: I think maybe gender stereotypes are man and woman…they thought that the women's roles cannot be played by men.

It is like separation between men and woman.

Siyabulele: I think that we must treat each other the same, and not judge.

What are the popular gender stereotypes for men?

Xolani: It is that a man cannot do laundry for his family, and then you will be labeled as *isyoyo sendoda*-a man who is controlled by a woman, who cannot speak for himself. There are women who abuse men and force them to do things against their will like doing laundry.

Lehlohonolo: a woman must not wear pants and a man must protect his family.

Would you explain on women not wearing pants?

He laughs….it is culture.

Men must treat women well and must help where there is a need like doing dishes. There must be respect and do well so that even tomorrow you will be proud.

Let us go back to what one of you said that a man who does dishes and laundry *yisyoyoyo.*

I can agree with him, but me I would wash them when I look at the situation at home. I won't just tell myself I won't do it because I am worried about what outside people will say. I must do it for me and my family. This thing of being *isyyoyoyo sendoda* is about other people.

Xolani: can I explain it, it is not that you don't do laundry. There times when you help your wife with laundry and giving her a break. I am not saying that I will never do laundry, I will do it when there is a need for instance my wife is sick or at work, my children will not wear dirty clothes while I'm there, I will have to wash them so that they wear clean clothes.

Siyabulela: So it means you only wash them when she is sick?

Xolani: Yes,

Siyabulela: Me I will just wash them.

Let's go to the other side of the room, what are the gender stereotypes you have heard about men.

Senzo: A man must take care of his family. If a man does not take good care of his wife, that affects the children, they might even be affected at school.

Let us unpack what he said that a man must take care of his wife, what does it mean to take care?

Tando: it means that he must respect his family and must not undermine them.

Bongani: As a family men, he must care for his family……

Siyabulele: He must whatever it is to protect his family, even if it means risking his life. He must stand for his children and risk his life for his family.

What then are we saying about a man who does crime under the name of protecting his family?

Siyabulela: No..protection at home, he must play his part.

Xolani: As for me, I would not protect my family like that because….never. I will not just jump in when seeing my children fighting while not knowing what happened. I will not risk my life

for someone, I must fight guide them and show them the way, and tell them how we do things at home.

Lehlohonolo: You must make sure as well that there is no shortage of anything at home.

Can we unpack that?

Like finding that there are no clothes for the children and there is nothing to eat with pap, you must at least make sure that those things are there, trying come up with some money. The children must also have allowance money for lunch box at school.

So what do we do with men who are not working?

Lehlohonolo: there is grant money. He has children, but it does not mean that when he gets grant money he must drink it. He must keep for buying the children school uniform, shoes and food.

A lot has been mentioned about what it means taking care of your family as a man. And now what has been raised is the issue of grants as a safety net for unemployed men, however, it is also highlighted that this money should not be used for alcohol.

Xolani: I have a question. If I am a man as I call myself a man at home and the children's grant is collected by the mother. So, how can I prove myself that I am a man because the money I do not even touch it, it is the mother who collects it and buy the necessary things. So how would the children see that I am a father, a man and I can provide for them?

Lehlohonolo: you can talk to the mother and soften her.

(Laughter in the group)

What do others think?

Vusi: you must go look for a job and forget about the grant.

Tando: yeah the man must just go look for a job.

Siyabulelela: for me it depends on the woman, if there is an agreement between her and the man they can help each other. Do budget together to cater the needs of the children.

Lehlohonolo: you can negotiate with the mother, maybe start a business with the money and sell maybe sweets. That might make you rich. You cannot be thinking clothes all the time.

Xolani: Let's say then you have one child receiving the grant, and the children do not have shoes, no food. How much is a pair of shoes?

In unionsm: there are cheaper ones.

Lehlohonolo: there are shoes for R79 and there is Pep store.

Xolani: no man…she has to buy food, uniform and R250 grant is…you cannot do all these things. Maybe one month you will not eat in order to open a business.

Siyabubelela: some sweets are cheap and they will not only depend on that. Maybe on the side the man will be looking for a job to get some money and combine with the grant money.

Lehlohonolo: you can do recycling.

The group members laughed.

Xolani: no man this thing, I am a man and this thing of picking up container for recycling it takes away my dignity. You know my children…When we were growing up…In the location having a child who goes to school and have a father pulling sack full of containers is not a good image. As a man you must have dignity. I will rather be the one that sleeps without food, then tomorrow go look for a job.

Siyabulelela: So what if you do not find a job?

Xolani It can't…

Lehlohonolo and Siyabulela: the people who are collecting recycling items they can make R150 day and you go look for a job and come back empty ended. At least the one who go do recycling and come home with some money.

Xolani: but I am the kind of man who wants to have dignity.

Siyabulela: but these day you need education to find a job. It is also their job picking up rubbish for recycling . *(Thabiso supported this).*

R20 a day he can buy food, maybe he would make R500 a month.

Someone mentioned about the dignity of a man, what else gives a man dignity?

Xolani: let me answer you, all these people who pick up trash they do not have dignity because the containers that they pick you find them in dustbins so he gets there…and he is tall so if my child and the other children ask, who is your father? "it is that man who picks up trash".

The group broke in laughter.

You see, the child will wonder why did I have a father who collects trash. the child will ask himself why do I have a father who collects trash while other children father's wake up and go to work or go seek for work. At least I must fail after I have tried, showing that I am trying by waking up in the morning like the other fathers and come back home empty handed, then that shows that I have tired.

Tshepang: even these containers are no good on a child while still young. Many children see their fathers as role models, so seeing your father colleting trash the child might think that is the right thing.

The group laughed and engaged in chit chatter.

Siyabulela and Lehlohonolo: You explain to the child the situation.

Tshepang: the child might think that it is fine. We all know that when we were still kids we wanted to be like our fathers. A child seeing his father collecting trash, he might think that is the right thing.

Siyabulela: while you were still young, did you know how much your father was earning

Xolani: how would I know? How would I know before birth that my parents are poor.

Siyabulela: it is important to accept what you are. There are people who live in a shack.

Xolani: but I will have a question as a child, why was a born from poor parents. Why should my father collect trash.

Tando: no the child will look at the situation, the father goes out to collect trash and comes back with money, then I should join him as well.

The group laughed

One day he will wake up with you

The group laughed

Siyabulela: but there are people out there who would tell the child that he must not follow in his footsteps and become like him.

Tando you can do that but a child…maybe one day the father comes back from collecting trash and the child sees that he did not make much money then he joins to collect.

Siyabulela: then he can do it on weekends, he can start budgeting then.

Xolani: I would rather stay at home than going around collecting trash.

Lehlohonolo: can I ask? If he is saying he won't collect trash would he appreciate his wife going out to neighbors to ask.

What do you think it means to a man who is not working to have a wife who is working?

Xolani:: then if that is the case, when she is at work and I am at home I will do the things that are supposed to be done at home. When she comes back from work then she can do what she wants to do. If you are working together well it is not a problem. Being a man it is not only about money….you do not only need money to show your manhood. No there are many things that you can do to show that you are a man.

That is interesting, would you please share these other things.

Xolani: there are so many things you can do.

Give us just few.

Xolani: esih…

Siyabulela: you can use your talent like plumbing, you can fix toilets.

Tando: what if you only have grade 10, where will you get a qualification.

Xolani: but everyone has a skill that they are born with.

Siyabulela: on the question you asked, you know what if you live in a culture where the woman is not supposed to work. How would he feel the wife leaving him with the children and he has to get them ready for school.

Xolani: but it is also your responsibility to get the children dressed for school.

Senzo: you must look at the situation at home; there are times when you can see that culture just does not work. You see that you are trying and nothing is coming out, if the wife is trying and she finds a job, that is fine you let her go.

Xolani: this culture thing we are just hanging on to it, when you look at it, it is not really followed. Then yes it was not allowed for a woman who is a wife to go work. So what are you going to do if you try to find a job and there is nothing and the wife tries and she finds one? Are you going to tell her to stop? You can see that the children are crying. Culture is not working these days…but there are situations where it is a must like for instance you staying here in Johannesburg and you go to the rural areas thinking that she is going to wear pants and not cover her head. That will never happen, thinking that you going home and wear pants and not cover you heard but you are my wife. That one is a must. But her working she has a right, she can work.

What are the other roles if any?

Sihle: if as a man you are not working and the wife is not working, one of you must ask help from the neighbors while the other one goes to market for a job.

Xolani: if none of you is working and you sleep without food, the children are going to look at you because you are the head of the house. They will ask themselves we are sleeping without food while dad is here looking at us. That is why if they are going to sleep without food, it is better not to be there with them. They will ask themselves, why are we sleeping without food while our father is not here.

Khutso: what I think about men is that they must take care of their families. If the wife is not working and the man is not working, the man must cook.

Ok, someone mentioned about equality, so what do you think must change in order to be equal.

Xolani: hai…it is not possible because then…you know even though culture is diminishing, to some people it is not. Let us say in the family, someone comes to report about the news in the community a funeral for instance, they will talk to the father. Even if they are lending something, the mother reports to the wife first.

Tshepang I think that everything should change, everything must be equal.

Please make an example

Tshepang : if you are all working and the man is off maybe, he must all that has to be done at home; not wait for the wife to come back home and she will be tired and you still want her to cook…No. after cooking she dishes up for you, takes the plates to the kitchen to wash them then still she was to prepare you pyjamas…No. All this….no.

So you saying we should do away with gender roles.

Senzo: the work that is done by men outside the family like construction, what will result in equality is that women are also allowed to do such jobs that initially were thought to be for men.

The group laughed

Siyabulela: now they are saying the people with a future there are girls and boys do not have a future. It can happen that your wife earns better than you as a man. You can be equal maybe in terms of money, but you must combine. Even if the wife earns more than you, you must combine your earnings. If a man can buy his things the wife should be able to do so too.

Xolani: eish this things depends. Sometimes the man has money, what if the man dies and he has children with his wife in his will he will write in on his children. What makes him not write it on the wife's name. is it because she does not trust her or is it her behaviour.

It seems like you somehow have the answer.

Xolani: women are not clever, that is the problem, they can never be equal. If the other earns more they will be one who counts what one does. Women do not look at the amount that the man in earning.

What would you say are the effects of putting men in the highest order?

I would not really say that but we will never be equal. Women are clever

I thought you said they are not

No they are a lot.

What do other think of the effects

Lehlohonolo: some men end up beating their wives.

Pitso: sometimes women also misbehave, they cheat and the man will be thinking I am supporting a woman for another man then you beat her up to discipline her.

Senzo: what makes men to be above women is that a lot of things are known by men as opposed to women.

Tshepang: I would say it is how we are created as well as culture.

So it is how men are made to beat women

Tshepang: laughing..no

The group laughed.

Men are created strong so the problem is they are using the strength in a wrong way. If you look at it carefully it is women who work very hard and they should be heads of the house. Really. Men do more than men. A man cannot…can you stay with your children for five months without the wife?

Xolani: you know we are not created the same, even inside. I cannot stay..lets say my wife is in the rural area, I will not stay here in Johannesburg for a year without another woman here while still there is one in the rural areas.

Other group members agreed

But a woman can come work here and not have an affair, they can stay for the whole year without a man.

So, it is ok for a man to have more than one wife?

Xolani: it is not but it is created like that.

Siyabulela: there are men who practice polygamy.

Xolani: this thing of polygamy is just silliness.

So polygamy is different from having affairs.

They started talking at the same time and one of them said it is better to go and buy sex.

Xolani: I do not know how to put it but a man's feelings are not like that of a woman, unless I drink something then to make me numb and not feel anything.

The group laughed.

Siyabulela said he can stay with his child.

Siyabulela: it is difficult as a man to live without a woman, a woman is needed. It is us man who need woman more than a woman. If you look at a woman, he is your future in order for you to see yourself as a man. There are needs that a woman must satisfy like feelings, hormones. As a man if you are sitting there and thinking of a woman, the first thing that comes to mind is sex.

Xolani: men are always in charge of their women. In the bible it is Adam who gave Eve what God said they must not eat. It is the man who ate first then he realised he is naked. It is then a must for a man to above the woman.

Tando: most of the time, men do not think about the future, they think about now. While women can plan.

You have led us to the last topic, about absent father; those who are not involved in the lives of their children.

Bongani: they are naughty '

Lehlohonolo: they must be burned.

Xolani: that is just a confused man. He has a child on the side and if there is a fight between you and the mother but you can still support the child and treat him or her like your other children you have in marriage. Take the child out to the mall. Not only buy clothes in December.

What about those who are not known, and there is not contact with the child

Xolani: those are those who deny the pregnancy.

Tando: maybe he has doubts when he looks are the child and say my grandfather did not look like this.

Lehlohonolo I agree that it is those who deny them.

Bongani: they do not know what they are doing…they are crazy.

Tando: they just want to have sex and they disappear.

Siyabulela: when I look at it, the man runs because of the situation at home and he realises that even if he tries there is nothing comes up. When he is told about the pregnancy he thinks about the situation and tells himself that if he denies or runs away it would be better. He fears failing that is why they run.

Xolani: I want to say, I wasn't saying that he leaves for ever. Leaving your child it just it is the same as abandoning the child, and you are there living another life, the child does not know you. At least when you are not working but see you coming to visit. It means then you are not interested in seeing if your child is going to school, have clothes, he cannot be naked. Just for the child to see you and know that you are the father.

Vusi: they run away because they are not working and the mother is working, so they think that they will be better off without him. The mother will take care of them.

Tando: sometimes it is caused by fights between the3 parents and the mother telling the man that the child is not even his. Then the man starts doubting.

Lehlohonolo: mine is related to his, sometimes the mother has numerous men and when she falls pregnant she does not know who the father of the baby is and start hiding to every man.

Tshepang: peer pressure also contributes to this problem. Let's say maybe you have friends who are sexually active and they tell you about sex that it nice and you go do it and you fall pregnant and you did not plan anything.

Lastly, how would you say it affects young man to grow up without father, if there are any effects?

Xolani: the child has many doubts, am I a child of rape or why do I have only a mother, was I a mistake, maybe I am a child of rape maybe he was caught and jailed. The child does not know maybe the mother does not even tell the child what happened and not because she is scared but it also hurts her. Then the child has more doubts. I don't know that kind of a child I am

Siyabulela: also with your friends, they talk about their fathers and you cannot. Always you saying my mother, they will even say I am a mama's boy. When they are talking about what their fathers and you always talking about your mother. And even if you ask your mother she starts swearing.

Tshepang: it affects the child badly, let's say it is father's day and at school they ask you what did you do for your father and when it gets to you eish…other will be saying I polished his shoes

Xoloani: it is better to have a stepfather then.

They agreed.

Siyabulela: it is not always that easy because maybe your mother has been abuse and hurt a lot so she tells herself that she does no longer wants a man.

Bongani: boys without fathers end up being criminals. You end up maybe selling to help the mother.

Vusi: this thing can affe3ct the child academically.

Xolani: it is worse when the mother does not want to hear a thing about the subject. What about me who wants to know and she tells you that she supports you, she is the mother and a father what is it that you are in shortage of. I'm in short of my father even if he is not working, swhatever he is so that I will be able to answer to people who ask me. Always being with your mother it affects you.

Senzo: the child has no crime.

Thank you to everyone for your willingness and help with my research.

APPENDIX E (III): Transcript for key informant

Since you have started with the boys in the group, what has been your experience?

It has been different groups of boys, but all of them are from the same community and that says their experiences are almost the same, their beliefs and values are similar. For me as a person and facilitator, we have a big challenge were young man grow up in communalities where there are no role models to guide them. Amh.. their leaning is more from learning from their peers. Young man are mostly influenced by peer pressure for instance if you go to other communities you will find that there are groups or some structures. But those from Pennyville they will only tell you about the dance groups. Well and soccer again, there is this guy who recently started a soccer group but it is not structured. The major reason to that is the lack of resources. Most of the boys are raised by single parents, and it becomes difficult when they get to this stage and perceive themselves as young man and the belief around their community when men grow up there is usually that gap, let's say Sipho (pseudo name) at the age of 8 years was very close to mom and now there is a distance from the mother. That is what also makes them only discuss with their friends.

How would you say these two issues you have highlighted, single parent households and the type of community they are from, how would you say they affect or impact on your work with them?

Yooh…it is actually a very challenging one if I should start there. Because for instance….let me start here, when I started with these boys, the program was more on giving them space to share their experiences as young man. But as I worked with them I realized that there should be more that giving space, they are just lost, and they are chaotic. So now it took a lot out of me to identify the social issues that are relevant to them. It takes a lot from me to shape them to be the types of man they are expected to be in their communities you understand. Everything that I am doing with them takes a lot because I am dealing with people who have no foundation, I have to start afresh. You know the way when we were defining HIV/AIDS the definition they were coming up with, you wonder. These boys are blank, what I'm saying is it takes really a lot from me working with them, shaping them it is strenuous.

It is like I am starting afresh with them, it is better when you have a group where there is foundation then intervention will be on fixing there and there. I think the other thing is the

beliefs in the communities. When we were talking about manhood, these boys are living in my father's times where they believe that man…that man have an upper hand on woman, they have that thing..at some point we were talking about approaching a man, but for them it was ok to approach a girl anyhow and she must understand where you are from. When it comes to home there are those beliefs that as a man I can do that. According to them it is a must…Especially when we are talking about sexual issues and sexual activities they believe that as long as you are a man and you want to have sex, it does not a matter what the woman thinks; she is ready or not ready if he wants to have sex; the duty of the wife is to bear children for the man. All these believes that a man should have it all and a woman..their rights and roles. Their impression is mixed up.

What are the issue presented by these boys when it comes to issues of masculinity?

I think it is what I have just said. For them is like I am a man and I have it all. Men have it all and everyone especially women should understand.

What do you think is the benefit of damage of that?

For them the way their perceive…I always see it…you know we are fighting HIV and AIDS right and HIV and AIDS does not only need us to educate people about just HIV and AIDs, we need to go beyond it, we need to go as far as we are educating people about values, as well as social issues. We can take one of the serious social issues, gender violence. This is one of the serious issues, if man are given upper hands that means women will find it very difficult to negotiate safe sex, they will just take whatever they are given. That means if we are still faced with HIV and AIDS and we want to do away with it but yet still have issues.

The other point that comes to my mind is a man being able to negotiate, a man being able to listen. If they grow up thinking that they are always in charge. When are they going to be able to learn to negotiate? This is a life skill, this goes too far. Some things we take them for granted. If I grow up thinking this is what a man is to be and should be what about your colleagues, as a member of a community, what kind of community are we going to have if we still have young men who think like men of 1962?

Ok, who are the influential people in these boys' lives?

That would take us back to the principle of ubuntu, I would not really pin point. Everyone in society is responsible. When we talking about role models we are talking about…this guys I was talking about who started the soccer team in their community. How about me as…I start an art group, it needs such people. It also goes to parents in the community, not necessarily your mother or father, we are so separated as individuals, your child is your child and if the other parent sees the child doing wrong I look away. We cannot always blame the teachers, there is a lot that teachers have to deal with. When things go wrong we are quick to blame the teachers, however the reality is that teachers are also parents who might have their own issues with their teenage children. That person have a personal life beside work, and being a teacher it does not mean everything is well, they also have problems their plates are full. It is us as young people who have things to offer. For instance even now I am quiet equipped when it comes to life skills but what am I doing, what do I give to my community and young boys outside this organization?...nothing. What do we do when we get to our communities. It is our responsibilities to take our skills outside the work boundaries.

How do you think society influence young men's perceptions of masculinity?

That one I will just tell you one thing that the patriarchal system it is still there whether you like it or not. And yeah…yooh…it is very difficult one to be honest with you, our children are raised by grandparents and we are young people who would relate to this generation better we are distant from the. If the young boys are raised by grandparents, it is obvious that what they are being fed would be.. the beliefs and values are that of the time of the grandparents. They end up believing that things are done that way. It is only few who are raised by our generation, a lot of them are influenced by our grandmothers of 50 years or so. Remember that our parents they were raised by that time and the influence they bring are the old beliefs that you are a man you not supposed to cry, you are a man you not supposed to….this is how you treat a woman. Their belief which they hold strong to and there is nothing you can do is that a woman is subordinate to a man. That is the influence I think it is existing in the communities of these boys. The young generation is too educated and fun orientated, we are after classy and expensive life, we are distant. The other thing important worth mentioning, because we are working when we get pain the only thing we are thinking of is that when I get paid I will give R1500 to my mother to buy the children something. We think by giving money we are there fully, we are not there. It then becomes very difficult to have an influence in the boys lives. If you were to go to a

community for a presentation on any topic, it is hard to find a balance of man and woman, mostly it is woman and this makes men think that some things are for women. This is a mentality of old people. And they deprive themselves of opportunities to learn and women go and learn, however the problem is that they come back to men who are difficult and don't want to hear a thing, who believe that they are a men.

Lastly, what would you say is a way forward to good future men?

The way forward, maybe my first point…you have people like me, I am doing a great job here in this organization in empowering young men, if there could be a way of us who are already empowered to go back to our communities. I still believe again that these groups we do in our works at the end of the say I am doing something as these boys do not end here they do go back. If there could two or three men who are expose to this information, then we will have a way of…You know one of the things is that we do these empowerment workshops but at times there is no impact some of the reasons is the way we approach them, the way we do them. We do them….there is that selfishness, they become too much in the level, the person is there to show I know this much not to make the person understand what they are suppose to know and understand, they make it about themselves. We must come to their level and understand them, make sure that they got something, not just portraying oneself as having it all. We might not change the whole world but the little that we do, the few boys we can access in the community they can also influence the few. That will be the best way of working towards a better community. I am proud to say that I am able to come to their world and speak their language.

APPENDIX F: Letter of permission



SOPHIATOWN

COMMUNITY PSYCHOLOGICAL SERVICES

4 Lancaster Street, Westdene • PO Box 177. Westhoven 2142
Tel: 011 482 8530 or 011 482 2117 • Fax: 011 482 8714
email: admin@sophiatowncounselling.co.za

19 July 2013
University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg
Human Research Ethics Committee

Dear Sir/ Madam

Re: Consent for Noluthando Khunjwa to conduct her research within our service

Noluthando has requested to conduct her research on "Developing Future Men: Exploring teenage boys' perceptions of being a man in contemporary society", within the organisation, as part of the requirements of the Master of Arts in Social Development.

This letter serves to confirm that the management of the organisation has granted her such permission.

Should you have any further enquiries, please contact us.

Yours faithful

Executive Director
Johanna Kistner

APPENDIX G: Clearance Certificate

Research Office

HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (NON-MEDICAL)
R14/49 Khunjwa

CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE	**PROTOCOL NUMBER H13/08/16**
PROJECT TITLE	Developing future men: Exploring teenage boys' perceptions of being a man in contemporary society
INVESTIGATOR(S)	Ms N Khunjwa
SCHOOL/DEPARTMENT	Human & Community Development/Social Work
DATE CONSIDERED	16/08/2013
DECISION OF THE COMMITTEE	Approved Unconditionally
EXPIRY DATE	12/09/2015

DATE 13/09/2013 **CHAIRPERSON** (Professor T Milani)

cc: Supervisor : Ms P Gerrand

DECLARATION OF INVESTIGATOR(S)

To be completed in duplicate and **ONE COPY** returned to the Secretary at Room 10003, 10th Floor, Senate House, University.

I/We fully understand the conditions under which I am/we are authorized to carry out the abovementioned research and I/we guarantee to ensure compliance with these conditions. Should any departure to be contemplated from the research procedure as approved I/we undertake to resubmit the protocol to the Committee. **I agree to completion of a yearly progress report.**

Signature **Date** 20/09/2013

PLEASE QUOTE THE PROTOCOL NUMBER ON ALL ENQUIRIES