

Negotiating masculinities:

Studying risk behaviours associated with performances
of 'coloured' masculinities

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the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

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ABSTRACT

The overarching aim of this thesis was to study masculinity roles and associated risk behaviours amongst a group of marginalised ‘coloured’ men from two deprived communities, one urban and one rural, in Cape Town, South Africa. To achieve this aim, the research examined two broad questions. The first question asked: What levels of conformity to masculinity norms are expressed amongst a sample of ‘coloured’ men from two communities in Cape Town and how are these related to their reported levels of gender role stress and risk-taking behaviours? The second question the study aimed to address asked: In what contexts are marginalised ‘coloured’ masculinities performed and how do these shape ‘coloured’ men’s subjective ideas about ‘what it means to be a man’.

The study employed a mixed method approach involving a questionnaire design as well as focus groups to address the research questions. Three hundred men completed questionnaires consisting of demographic and risk evaluation questions and three measures of male attitudes, namely the Male Attitude Norms Inventory-III (MANI-III), the Masculine Gender Role Stress (MGRS) scale and the Maudsley Violence Questionnaire (MVQ). In addition, fourteen focus group discussions were facilitated with 108 of the 300 men to elicit deeper meanings of marginalised ‘coloured’ masculinities and men’s understandings of masculine roles.

The quantitative findings of the study revealed that most men reported mild endorsement of traditional masculine norms. At a univariate level of analysis, men who endorsed masculinity norms were more likely to report an education level of less than grade 9; more likely to report stress associated with gender role performance failure, machismo, acceptance of violence and hostile sexism. Hostile sexism, however, emerged as the only predictor associated with conformity to masculinity. A thematic analysis of the qualitative data revealed that performances of masculinity included displays of hostile sexism, the use of violence and risk-

taking behaviour. Further findings show that marginalised ‘coloured’ men’s performances of masculinities were shaped by their contexts which included high levels of poverty and deprivation, prevalent violence against women and high levels of risky alcohol consumption.

The key contributions of this study includes the fact that this study discusses ‘coloured’ masculinity in terms of how these men attempt to accomplish forms of masculinities in a marginalised context. This dissertation also expands the research knowledge on marginalised masculinities by studying a group of men that have not received much attention previously. The thesis also makes a relevant contribution to existing knowledge as it presents a range of findings that add to research on masculinities, risk-taking behaviour, race, gender-based violence and marginalisation. The study showed the continued relevance of the Sex Role Paradigm to understanding masculinity roles and norms. Furthermore, the study contributes to the existing knowledge on masculinity measurements as it used the first local masculinity scale and provided a revised version of this psychometrically sound masculinity tool for use amongst marginalised men.

DECLARATION

I declare that this dissertation is my own unaided work. It is submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy to the Department of Psychology at the University of Cape Town, Cape Town. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in this or any other University.

Signature:.....Date:.....

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my husband, Sipelele Martin Mthembu, who encouraged me to be the best I can be – THABANG LE RONA.

To my daughters, Palesa Mthembu and Azania Mthembu, thank you for your patience, understanding, love and support.

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A NOTE ON TERMINOLOGY

1. **‘Coloured’**

In the South African context the term ‘coloured’ refers to a heterogeneous group of people who are of mixed decent. ‘Coloureds’ are also referred to ‘mixed-raced’. This term was constructed by the Apartheid government as a racial label enforced on people of mixed decent to separate them from ‘white’ and ‘black’ South Africans.

2. **‘Colouredness’**

For the purpose of this study ‘colouredness’ is argued to signify the lived realities of people identified or identifying as ‘coloured’ and how this racial label continues to influence their quality of life pre and post - Apartheid.

3. **Black**

The use of the term “Black” refers to all people of colour.

4. **black-African**

For the purpose of this study, “black-African” refers to those declared ‘African’ by Apartheid legislation.

5. **‘Performance’, ‘positioning’ and ‘doing’ masculinity**

The theoretical framework of this thesis is Gender Role Theory. As such, the thesis considers gender to imply that socially constructed gender norms are accepted and internalised by individuals. This thesis, however, finds the concepts such as ‘performance’, ‘positioning’ and ‘doing’ in relation to gender useful in its analysis as it allows the researcher to depict what these men perceive to be masculine identity.

CHAPTER ONE

‘COLOURED’ MASCULINITIES: AN INTRODUCTION

Men have always been viewed as those most likely to be predisposed to enact negative displays of their gender. As such, ways of enacting masculinity are more likely to include behaviours that endorse violence, anger, uncommunicativeness, and restricted emotionality as compared to femininity. Traditionally, masculine gender roles prescribed that men should be responsible for earning money and provide for their families while women managed their homes and raised their children. Activities that were viewed as "feminine" were therefore viewed as unacceptable for men to engage in (Pleck, 1981). In negotiating these restricted forms of masculinity, masculine displays may have adverse effects on men themselves; their families and their communities.

In the late 1970s, however, traditional gender roles¹ were challenged and the negative impact of the traditional male gender role on society was problematised. Brannon, (1976), for instance, suggested that men who felt compelled to prove their masculinity may be suffering from feelings of inadequacy when they fail to perform male roles. This view of men and masculinity suggested that men may be experiencing masculine gender role strains (Pleck, 1981, 1995) or conflicts (O’Neil et al., 1995) or stresses (Eisler, 1995) that may be linked to male problems, such as male violence against women and children, risky behaviours and substance abuse (Connell, 2000).

This is a study of men; a group of men who have been identified in the literature as highly likely to use violence against women and children, risky behaviours and substance abuse to

¹ For this thesis, gender roles refer to socially prescribed and widely accepted values, norms and behaviours that are often culturally specific, that humans display. Men and women are obligated to internalise and adhere to the gender roles that are prescribed for their appropriate biological sex.

enact their masculinities. More specifically, this is a study of poor and marginalised men; of working class men with relatively limited education; of ‘coloured’ men in two marginalised communities in the greater Cape Town area.

1.1 ‘Coloured masculinities: Why these men?’

Since South Africa’s transformation to a new democratic dispensation, a number of laws have been instituted to improve the lives of all citizens. In relation to violence against women and children specifically, progressive laws such as the *Domestic Violence Act*, Act 116 of 1998, the *Children’s Act*, Act 38 of 2005, the *Criminal Law (Sexual Offences and Related Matters) Amendment Act*, Act 32 of 2007 and other pieces of legislation have provided legal protection of these vulnerable groups. However, indicators associated with women’s and children’s health and safety undermines their basic constitutional privileges. For instance, the South African Medical Research Council (SAMRC) established that one woman is killed by an intimate partner every six hours (Mathews et al., 2004). The rate of HIV among teenage girls is four times that of their male counterparts (Shisana et al, 2005). According to Shisana et al., (2005), 34% of all the new HIV infections occurred in youth aged 15-24 years, and women accounted for 90% of all recent infections. Shisana et al., (2009) further reported sustained high prevalence levels among women in the 15 to 19 year old cohort. The HIV prevalence among women was 2.7 times higher than that of men in the same age range (Shisana et al, 2009).

Abrahams et al., (2006) posit that the pervasiveness of intimate partner violence in South Africa is primarily due to gendered power inequalities and men’s normative use of violence in this context. In relation to the women, Jewkes et al., (2011) showed that relationship inequality and intimate partner violence is a risk factor for HIV infection amongst young South African women. Furthermore as suggested by Foreman (1999, p. ix) “women are

vulnerable because they have limited opportunity to protect themselves while men are at risk because they refuse to protect themselves, often deliberately”. Evidently, these statistics may implicate men and the manner in which their actions endanger the lives of those around them (Jewkes, Sikweyiya, Morrell & Dunkle, 2009).

To make sense of men’s behaviours, academic debates have problematized the rapid shift of gendered power, initiated by the post-Apartheid South African constitution (Dworkin, Colvin, Hatcher & Peacock, 2012). Even though new laws and policies afford men of colour greater access to the global market through black empowerment opportunities; empowerment efforts have mainly focused on women’s rights. Making women a priority as the main beneficiaries of legal and political reform has been argued to challenge men’s power and ‘authority’ within the country, society and their homes (Dworkin, Colvin, Hatcher & Peacock 2012; Morrell, 1998, 2002; Shefer et al., 2008; Sideris, 2004).

The recent disempowerment dilemma men may be reacting to have long been experienced by ‘coloured’² men. During the Apartheid era, the government classified working class ‘coloured’ people into two categories; the *women* who were forced to become household heads due to ‘coloured’ men’s inability to maintain employment and the *men* who were portrayed as a stumbling block for the progress of the ‘coloured’ working class, because of their “...destructive actions...” and irresponsible tendencies (Jensen, 2006, p. 281). Welfare interventions, such as state housing and welfare grants, provided for the ‘coloured’ working class were allocated to women. Women became the primary beneficiaries of state welfare which may have increased ‘coloured’ women’s authority in their households and communities. These policies likely had some effect on the relationships between ‘coloured’ men and women. Evidence of these effects are not clear as research on the topic is lacking.

² In the South African context the term ‘coloured’ refers to a heterogeneous group of people who are of mixed descent. ‘Coloureds’ are also referred to ‘mixed-raced’.

Anecdotal evidence suggests that men may possibly have felt disempowered by the state, and emasculated by ‘coloured’ women. This may have caused men to feel entitled to their patriarchal authority in the household and may have encouraged men to react with violence. In turn, this may have caused women to bear the brunt of men’s insecurities (Boonzaier, 2005).

This study argues that working class ‘coloured’ men’s marginalization has long been influenced by the intersection of the politics of race, class and gender. Hence, I suggest that the ways in which working class ‘coloured’ men understand and enact their masculinities, is potentially different from any other racially marginalised subset of South African men. Mathews, Jewkes and Abrahams (2011) posit that discourses of masculinity amongst ‘coloured’ men may be influenced by their “...poverty-stricken working-class...” environments (p. 12). Research spanning over the last decade suggests that working class ‘coloured’ men are the most violent (in terms of interpersonal and gender-based violence) and most likely to abuse substances as compared to any other group (see Abrahams, Jewkes, Laubscher & Hoffman, 2006; Choi & Ting, 2008; Jewkes, Sikweyiya, Morrell & Dunkle, 2009; Sawyer-Kurian, Wechsberg & Luseno, 2009). In view of this literature, this thesis endeavours to examine and understand why research continues to show ‘coloured’ men as those most likely to be substance abusers and to be violent, and whether these behaviours are influenced by common masculine norms amongst these men.

Abrahams and colleagues (2006) problematise ‘coloured’ masculinities as they identify, younger, ‘coloured’ men who are unskilled and have minimal schooling as those most likely to perpetrate intimate partner violence. Exploring experiences of spousal violence amongst South African women, Choi and Ting (2008) found that compared to white women, ‘coloured’ women were almost eight times more likely to report abuse and were at risk for

severe beating. Studies conducted by Jewkes, Sikweyiya, Morrell and Dunkle, (2009) and Sawyer-Kurian, Wechsberg and Luseno, (2009) both found that 'coloured' men are more likely than men of other race groups to self-report the perpetration of rape or gang rape. These scholars implicate inter-generational transfer, the normative use of violence in communities and homes and childhood trauma (associated with father's perpetrations of violence) as triggers for 'coloured' men's violence. The question still remains, how is this different from other men who have been similarly marginalised?

Working class 'coloured' men are also associated with risk drinking and drug abuse. For instance, Peltzer, Davids and Njuho (2011) found that 'coloured' men of lower economic status and lower education are more likely than other men, to report risky drinking. The study further reported the highest rates of binge drinking (31.9%) and hazardous or harmful drinking (31.6%) among 'coloured' men. The authors recommend that further research should investigate cultural norms amongst 'coloured' men and how these norms may have influenced risky drinking amongst 'coloured' men, so as to inform interventions, appropriately.

Violence and risk behaviours of 'coloured' men may be motivated by entrenched masculine norms that men may have utilized to compensate for emasculation. Furthermore, it may be suggested that marginalised 'coloured' men may potentially be more likely to conform to dominant masculinity norms and may be at even higher risk, compared to other men, of perpetrating violence and reporting substance abuse and other risky behaviours, because of their marginalised status in this country (Wyllie et al., 2012). In addition, 'coloured' men's restricted access to dominant forms of masculinity may suggest that these men are likely to experience gender role dysfunction-strain, as their aim to attain masculinity may call for displays of riskier behaviours. Wyllie et al. (2012) posits that men who are marginalised

experience the need to conform to dominant forms of masculinities, even more vehemently than men of higher social esteem, as the means (financial security) needed to attain the dominant masculine form is less available to them. Furthermore, Barker and Ricardo, (2005) state that the pressures experienced by men to conform to dominant notions of masculinities leave men vulnerable to high-risk behaviours that are moulded by their social context.

The way in which men enact masculine norms are often influenced by the convergence of different factors in men's lives. This convergence is coupled with dominant notions of masculinity and it is therefore, important to explore marginalised 'coloured' masculine identities by applying an intersectional lens. Shields (2008, p. 302) argues that:

It is also widely agreed that intersections create both oppression and opportunity. In other words, being on the advantaged side offers more than avoidance of disadvantage or oppression by actually opening up access to rewards, status, and opportunities unavailable to other intersections. Furthermore, an intersectional position may be disadvantaged relative to one group, but advantaged relative to another.

Thus, relative to white men, middle class men and working class 'coloured' women, working class 'coloured' men would be disadvantaged. Nevertheless, relative to some women the same group of men are favoured by societal norms that benefit patriarchy (Connell, 1995; 2005). Acknowledging the complexities of social identities diverts attention from looking at manhood as a homogeneous lived experience and propels researchers to examine hegemony among men "as a social practice that manifests in many forms" (Ratele, 2008, p. 517).

Furthermore, using an intersectional lens (Crenshaw, 1991), I contend that men who experience structural (where and how you are socially located in terms of race, class and gender), political (the influence of political rhetoric on your everyday life) and/or representational (who you are associated with in terms of culture) limitations when working towards actualising dominant masculinities are more likely to report gender role stress. This study, therefore, examined whether the desire or 'responsibility' men have to attain dominant

traditional forms of masculinities has the potential to increase their acceptance and perpetration of violence, their hostile sexist attitudes toward women, and their risky sexual and drinking behaviours. In addition, the study elucidates the converging social and political influences on marginalised ‘coloured’ men and how these influences may increase their vulnerabilities. Understanding how the social and political influences intersect may provide some guidance to programmes aimed at reducing health compromising outcomes (whether emotional, psychological or social health) for both males and females. At this juncture I continue with a discussion of gender identity to set the stage for a discussion of masculinities.

1.2 Approaching masculinities: The case of marginalised men

According to Haywood and Mac an Ghail (2003, p. 7), “[p]olarized norms and expectations between genders are central to the definition of masculinity”. In this regard women have their own set of roles and responsibilities (usually homebound) and men have theirs, with male gender roles usually being attached to productivity outside the home. Freud and Fliess (1986) regarded the concept of masculinity as one of the most confusing concepts ever considered. This confusion is evident in that definitions of masculinity have evolved over time and within different settings. Some theorists define masculinity in terms of what men actually are; given their male anatomy. These definitions describe masculinity through the use of essentialist definitions which state that there is something inherently the same about all men’s lives or all things masculine. Other definitions focus on how masculinity is actualized by way of social norms. Normative definitions, therefore, define masculinity in terms of what men “ought to be” or become (Connell, 2005, p. 70). For example as observed by Kimmel (2005, p. 415):

You can see him sitting in first-class waiting rooms in airports, or in elegant business hotels the world over, wearing a designer business suit, speaking English, eating continental cuisine, talking on his cell phone, his laptop computer plugged into any electrical outlet, while he watches CNN International on television.

Thus as evident in the excerpt above definitions of masculinity are somewhat prescriptive as it provide men the necessary guidelines on ways of being a man. As such, definitions of masculinity are usually in relation to socially ascribed gender roles that are generally accepted as male 'duties' (Hammond & Mattis, 2005; Moss-Racusin, Good & Sanchez, 2010). Kimmel's (2005) definition of masculinity may primarily be a description of a 'white', heterosexual man; a form some may consider to be an ideal form of masculinity.

Even though, former definitions of masculinity, focused on men as a unitary gender guided by patriarchy, pro-feminist researchers however, established that masculinity should be considered as multidimensional and that masculinity is differently "experienced and responded to within specific historical contexts and social locations" (Haywood & Mac an Ghaill, 2003, p. 8). Scholars therefore suggested a move away from patriarchy to an understanding of a multiplicity of 'manhoods'. For instance, Gilmore (1990) highlights that the construction of masculinity is a combination of traditional masculine ideals coupled with culture-specific assumptions of what it means to be a man. So, although some ideas of masculinity are universal (e.g. toughness); how this ideal ought to be achieved might be differently prescribed in different cultures. Morrell (1998) further states that masculinity is fluid, and that multiple masculinities exist. We see a shift in the literature on masculinities. This shift considers the diversity between men and therefore moved toward the conceptualisation of multiple masculinities.

The concept of multiple forms of masculinities encouraged researchers to be aware that multiple masculinities exist. This elucidated the fact that a hierarchy amongst men may exist. Hence, some ways of being a man is more dominant than any other way of being a man (Connell, 1995). The dominant or hegemonic way of being a man, scholars suggest, is built around four pillars (Barker & Ricardo, 2005; Lindegger & Quayle, 2009; Smiler, Kay & Harris, 2008). Firstly, dominant masculinity is often accompanied by some displays of risky

behaviour (Pleck, 1981). Secondly, compulsory heterosexuality is the bedrock of dominant masculinity, as men are expected to display an innate desire to be satisfied sexually by women (Hollway, 1989). Thus, a healthy heterosexually active man is regarded as well on his way to successful manhood (Hollway, 1989; Shefer & Foster, 2001; Shefer & Mankhayi, 2007; Shefer & Ruiters, 1998). The third pillar on which dominant masculinity is built is stoicism. Displays of toughness, aggression and self-reliance are admired as traits of ideal manhood. The importance of stoicism among men is revered on the streets (Cooper, 2009) as well as in the sports arena (Messner, 1992; 2002). By contrast, a man who prefers non-violence is seen to be 'less of a man' and often experience abuse from men who consider themselves 'true men' (Connell, 1995; McFadden, 1992; Media Awareness Network, 2008; Shefer & Ruiters, 1998; Sideris, 2004). The fourth pillar is one from which men unanimously benefit. Dominant or hegemonic masculinity exists only as opposed to femininity, and thus, represses and subjugates women to uphold this status (Connell, 1995, 2005). Men enjoy and benefit from a '*patriarchal dividend*' that affords them a superior status over women (Connell, 1995; 2005).

A closer look at these pillars of dominant masculinity shows that observing these norms may have the potential to lead to some degree of stress. Pleck (1981) recognised the immense strain men experience due to the expectations of their gender role. The author established that gender role strain amongst men also affected their inter-personal relationships. More recently, researchers established that the endorsement and conformity to dominant male norms affected men on both mental (Courtenay, 2000) and social (Burn & Ward, 2005) levels. Even though non-conformity to dominant masculine norms seems like the obvious solution to deflect gender role strain, men who fail to conform to these dominant norms may suffer backlash. This was confirmed by Moss-Racusin, Phelan and Rudman (2010) in their study of prejudice towards modest men. Their findings suggested that men would rather avoid being

modest to 'save face' with the other men, because, achieving the dominant masculine ideal appeared more reputable.

Thus far, definitions of masculinity primarily focused on global views about dominant masculinity. Connell (2000), however, suggests that local patterns of manhood need to be examined, and then be considered in a global context. By highlighting 'patterns of manhood' this thesis suggests that there are many dominant and different ways of being a man in South Africa. Furthermore, forms of dominant masculinities are expressed as dominant masculinity norms, even amongst marginalised men. Scholars have established some local common representations of dominant masculinity. For example, Morrell (2001) points out that in South Africa, dominant constructions of masculinity continue to foreground patriarchal power through uses of violence and aggression. Ratele (2008), in his exploration of ruling African masculinities, elucidated that African masculinity norms most often include notions of the "breadwinner ideal" (p. 529). In other South African literature men construct ways of being a man as having an uncontrollable sexual drive (Miles, 1992; Mankayi, 2006; Shefer & Foster, 2009; Shefer & Ruiters, 1998). In contrast, local scholars also report a move toward new and more equitable forms of masculinities (Hunter, 2005; Morrell, 2001, 2002; Walker, 2005). Walker (2005) states that in an attempt to move away from constructing dominant masculinity as violent and authoritarian, her participants (young men) shifted toward masculinity constructions that challenged these traditional ways of being a man. So, it is important to understand displays of masculinities as context specific.

1.3 The present study

Central to this thesis, literature on 'coloured' constructions of masculinities suggests that constructions of 'coloured' masculinities are primarily ways of coping in a deprived environment. For example, Cooper and Foster (2008) and Cooper (2009), studying awaiting

trial 'coloured' boys, show that for these boys, ways of being a man centred on notions of being "...the tough gangster, the sweet "mama's boy" and the "gentleman" who provides and protects for his family" (Cooper & Foster 2008, p. 3). Other ways of being a dominant man included stoicism, machismo and being respected by others (Cooper, 2009). Salo (2003) shows how men use gang affiliation, fatherhood and previous imprisonment to negotiate a form of dominant male identity in their communities. While constructions of 'coloured' masculinities may seem to be associated with men's attempts to survive in their communities, these masculine constructions may also be an attempt to display the expectations of what it means to be a man in their communities. It may therefore be argued that 'coloured' men may be encouraged to express their manhood by way of overly masculine or hyper-masculine³ expressions (Cooper & Foster 2008; Stevens, 2008). Consequently, exaggerated negotiations of toughness and bravado may be observed in 'coloured' men's constructions of local masculinities. This thesis contextualizes the environments within which these men perform their masculinities and explore how these contexts influence local masculine performances amongst these men.

The focus on this particular population of men is therefore, not coincidental. This study covers a range of issues that are of immediate relevance to South African psychology and the local scholarship on marginalised masculinities. Furthermore, this thesis presents a range of findings that adds to the broader knowledge on marginalised masculinities in respect to risk-taking behaviour, gender-based violence and 'race'. The study highlights male vulnerabilities and contextualises these vulnerabilities within a cultural context that has not received much scholarly attention. Chapters Two and Three will locate and discuss 'coloured' masculinities more extensively.

³ Hyper-masculinity refers to performances of an exaggerated or an extreme form of masculine behaviour that often indicates insecurity in men's role identities. These masculine performances almost always have negative social consequences (Jun, 2009).

1.4 Research question

The aim of this thesis is to study the influences of masculinity roles on risk behaviours and gender role stress amongst marginalized ‘coloured’ men.

The objectives of this study are to:

- Determine the constructs of masculinity that emerged as salient amongst marginalized ‘coloured’ men.
- Study men’s subjective perceptions of manhood in their communities.
- Examine how the endorsement of masculinity roles influences men’s risk-taking behaviours and gender role stress.

In line with the aim and objectives outlined above the thesis asks:

What are the common masculinity roles amongst marginalized ‘coloured’ men in Cape Town? Does the endorsement of these masculinity roles influence men’s risk behaviours and men’s reports of gender role stress?

1.5 Thesis structure

Chapter One⁴ aimed to contextualise the thesis by outlining the motivation for this research venture. In particular, the chapter provided the rationale for focusing on ‘coloured’ men and their ideas on and expressions of dominant masculinities. The chapter reflected on identity as the foundation of masculinity and briefly summarised the definitions of masculinity and concluded by discussing the significance of the study.

⁴ Chapter One refers to concepts of race and gender briefly. I return to a more detailed discussion of these concepts in Chapters Two and Three.

Chapter Two contextualises racial identity in South Africa to locate ‘coloured’ masculinities. In discussing this historically-constructed identity, the chapter concludes by highlighting the intersectional nature of ‘coloured’ masculinities.

Chapter Three provides an overview of the theories of masculinities. It highlights the basic assumptions and socially accepted requirements of successful masculinity and the vulnerabilities men face due to their desire and societal pressure, to attain and maintain dominant manhood. The chapter concludes with a motivation for the research and the research questions that arose as salient for the present study.

The fourth chapter discusses some common scalar instruments used to measure conformity to masculinity. Presenting this discussion helps to locate the preferred masculinity scale I used for quantitative data collection, it also provides a background to general masculinity scale development and the theories used to inform masculinity scales. This discussion is followed by a description of the research setting and the methods used during the recruitment processes, data collection and the analysis of the data for both the quantitative and qualitative components of the study. This chapter concludes with a discussion of the ethical considerations that the researcher adhered to during the research process and personal reflexivity.

Chapter Five reports the empirical findings of the study. These include participants’ demographic data that helped to describe the characteristics of the sample and an overview of risk-taking behaviours amongst these men. This is then followed by a report and discussion on the exploratory factor analysis process which preceded further analysis. The quantitative results of the study are then presented and discussed.

Chapter Six is the first of two qualitative chapters. This chapter focuses on the context within which men live and the social issues they highlighted as salient influences on their lived experiences, and by extension their expressions of masculinities.

Chapter Seven reflects the local performances of masculinities as proposed by the participants. Local masculine role expectations encouraged men to have employment, and to display stoicism, sexual prowess, homophobia and anti-femininity. Also highlighted in this chapter, is how masculinity is achieved and the consequences of performing these local masculine roles.

Chapter Eight makes meaning of the results of this research by discussing it in relation to relevant literature on masculinities. This chapter also relays the conclusions drawn, contributions made, limitations of the study and recommendations for future research.

CHAPTER TWO

IDENTITY AND REPRESENTATION: THE CASE OF ‘COLOURED’ MASCULINITIES

Identity is a socially agreed upon construct that is actively made part of an individual’s perceived ‘self’ (Ratele, 2003). In reflecting on black-African⁵ masculinity, Ratele argues that identity in the first instance is frequently defined by race. Many authors have grappled with the questions of ‘colouredness’, and ‘coloured’ peoples’⁶ place on the periphery of a greater South African community (see Adhikari, 2005; Erasmus, 2001; Lewis, 1987; Salo, 2004). Using their and others’ thoughts on the subject, I document a brief historical background of ‘coloured’ identity formation that will help locate the participants and motivate the importance of this study. This review consists of a historical summary on group identity formation among ‘coloured’ people during Apartheid, along with a review of more recent, but scant literature on ‘coloured’ identity.

2.1 ‘Coloured’ identity

Even though mapping debates around ‘colouredness’ is not the primary focus of this thesis, it is important to discuss, as it is this racial category that historically located this group of people on the margins. Also, it is through processes of rejecting, accepting and reinventing the meanings of ‘colouredness’ that “this social category still continues to shape the everyday lives, actions and identities of many people” (Salo, 2004, p. 52). The social location given to ‘coloured’ people is one that has been influenced by the political milieu of the time. Racial

⁵ For the purpose of this study, “black-African” refers to people of (for example) Xhosa or Zulu decent.

⁶ The labels ‘coloured’ and ‘colouredness’ are put in inverted commas to signify the fact that ‘coloured’ is a contested identity. Even though some authors (e.g. see Erasmus, 2001) argues that ‘coloured’ people participated in the construction of the identity, others such as Goldin (1987) argue it was invented by the Apartheid regime as part of its divide and rule strategy.

classification, informed by Apartheid policy stipulated in the *Population Registration Act* of 1950, phenotypically defined whether a person would be classified as ‘white’, ‘coloured’, ‘black-African’ or ‘Indian’ (Salo, 2003). What follows is a woman sharing her experience of being racially classified during the 1950s. She explains:

“He looked at my profile from the right side, then from the left, then he examined my hair [...]. He touched my nose and asked me what my mother looked like” (Alex la Guma, 1988: iii).

Even though the racial classification of ‘coloured’ people was influenced by Apartheid policies focusing on biological diversions, ‘coloured’ identity is not just a white imposition; the people themselves continue to negotiate meaning and give meaning to their everyday lives (Erasmus, 2001).

2.2 ‘Colouredness’ by definition

According to the Cambridge online dictionary the suffix ‘-ness’ denotes a quality or a condition. Hence, ‘colouredness’ (when uncontested) will represent a ‘state of being’. Let me start by exploring available meanings or definitions of ‘colouredness’. At the heart of the Apartheid ideology was the supremacy of whites (Europeans) over assumed African inferiority. Those caught in the middle, or so called ‘mixed-raced’ individuals, were located on the borders between these two ‘pure-raced’ groups. As indicated by la Guma’s (1988) quote above, the process of racial classification was one that was not void of discomfort and embarrassment. I give more attention to this process later. For now, it would suffice to mention that the outcome of the race classification test deeply impacted generations of ‘mixed race’ families (Salo, 2003, 2004). Some ‘passed as white’ and enjoyed the privileges attached to this category. Others were classified ‘coloured’, which meant that even though they were disenfranchised in relation to whites, they were less oppressed than those classified

as Africans. What is a 'coloured'? What constitutes 'coloured-ness'? These are questions I (as a 'coloured' woman) still grapple with, and which continue to be debated in the literature.

In attempting to clarify understandings of the construction of the racial category 'coloured', I continue by reflecting on definitions raised in the literature. However, this should not be seen as an attempt on my part to portray 'colouredness' as a rigid unitary identity, but simply as a means to locate 'coloured' identit(ies). During the pre-Apartheid years definitions of 'colouredness' centred on miscegenation (Erasmus, 2001). Miscegenation is a concept that refers to a 'race mixture' between "the white masters and black female slaves" (Erasmus, p. 17). These were sexual acts that were prohibited and almost a disgrace; bringing the purity of whiteness into disrepute. Discussing Millin's book, *God's Stepchildren* (1924), Erasmus (2001) postulates that people born of 'mixed race' were assumed by this author to suffer shame and guilt due to their 'mixed blood' and impurity. While tolerating miscegenation or children born into a 'mixed race' category, during the colonial years, whites endeavoured to preserve their supposed racial purity, by ruling that 'mixed race' children born to African (native) mothers, should inherit the racial category of their mothers (Erasmus, 2001). The responsibilities of white fathers were therefore relinquished and inter-racial marriages were also prohibited. In so doing, the laws of the land allowed these children no claim to their European heritage.

Building upon these early ideas on miscegenation, the Apartheid government constructed the racial distinction of a 'coloured' people. The government espoused to define 'coloured' people so that there would be some sense of uniformity when applying this constructed racial category. According to the *Population Registration Act* of 1950, a 'coloured' person was defined as one who was neither white nor native. Acknowledging the 'race assortment' amid whites and natives, the government further sub-divided 'coloureds' in 1959 to encompass everyone not 'generally accepted' as either white or native. 'Coloured' now constituted

classifications of “Cape Coloured, Cape Malay, Griqua, Indian, Chinese, “other Asiatic” and “Other Coloured” ” with individuals from the same family often registered as originating from different sub-divisions (Erasmus, 2001, p. 75).

As definitions of ‘colouredness’ were attempted over the decades, the heterogeneity of the ‘group’ remained. Moreover, the definitions almost always implied that the group ‘lacked’ either ‘whiteness’ or ‘blackness’. Erasmus (2001) wrote; “It [‘colouredness’] has been negatively defined in terms of ‘lack’ or taint, or in terms of a ‘remainder’ or excess ... associated ... with immorality, sexual promiscuity, illegitimacy, impurity and untrustworthiness” (p. 17). Both Erasmus (2001, p. 18) and Adhikari (2005, p. 13) make reference to a statement made by Marike de Klerk (the wife of the former president of South Africa, F.W. de Klerk), in 1983 saying that ‘coloureds’:

...are a negative group. The definition of a Coloured in the population register is someone who is not black, and is not white and is also not Indian, in other words a no-person. They are the leftovers. They are the people that were left after the nations were sorted out. They are the rest.

Race discourse at the time continued to define ‘coloured’ people as those who did not quite ‘make the cut’; those who made up the defective and reject population. Seeping through to everyday life experiences, discourses of shame influenced many ‘coloured’ people to reject this identity, as categorising oneself as ‘coloured’ became a conflict-ridden process.

2.3 Political setting: Divide and rule

From the inception of Apartheid in 1948, race became “the most salient marker of socio-economic, cultural, spatial, moral and gendered differences” (Salo, 2004, p. 53). Apartheid is an Afrikaans word implying ‘separate-ness’. In the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crimes of Apartheid, ratified by the United Nations General Assembly on October 23rd, 1973 Apartheid is defined as a collection of:

...inhumane acts committed for the purpose of establishing and maintaining domination by one racial group of persons over any other racial group of persons and systematically oppressing them (Dugard, 2008, p. 1).

The racial oppression of the black populations of South Africa was indeed a systematic form of oppression. In relation to the 'coloured' populations at the Cape specifically; the group was systematically differentiated from the Africans, as 'coloured' people received more privileges (i.e. freedom of movement in the urban areas without identification) than Africans (Lewis, 1987). As mentioned in the previous section, the government further divided this people by establishing categories within the 'coloured' 'group'. People classified as Cape 'coloured' or Cape Malay were identified as those with straight hair and Indian features. 'Coloured' whose has features resembling kroes [curly] hair and flat noses were categorised as 'other 'coloured''. In this way the government would then be able to systematically divide and then conquer/oppress the 'coloured' people (Erasmus, 2001; Lewis, 1987). With the process of racial identification solely the responsibility of clerks in the Home Affairs offices, white clerks often imposed their subjective perceptions and understandings of race (Anderson, 2009).

The political setting further destabilised 'coloured' solidarity by racially segregating the South African population into residential areas. Adhikari (2005) noted that The Group Areas Act of 1950 oppressed the 'coloured' people mostly, in that people felt that they were uprooted from their homes, businesses and communities. The alternative accommodation that was made available by the ruling government was inadequate, and those who owned property were scantily compensated. By 1956 'coloureds' were stripped of numerous freedoms and "the National Party succeeded in removing 'coloured' people from the common voters' roll" (Adhikari, 2005, p. 4). What followed was a string of government imposed acts, which enforced separate development for all communities.

The *Pass Law Act* of 1952, designed to restrict the movement of black-Africans into white areas, did not apply to those classified as ‘coloured’. In 1956 under the ‘coloured’ *Labour Preference Act*, the Western Cape was declared an area “in which all unskilled jobs would be reserved for coloureds only” (Salo, 2004, p. 81). Some black-Africans even opted to adopt a ‘coloured’ identity, as this classification was a means to obtain access to the Western Cape and the surety of job opportunities. Again the notion of ‘divide and then conquer’ is relevant. Both Erasmus (2001) and Adhikari (2005) mention that the reality of the era required ‘coloured’ people to realise that even though they were not white, they were superior to black-Africans. Dividing the ‘coloured’ people from the black-Africans, and division amongst the ‘coloured’ people based on government imposed racial identities, deepened the segregation amongst ‘coloured’ people.

2.4 Identity formation: ‘Colouredness’ and shame

Salo (2004) argues that although early historians like Lewis (1987) and Goldin (1987) recorded formal politics around ‘colouredness’, the authors failed to contest the local meanings of ‘colouredness’, as lived by those individuals forcibly removed to spaces of marginality. As it is the aim of the study to explore local meanings of ‘coloured’ masculinities, I argue that the terms used to describe ‘colouredness’ in the Apartheid and pre-Apartheid years (i.e. ‘leftovers’) still influence lived experiences of the ‘coloured’ people today (Salo, 2003, 2004). This sub-section is primarily based on Erasmus’ (2001) perspectives of ‘coloured’ identities. She starts with a mapping of the future possibilities for a young ‘coloured’ girl. A young woman could either choose a life of respectability or one of shame. In this case the ‘shame’ would usually be linked to sexual promiscuity and teenage pregnancy. Another form of ‘shame’ is that of having yellow skin and coarse hair in a community where the majority had caramel skin and dark straight hair. Thus, ‘othering’ those

who do not quite fit the mould of ‘Capetonian coloured’ may have made ‘others’ feel like outsiders in Cape Town; encouraging feelings of frustration and anger toward the ‘in-group’.

I however, was not the only one having to negotiate the level of ‘shame’ imposed by other ‘coloureds’. “The humiliation of being ‘less than white’ made being ‘better than black’ a very fragile position to occupy” (Erasmus, 2001, p. 13). Having had the Apartheid government predetermine the dominant form of ‘being’ ‘coloured’ (resembling ‘whiteness’) caused much anxiety among ‘coloured’ people. Losing “their intermediate status in the race hierarchy” surfaced as a troubling possibility (Adhikari, 2005, p. xii). Field (in Erasmus, 2001), exploring the fragility of ‘coloured’ identities, states: “Who we think and feel we are – and who others think we are, and how they relate to us – is shaped by a variety of dialogic power relations” (p. 104). The negotiation of this power is often seized by those in power. This perpetuates feelings of being caught between the ‘wire and the wall’. The implication of imposed powerlessness of ‘coloured’ people, in relation to the reigning government, was recently relived. Forced removal of ‘coloured’ people was implied by Jimmy Manyi, the then president of the Black Management Forum, in 2011 when talking about employment in the Western Cape. Manyi in a media interview remarked that there was an ‘over supply of ‘coloureds’ in the Western Cape (Mail & Guardian, 24th February, 2011). He further mentioned that they (‘coloureds’) should move to the Limpopo Province. Although representing a political movement which fights for non-racialism, Manyi stirred up memories of forced removal among ‘coloured’ people. The historicity of the understanding that ‘coloureds’ are ‘misfits’; people who have no ‘official’ homeland and who should exist on the margins was again featured in the rhetoric on ‘colouredness’.

2.5 Contemporary contestations of ‘colouredness’

As Adhikari (2005) argues, ‘coloured’ identity showed relative stability during the Apartheid years. This he attributed to “marginalisation being central to the relative stability of ‘coloured’ identity because of the limitations it placed on their possibilities for independent action” (p. xiii). However, although ‘coloureds’ suffered some restriction in exploring their identity, they definitely and actively participated in accepting, rejecting and remaking the identity. Salo (2004) concludes that ‘colouredness’ emerged from the interaction between people in their local context. Even though the dominant political discourses of the time influenced the social context in which ‘colouredness’ was performed, community level interactions were informed by local meanings of personhood.

As Hall (1997, p. 52) suggests, "identities are the names we give to the different ways we are positioned by, and position ourselves in, the narratives of the past". Traditions that have become part of the shared reality of ‘coloured’ people were mostly borrowed from European culture. However, one might argue that ‘coloured’ people remade its meanings partly to resist and to display complicity in white domination. One such tradition which crossed the boundaries of race, class and gender, was the New Year’s Festival, where ‘coloured’ men paraded in colourful apparel and painted faces while jovially singing and dancing to rehearsed steps. The main attraction – a transvestite – who, for the moment, commands this social space by, possibly, rejecting both race and gendered stereotypes. This 100 year old carnival was one of few spaces where people from different races were allowed to interact without police interference. Being the centre of attraction for the time, the Coons⁷ occupied the commercial hub; a space that during the Apartheid years was reserved for whites only (Jeppie, 1990; Salo, 2004).

⁷ The Cape Town ‘Coons’ or *Kaapse klopse* is how the carnival participants are referred to.

social identity is typified as a process of finding as many things as one can to differentiate oneself from others. ‘I am a ...’ ‘We are...’ ‘They are...’ Like all cultural foundations, ‘coloured’ identities “involve borrowing and hybridity” (Erasmus, 2001, p. 21). However, ‘colouredness’ (as a racial identity) is a social identity that has been problematised in recent literature. As noted by Crenshaw (1991), the way in which a group is represented within society, has an enormous effect on how individuals belonging to the group are located within the broader society. An example of this problematised identity is reflected on by Samara (2011) who highlights that perceptions about ‘what it means to be a ‘coloured’ person’ are linked to gangsterism and substance abuse and those identified as ‘coloured’ are therefore linked to such generalised group behaviours. These perceptions are not unfounded, however, as more ‘coloured’ people, as opposed to other race groups in South Africa, suffer from alcoholism (Mager, 2010). Recent news reports reflect the gang wars rampant in ‘coloured’ communities. These are two very common social issues I deem important to discuss as they have become synonymous with everyday life experiences in ‘coloured’ communities. Furthermore, I contend that the historical context in which ‘colouredness’ was shaped played an integral part in gang violence and substance abuse related problems and other social problems particular to ‘coloured’ communities.

2.5.1 Gangs and violence in Cape Town

Gangs are no accident; our society inadvertently produces them, and they will not decline as a social problem until we confront our relationship with them. And to confront our relationship to street gangs is to come face-to-face with some well-entrenched self-interests that also are important to understanding ourselves. Gangs have a social context, and to paraphrase Pogo, the context is us. (Klein, 1995, p. 3)

With a backdrop of Apartheid’s Group Areas Act, space became a sought after commodity on the Cape Flats, to where ‘coloured’ people were forcibly removed (Pinnock, 1984). Pinnock (1984) argues that from a young age boys developed play groups to police their self-invented

boundaries from trespassers (usually other boys from different areas). To structure their group identity, boys would name their 'group'. The group names would usually specify the area they aimed to protect; for example, 'The Six Avenue Kids'. Pinnock (1984) further argued that adolescent play group structures usually advanced to becoming defence gangs. The advancement from play to defence groups centred on the increased demand for commodities and the need to physically defend these commodities. "Young defence gangs are probably the most widespread street-youth clusters in Cape Town, and they usually formed to defend themselves and their territory from other gangs" (Pinnock, 1984, p. 5). The need to protect and defend themselves and the territory was carried through to their adult lives for most of these boys. In other words, when a young man joins a gang in his youth, he is more likely to continue gang activities well into adulthood.

Why then would young boys feel the importance to protect their resources, and feel it important to establish groups to do so? Pinnock's (1984) book *'The brotherhoods: Street gangs and state control in Cape Town'* sheds light on these questions. The government defined a 'family' as per the European idea of a nuclear family (parents and children). When low-cost housing was initiated in 1949, the actual family structures of a 'coloured' family were not taken into account. The government therefore neglected to consider that 'coloured' families most often included grandparents and other extended family. This created a dilemma for the household, as living spaces became overcrowded (Pinnock, 1984). Boys opted to spend their time on the streets as personal space at home became a luxury.

Moreover, as mentioned above, 'coloured' people were left with a sense of loss; as their relocation separated them from family, friends and comrades. Again, the government's modus operandi to divide and conquer became clear. The *Group Areas Act* resolved to dislocate communities by relocating individual families and not entire neighbourhoods to the same location. Spreading people of colour over the wide range of the Flats, with no

communication other than government controlled media, made 'coloured' people less of a threat and easier to govern (Pinnock, 1984). Isolation, the author argues, was a great emotional knock to these communities and the children had little choice but "to build something coherent out of the one thing they had left – each other" (Pinnock, 1984, p. 54). With overflowing households, youth found a 'street family' as replacement.

It can be argued that gangs in Cape Town were formed to combat impoverished living circumstances faced by individuals in 'coloured' communities. Having to protect and defend the few resources they had and even claim or intercept the resources of others to survive, delinquent youth become unemployed adult men. With unemployment soaring in the 1970s, the 'survival crisis' among 'coloureds' reached its pinnacle. Gang activities encouraged a sort of domestic economy, with drugs being a sought-after commodity and the money earned from such gang activity made for a lucrative business.

However, the street brotherhood became more than just a lucrative business. A sense of belonging to a group, which encouraged collective 'growth', was motivation enough for young boys to join a gang. Being part of a gang was "an attempted defence against personal pain and isolation" engineered under apartheid (Pinnock, 1997, p. 5). A ritualistic initiation into a brotherhood of rules and regulations preceded gang membership. Gang rituals provided a means of setting oneself apart from the rest and successful passage placed one in a privileged position.

Pinnock (1997) argues that rituals are ways in which humans cope when they feel a lack of guidance. Thus, with tumultuous home circumstances, young men explored the rituals that were offered by the streets. The structures of governance offered by the street gangs were often lacking in their homes, and the political climate of the time encouraged an environment which fostered the need for structural camaraderie (Pinnock, 1997). "Through gang

structures, individuals were able to fulfil unmet needs, dreams, and desires otherwise beyond their furthest reach” (Luyt & Foster, 2001, p. 1).

With this background, it is clear that gang membership was propelled by Apartheid policies (Luyt & Foster, 2001; Pinnock, 1984, 1995, 1997). The displacement of families uprooted structures that encouraged social networks among ‘coloured’ families. This might have hindered their sense of community and social growth, leading to the ‘gang problem’ we are faced with today. According to Cooper (2009, p. 3), “there are approximately 80 to 100 thousand gangsters and 130 gangs which contribute to 40% of murders, 42% of the robberies and 70% of the crime generally in the Western Cape”.

It is important too, to mention the influence of prison gangs on the wider community, as it is a given that gang members most often spend some time being incarcerated. As a minority group ‘coloureds’ constitute 8.9% of the South African population (Stats SA, 2011). It has been found that ‘coloured’ people are twice as likely as any other group in South Africa to be murdered and twice as likely to be incarcerated (Leggett, 2004). Currently the Department of Correctional Services (2012) reports 158 865 men in custody, 17.4% of who are identified as ‘coloured’. These statistics may indicate that the ‘coloured’ communities are still suffering the residue of the forced removal policies of Apartheid, or that ‘gangster’ masculine rites of passage, may be ingrained in ‘coloured’ communities, as one form of dominant/hyper masculinity. In turn, this might brand incarceration as an accepted rite of passage among ‘coloured’ men.

With the participation of 22 (16 and 17 year old) ‘coloured’ awaiting trial male inmates from the Cape Flats, Cooper (2009, p. 2) explored gang membership as “a common rite of passage into manhood in these areas”. With the instability of their social context, these boys reflected on their transitions from boyhood to manhood under the banner of gangsterism. Cooper

(2009) asserts that this form of masculinity emphasises hybridity, as it borrows from various national and global masculine media performances. Furthermore, the author notes that the boys position themselves as performing contradictory masculine forms. On the one hand boys positioned themselves as stoic, macho men and on the other hand they aspire to be respected as gentlemen and show emotional expressiveness to the women to whom they are close to. Cooper (2009) attributes this to the fact that these boys are insecure youth who as a gang member, may experience temporal power, but are faced with the inevitability of unattainable dreams and incarceration. Exploring juvenile inmates' subjective perceptions of their return to prison Matthews (2006) shows that "incarceration itself, seem to foster criminal behaviour" (p. ii). The author further shows that poverty and the use of alcohol and drugs are the primary obstacles in their way toward deterrence (Matthews, 2006). Substance use which is not separate from gang activity in 'coloured' communities is also troubling, and should be taken into account when understanding 'colouredness'.

2.5.2 Alcohol use in Cape Town

Even though the use of other substances like methamphetamine (Tik) and marijuana are very common in Cape Town; daily and excessive alcohol drinking is a common pastime (Mager, 2010). Alcohol has always been a problem in the Western Cape and specifically Cape Town, with findings from the 2005 National Household Surveys by the Human Sciences Research Council reflecting the Western Cape Province at the highest prevalence rates for risky drinking (16%) relative to the other provinces (Shisana et al., 2005). They further found that those who classified as 'coloured' in the Western Cape had higher levels of hazardous and harmful alcohol use (18%) relative to other race groups in the Western Cape (Shisana et al., 2005). More recently, based on the 2008 National Household Survey, 41.5% of the overall male population reported that they drink alcohol. Risky or hazardous or harmful drinking was

reported as 17% among men. However, those more likely to report risky drinking were men who were aged 20-54 years, those who classified themselves as ‘coloured’, were of lower economic status and lower education. (Peltzer, Davids & Njuho, 2011).

Reflecting on the influences the Apartheid system had on ‘coloured’ people, the legacy of alcoholism, like gangsterism, can be traced back to the Apartheid policies. A particular feature of South African policy implemented in agriculture was the ‘dop system’⁸ under the *Liquor Act* of 1928 (London, 1999). The ‘dop system’ allowed farmers to supplement part of farm workers’ wages with alcohol. The alcohol farm workers received was the surplus of alcohol that was not fit to sell on the open market. The ‘dop system’ essentially helped keep labourers passive and reliant on the farmers for both work and alcohol, decreased the cost of farm labour, and developed a market for low grade liquor products (Leggett, 2004; London, 1999; Scully, 1992). Even though the ‘dop system’ was abolished in 1961, the abridged Liquor Act did not stipulate clear distribution guidelines, which allowed farmers to still ‘unofficially’ continue paying workers with liquor in lieu of wages (London, 1999). Using survey data Naude et al., (2000), reported that 9.5% of Stellenbosch farms continued the use of the dop system.

Alcohol abuse amongst South African men is not solely a rural/farm issue. Alcohol abuse among ‘coloured’ people became a broader social problem. By 1965, “a psychiatric study in the Cape estimated the incidence of alcoholism among ‘coloured’s at 22 percent” (Mager, 2010, p. 67). A large number of ‘coloured’ people worked in the vineyards and residents of these areas were described as experiencing the highest rates of alcoholism. ‘Coloured’ farm dwellers therefore, experienced violence, dysfunctional family environments, and foetal alcohol syndrome, which are but a few outcomes associated with alcohol dependence.

⁸ ‘Dop’ is a Afrikaans word meaning ‘Tot’. Essentially the Liquor Act of 1928 allowed farmers to use a ‘tot system’ to partially incentivise for farm labour.

Another common health problem that these communities experienced was cirrhosis of the liver, also associated with heavy drinking. Despite the fact that alcohol abuse is more prevalent in the rural areas than urban areas (specifically wine/grape farms) of the Western Cape, alcohol is generally easily accessible in urban areas too (Mager, 2010).

Beer drinking became a recreational evening and weekend activity. In the late 1970s the South African government reported that “drinking was the only way [‘coloured’s] knew of passing the idle, empty hours during the weekend” (Mager, 2010, p. 68). Drinking also became an activity that was associated with male bonding and social support. This was especially true for men who did hard physical labour. Having a beer after a long day’s work was seen as a reward. Today, advertising companies still use the image of ‘relaxing with a beer’ at the end of a long day. The ‘culture of drinking’ spawned many social ills and overindulgence, which Mager (2010, p. 71) argues was a means to cope with, and caused “domestic violence, individual pain, desperation, shame, guilt, and loneliness”.

2.6 Contesting ‘colouredness’

The notions of ‘colouredness’ is not one without contention. Unlike black-African and white racial identities, ‘coloured’ identity has been said to be more fluid in that it is seen as a racial category that was constructed by the Apartheid government to distinguish ‘coloured’ people (Erasmus, 2011). In the post-Apartheid context those previously classified as ‘coloured’ therefore had an opportunity to redefine themselves. Many identified with the Black Consciousness Movement that absorbed them into a unified ‘black’ identity. Unifying with other black people was believed to be the best move toward combating the Apartheid governments’ strategy to divide people of colour and rule them (Adhikari, 2005). However, this came at a cost. “[T]he price that had to be paid to become part of mainstream resistance [was that] there was no place for “Coloureds” as such, but only for “Blacks”. In order to be

accepted as “Black”, ‘Coloured’ identity had to be forsworn” (De Vries quoted in Erasmus, 2001, p. 13). Thus, ‘coloured’ identity continued to occupy a precarious space.

According to Adhikari (2005) “‘coloured’ rejectionism” grew between the 1960s and peaked at the late 1980s. This thesis suggests that even though “‘coloured rejectionism” should be acknowledge, ‘coloured’ identity still continues to influence many people’s lives (Salo, 2003, 2004). I further suggest that most of the ‘rejectionism’ took place in spaces where ‘colouredness’ could be contested from a middle-class and ‘educated’ perspectives. I am not implying that working class ‘coloureds’ simply accept a unified ‘coloured’ ideology. What I am proposing is that ‘coloured’ working class-township dwellers have less leverage to contest ‘coloured’ identities and therefore are still living identities that seem to be seen as ‘not-good-enough’ in this post-Apartheid society (Adhikari, 2005).

Post-Apartheid rhetoric continued to see ‘coloured’ identity as an invented identity as it was seen as less ‘real’ in ‘essence’ and ‘pure’ in ‘origin (Erasmus & Pieterse, 1999). However, rhetoric of ‘race purity’ has also been contested. Erasmus (2001) suggests that ‘coloured’ identity is not merely an imposed identity of ‘race mixture’. “They are cultural formations born of appropriation, dispossession and translation in the colonial encounter” (p. 7). ‘Coloured’ identity and ‘coloured’ culture, as such, should therefore be re-imagined “as cultural identities comprising detailed bodies of knowledge, specific cultural practices, memories, rituals and modes of being” (Erasmus, 2001, p. 2). With a grasp on ‘coloured’ racial identit(ies) and the contextual formation of ‘colouredness’, I proceed with a more detailed discussion about ‘coloured’ masculinities.

2.7 Negotiating ‘coloured’ masculinities

Thus far, this discussion focused primarily on a history of racial identity. The expressions of manhood in the South African context are diverse and are primarily influenced by race and culture. However, most of the constructions of masculinities continue to be informed by patriarchy. In Chapter One, I briefly mentioned common local forms of ‘coloured’ masculinities that were highlighted in the literature. Furthermore, I suggested that some forms of ‘coloured’ masculinities are shown to be exaggerated negotiations of toughness and bravado that may increase men’s vulnerability to risk behaviour and gender role stress. This section will therefore show how conforming to or failure to perform expected masculinities may negatively influence ‘coloured’ men and those around them.

In Salo’s (2003) exploration of ‘coloured’ masculinity, she purports that ‘coloured’ men are not deemed ‘the breadwinners’ – a norm that many associate with masculinity. This, the author attributes to the fact that ‘coloured’ women became the preferred workforce in the textile, canning and leather industries in the Western Cape; with a male workforce that consisted of casual labour. More women were therefore employed. Women were also afforded state housing and welfare grants, which increased their authority in their households and communities. Increased unemployment among men may have left men feeling emasculated. As was presented by Boonzaier (2005), unemployed men who felt entitled to authority in the household often acted out by being violent, causing women to bear the brunt of their insecurities.

Salo (2003) also shows how men negotiate their male identity through gang affiliation, fatherhood or as ex-prisoners, while men continue to be financially dependent on their mothers. By way of introducing his book, *Gangs rituals and rites of passage*, Don Pinnock (1997, p. 1) quotes Joseph Campbell, who says:

Boys everywhere have a need for rituals marking their passage to manhood. If society does not provide them they will inevitably invent their own.

Many Western Cape 'coloured' communities are riddled with gangsterism (Cooper & Foster, 2008; Pinnock, 1997). Living situations are often "complicated by poverty, racism, broken homes or drugs" (Pinnock, 1997, p. 29). Dominant attributes such as "toughness, success and control were held in high esteem" (Cooper & Foster, 2008, p. 5). It is in these settings that literature on understanding the contextual expressions of masculinities is lacking. Salo (2003) advocates, that the meanings of personhood are located in the histories and cultural performances of 'coloured' people. This study, therefore, sought to examine the endorsement of masculinity norms and how these norms are practiced amongst 'coloured' men. In answering this question, the study will elucidate context specific ideas of what men deem as ideal ways of being a man. I argue that even with the understanding that masculinities are fluid, it remains evident that some forms of masculinities are more likely to be considered dominant, having power over other subordinate masculine forms in any given community (Connell, 1995; Ratele, 2006; 2008). For instance, Jensen (2008) explored 'coloured' masculinities specific to townships in Cape Town. Jensen (2008) suggested that masculinity was often associated with a 'respectable' masculinity. Based on the narratives of five participants from the Heideveld Township on the Cape Flats, the author suggested that 'respectable' masculinities ranged from masculinities that used religion as their foundation to masculinities that was founded upon violence and blatant brutality channeled by gangsterism. 'Coloured' men were expected to negotiate and express their masculinities somewhere on the continuum between the stoicism of religion and the brutality associated with gangsterism. Jensen (2008, p. 174) mentions that "[t]his was one of the tragic paradoxes for some coloured men" because as they "defend themselves against violence, they reproduced the criminalisation of themselves". Jensen (2008) postulates that 'coloured' men are therefore always running the risk of being seen as criminal by their communities.

‘Respectable’ masculinities were also often challenged in these communities. Discussing masculinity, Strebel and colleagues (2006) in their focus group discussions with men in two Western Cape township communities, found that although men still largely endorsed dominant masculine ideals, they felt that their masculinity were being challenged due to the increasing empowerment of women. The empowerment of women, as argued by Strebel’s (2006) participants diminished their power and respectability in their homes. As previously mentioned, for Cooper and Foster’s (2008) participants the expressions of masculinities were often associated with gaining and maintaining respect in their communities. As such gaining and maintaining respect in the family or on the street has been shown as one vital part of negotiating masculinities amongst ‘coloured’ men.

Sexual violence like rape often becomes a means through which marginalised men inflict their superiority upon women (Jewkes, 2009). In their exploration of black-African and ‘coloured’ men’s views around social behaviour, including violence against women, Sawyer-Kurian, et al. (2009) suggested that “Coloured men’s perception of their current status in society may contribute to riskier and more violent behaviour” (p. 23). The authors further state that the high prevalence of methamphetamine (locally known as ‘tik’) use in ‘coloured’ communities contributes to gang rape and blatant disrespect of women who use methamphetamine.

There is limited understanding of the social and cultural experiences of ‘coloured’ men. Exploring masculinity norms, dominant and opposing gender and sexuality discourses that shape the lives of these men and by extension their communities, will significantly contribute to the literature on men and the enactment of ‘coloured’ manhood. This study therefore, considered two ‘coloured’ communities with similar socio-economic profiles, to understand their ideas on how ‘coloured’ masculinities are expressed and maintained in their communities, and how their social realities influence their masculine expressions.

2.8 Chapter conclusion

This chapter discussed how social systems mould both gender identities and racial identities, which I argue may influence men's lives. By extension, lived experiences are influenced by our understanding of race and gender, and how these groups are represented in the broader society. As discussed, gender stereotypes often encourage men to conform to normative behaviour that disadvantages women and other men. I concur with authors who suggest that even though humans are influenced by structural agents like cultural norms, humans continue to participate in the construction of identity by actively participating in a process of complying or resisting its ideals (Connell, 2002; Moore, 1994). Acknowledging that we participate in the process of 'becoming', it is not my intention to justify risk behaviours typical amongst 'coloured' men by problematising or only blaming the 'system'. The social dilemmas such as gangsterism and alcohol abuse prevalent in 'coloured' communities, I argue, were fuelled by white supremacists who used the laws of the land to oppress people of colour, and further maintain the intermediary status of the 'coloured' people. Subsequently it has left residues of shame, complicity, and a sense of 'not-good-enough-ness' even post-Apartheid. These feelings may have brought about a form of 'colouredness' fraught with ambiguity. It is therefore not surprising that scholars may associate 'coloured' men (in South Africa) with crime, violence and alcoholism. I proceed with a discussion on gender role norms and masculine identity formation. Chapter Three therefore discuss the theories that are associated with masculinity.

CHAPTER THREE

THE MALE GENDER ROLE: THEORISING MEN

This thesis examines constructions of ‘coloured’ masculinities and how ‘coloured’ men in two working class communities define and express their masculinities. With the background of gender and race identity discussed in Chapters One and Two, this chapter leads into a synthesis of theories on masculinity. Drawing heavily on Luyt’s (2007) synthesis of gender theory I describe my theoretical preferences in this work. This chapter describes the ontological frameworks that inform the study of masculinities. Sex Role Theory could be described as a psychosocial perspective of gender development as it suggests that the acquisition of gender roles is influenced by both psychological and social factors. The theory takes into account the fluidity of gender, but still explains gender by way of structured processes. One such process is sex-typing (Coleman, 1990). Sex-typing refers to the process of acquiring gender appropriate behaviours, attitudes and personality traits through social conditioning (Alsop, Fitzsimons & Lennon, 2002; Bem, 1983; Mischel, 1966). The fluidity of sex-typing is evidenced in its assumption that gender identities are socio-culturally acquired. Thus, it implies that sex roles are culture specific and not universal, while the ‘role’ is still informed by the individual’s biological sex (Bem, 1983). It is therefore, “by ‘role learning’, ‘socialization’ or ‘internalization’” that culturally prescribed sex role identity is acquired (Connell, 1987, 49). According to Luyt (2007, 2013) Sex Role Theory includes more than a singular ontology. Luyt (2007, 2013) suggests that theories pertaining to sex role acquisition differ in terms of their ontology of gender as well as their suggested processes of gendered identity acquisition. Along the lines of Luyt’s (2007) argument, I discuss the two overarching paradigms that influence Sex Role Theory. The Sex Role Identity Paradigm and the Gender Role Strain Paradigm are described below.

3.1 Sex role identity paradigm

The Sex Role Identity Paradigm includes traditional and mainly psychological theories of sex-typing, such as, psychological theories of gender development in childhood and theories of personality development (Pleck, 1976). According to Pleck (1981) these theories assume that humans have an inherent psychological need to develop an appropriate sex role identity as an essential part of their psychological adjustment. Successful role identity is therefore “determined by how completely a person adopted his or her traditional gender role” (Levant, 2011, p. 767). Furthermore, these theories commonly suggest that when sex/gender⁹ appropriate identities are not internalised, serious psychological consequences may be experienced (Pleck, 1976, 1981, 1987).

Sex role theories appealed to psychologists because the ideology accommodated for social processes that influenced gendered behaviour through an avenue where gender or sex could remain distinct binaries¹⁰. Scholars attribute sex role acquisition and ultimately sex role identity to a set of personality characteristics which was considered socially appropriate for one ‘sex’ as opposed to the other (Block, 1973; Pleck, 1979). Sex role theories offered a move away from biological determinism toward understanding gender in relation to the social context. A move which was well received by feminists as this perspective implied that political reformation and social change were possible (Connell, 1989). In the following section I discuss Sex Role Identity Paradigm by describing three psychological theories that contribute to the development and acquisition of sex role identity, namely Psychoanalytic, Social Learning and Cognitive-Developmental perspectives.

⁹ In Sex Role literature, but also in this chapter, sex and gender are used interchangeably (Coffin & McIntyre, 1999; He & Freeman, 2010; Huffman, Whetten & Huffman, 2013).

¹⁰ Traditionally psychologists have also been invested in studying sex differences as binary and therefore have become invested in maintaining the distinction between male and female (Bem, 1983; Maccoby & Jacklin 1974; Shefer, Boonzaier & Kiguwa, 2006).

3.1.1 Psychoanalytic perspective

Sigmund Freud (1905) the father of Psychoanalytic theory, holds that masculinity is successfully reached when masculine impulses are embraced and feminine energy is repressed. Freud's Psychoanalytic theory emphasised the importance of early childhood experiences in gender identity development. Successful gendered personality development, he argued, is dependent upon the child's mastery of various developmental stages and the acquisition of a good moral grounding. As mentioned by Connell (1995), Freud proposed that an individual's gender and sexuality were not inherently predetermined. Rather, that gender and sexuality of an individual were to be actualized through a lengthy conflict-ridden developmental process.

According to Psychoanalytic theory, all human behaviour is shaped by the person's unconscious psyche. The psyche consists of the id, ego and superego drives. Freud (1905) purports that these drives are in conflict with the social norms and that successful development will be attributed to an individual who is able to successfully manage this inner conflict. In relation to masculinity, Freud's hypothesis holds that all humans are bisexual, that both masculine and feminine pulses exist in every human. Masculinity then is successfully reached when masculine impulses are embraced and feminine energy is repressed (Meyer, Moore & Viljoen, 1990). This, he supposes will be reached with the help of a strong superego, internalising and processing society's expectations of what it means to be a man. Carl Jung supported Freud's theory of the bisexual nature of all humans. However, Jung maintained that one does not repress the other rather that both masculine and feminine forces co-exist. The co-existence of the masculine conscious and the feminine unconscious, in men, is moulded by men's life experiences and representations of women and femininity (Meyer et al., 1990). These early theories of masculinity were rooted in enduring and universal archetypes that were regarded as consistent in all human psyches.

Psychoanalytic theory provides a framework to understand Sex Role Identity acquisition and therefore have not given much attention, to cultural diversity within the parameters of this theorising on masculinity (Connell, 1995). Despite the widespread popularity and acceptance of the Psychoanalytic perspective “...the theory did not go unchallenged”. One such challenge highlighted that Psychoanalytic perspectives disregard “...the tremendous complexity of human responsiveness” (Bandura, 1977, p. 1), arguing that environmental factors are more important clues to understanding gender identity development. Even though theorists (such as Bandura, 1977; Roopnarine & Mounts, 1987) judged Freud’s insights on gender development as unscientific or incongruent, he laid the foundation of theories supporting the field of psychology and some of his ideas continue to be influential.

3.1.2 Social learning theory

As a response to popular Psychoanalytic perspectives, behaviourists diverted their focus from the individual to environmental factors to understand and predict social behaviour (Bandura, 1977). Bandura (1977) suggested that irrespective of the effect that external conditioning may have on human behaviour, humans still have the cognitive capacity to negotiate, learn and internalise behaviours themselves. Social Learning Theory was developed by Bandura in 1977. The theory highlights that social behaviour is learned by way of two mechanisms. These include modelling (imitating others usually same-sex models) and reinforcement (receiving reward for displays of appropriate gender roles). This means that a child is socialised by way of internalising what they observe from others as appropriate behaviour. This theory also suggests that gender appropriate behaviour may be learnt by observing actual role models or by adhering to verbal encouragements from social agents (Bandura, 1982, 1989). “Parents are primary role models for children because they are usually very visible, accessible, and tightly bonded to their children” (Carlson & Knoester, 2011, p. 711).

Parents, are therefore the primary models of appropriate gendered behaviour for children. Parents are also mainly responsible for rewarding children who display gender appropriate behaviour and punish those who divert from it. In addition, other gender models are available in the child's immediate environment. These may include peers and the media (Bussey & Bandura, 1999). Thus, according to Social Learning Theory, appropriate gender behaviour can be learned through operant conditioning and observational learning.

Operant conditioning suggests that gender development, is learned through reinforcement and punishment (Constantinople, 1979; Huston, 1983, 1985; Mischel, 1966). The concept of operant conditioning is mainly embedded in ideas around reinforcement. To this end, reinforcement is theorized as either positive reinforcement or negative reinforcement. Positive reinforcement is obtained when a desired response or behaviour is given. For instance, when a young girl plays 'dress-up' with her mother's clothes, she is displaying gender appropriate behaviour and will be rewarded with parental approval. In terms of negative reinforcement, a boy who plays 'dress-up' with his mother's clothes may be discouraged from continuing such behaviours. These reinforcements cement gender appropriate and inappropriate behaviour, that reward children for displaying gendered behaviours and punish them for diverting from what is considered 'normal'(Bandura, 1977). The learned gender appropriate behaviour is then internalized and incorporated as part of the individual's identity, so much so that the individual may self-regulate, through reward and punishment, their own gender appropriate behaviours (Mischel, 1966). Bandura (1977) however, posits that "...while reinforcement is a powerful method for regulating behaviors that are already learned, it is a relatively inefficient way of creating them" (p. 5). Thus, observing modelled behaviour is said to be more successful method to maintain learned behaviour.

Observational learning, also known as vicarious learning, imitation and modelling, proposes that people imitate modelled behaviours that they consider as gender appropriate (Bandura, 1977; Mussen, 1971). Bandura (1977) further states that "...modelling is an indispensable aspect of learning" (p. 5) and proposes four main cognitive processes that are required for effective learning. These are attention, retention, motoric reproduction and reinforcement or motivational processes. Essentially, it is suggested that through attentional processes the observer is able to identify with the role model. This is often the same-sex parent for the child who will then pay close attention to the gender appropriate behaviours displayed by the parents (Bandura, 1977; Kanfer, Duerfeldt, Martin, & Dorsey, 1971). Accordingly, boys are expected to pay close attention to how their father's (or other men in their environment) perform masculinity. Retention is a cognitive process that allows the observer to record the information in the memory. The observer is then able to store the observed behaviour, as memory codes. The memory codes that are cognitively produced are symbolic representations of the observed behaviour and this enhances acquisition and displays of observed behaviour (Bandura & Adams, 1977; Clark, 1960; Kazdin, 1979). For example, if a father model behaviours such as watching soccer or drinking beer, soccer and beer drinking may symbolise manhood for boys who observe this behaviour. Motoric reproduction processes transfer "symbolic representations" into "overt action" (Bandura in 1977, p. 8) and therefore allow the observer to re-enact the observed behaviour through imitation and so behaviour is learned and repeated. Lastly, motivation involves a process whereby the observer measures the level of punishment or reward a specific behaviour will produce. As such "[p]eople are more likely to adopt modeled styles of behavior if they produce valued outcomes than if they have unrewarding or punishing effects" (Bussey & Bandura, 1999, p. 18).

In sum, the strength of Social Learning Theory rests in the fact that gender, like the acquisition of any other social behaviour is said to be acquired through the same processes. “Thus...gender does not demand special consideration...in order to explain how children become sex typed beyond those already used to explain how children learn other socialized behaviors” (Bem, 1983, p. 600). Social Learning Theory also recognises the inter-play of both internal (cognitive) and external (environmental) factors associated with the acquisition and display of gendered behaviour. However, Social Learning Theory has been criticized for its assumption that humans are passive in the process of acquiring gendered behaviour (Brannon, 2005; Bem, 1983; Luyt, 2007). Social Learning Theory therefore contributes to the Sex Role Identity Paradigm as it uses “trait approaches...that suggests...that masculinity and femininity exist as a configuration of fixed individual attributes” (Luyt, 2013, p. 3). A further critique of Social Learning Theory is its inability to account for sex differences in the observer/learner’s emotions, desires and motivations (Burr, 1998; Luyt, 2007). Social Learning Theory therefore may be unable to provide a full account of the acquisition of sex-typed behaviour.

3.1.3 Cognitive-developmental theory

In this section I discuss Cognitive-Developmental Theory as it relates to sex-typing and its proposed assumptions around gender-labelling as process of achieving gender constancy. From the perspective of Cognitive-Developmental Theory, the process of sex typing¹¹ is assumed to be achieved naturally and inevitably and therefore is suggested to be a process in which the child is the “primary agent of his or her own sex-role socialization” (Bem, 1983, p. 601). Kohlberg’s (1966) Cognitive-Developmental Theory suggests that children of roughly the same chronological age hold similar attitudes about gender. The theory also posits that

¹¹ Sex typing is defined as a process through which gender “appropriate preferences, skills, personality attributes, behaviors, and self-concepts is” acquired (Bem, 1983, p. 598).

children are less influenced by their social environments, but that they reach a stage of gender constancy through a cognitive developmental process (Martin, Ruble & Szkrybalo, 2002). Gender constancy is similar to what Piaget (1952) described as object permanence¹². When gender constancy is achieved a child is able to comprehend that gender is invariant. The theory suggests that a child is to develop a gender identity or be able to label themselves and others based on anatomical characteristics as either a boy or a girl. After self-categorisation is achieved the child then has to recognise the stability of this gender identity (that his/her gender identity will be the same throughout their lives) which results in the achievement of gender constancy (Bem, 1983). Thus, the child is now able to recognise that their newly acquired gender identity "...is not affected by changes in gender-typed appearances, activities, and traits..." (Martin, Ruble & Szkrybalo, 2002, p. 909). For instance, a child will understand that a girl with short hair is still a girl. These cognitive processes allow the child to achieve gender constancy. Gender constancy is said to be fully achieved when a child is seven years of age (Slaby & Frey, 1975). In essence, Cognitive-Developmental Theory proposes that gender development in children is motivated by an innate need to reach gender constancy, upon which, when reached, the child values gender congruent behaviours and activities (Bem, 1983).

Since its conceptualisation in 1966, Cognitive-Developmental Theory showed much usefulness in the field of psychology. Psychologists therefore came to accept that a child's gendered value system and self-concept naturally developed, independent of external pressure "...to behave in a sex-stereotyped manner" (Bem, 1983, p. 601). The theory also postulates that from a young age children are able to cognitively organise the social world in terms of gender. However, Cognitive-Developmental Theory did not go unchallenged. Bem (1983), for example, argues that the theory assumes that sex/gender is the most salient factor

¹² This refers to the child's mental capacity to comprehend that an object continues to exist even when the object can no longer be seen (Piaget, 1952).

for sex typing and child development, irrespective of race or culture. The theory does not allow for the possibility that other distinguishing categories, such as race and religion, also utilize the same pattern of self-categorization. As such, the theory does not take into account cultural diversity as gender-typing may be of lesser concern for some cultures. Cognitive-Developmental Theory may therefore, lack cross-cultural validity (Bem, 1983). Furthermore, the theory has also showed some empirical inconsistencies. Scholars have shown that children who have not been assumed to reach gender constancy (generally children younger than seven years) are still able to associate certain activities with gender-specific behaviours (Huston, 1983; Bussey & Bandura, 1984; Marcus & Overton, 1978; Smetana & Letourneau, 1984; Thompson, 1975). More importantly, researchers (such as Bussey & Bandura, 1984, 1992; Carter, 1987; Carter & Levy, 1988; Huston, 1983; Martin & Little, 1990) were unsuccessful in confirming an empirical link between gender constancy and the child's "...preference for gender-linked activities, preference for same-gender peers, or emulation of same-gender models, regardless of how gender constancy is assessed" (Bussey & Bandura, 1999, p. 4).

3.1.4 Gender schema theory

Gender Schema Theory understands sex typing as a process involving a combination of understandings from Cognitive-Developmental and Social Learning Theories. It rests on the assumption that gender-schematic processes enable a child to encode and organise information about gender. Gender Schema Theory suggests that although cognitive processes help the child comprehend gender, sex typing, is also influenced by how the child's culture defines masculinity and femininity (Bem, 1983). Thus, Gender Schema Theory suggests that gender is socially and culturally learned and then cognitively processed. The theory also posits that schemas influence personal perception and that existing gender schemas, such as

perceptions can be modified and new gender schemas may develop as templates for behaviour and thought, throughout a person's life (Bem, 1983; Luyt, 2007). Hence, gender "... is neither inevitable nor un-modifiable" (Bem, 1983, p. 603). In the theoretical development of sex-typing or gender acquisition, Bem (1983) was the first theorist to show the fluidity of gender identities.

According to Gender Schema Theory, cognitive schema's are at the core of gender development. From a young age children form "...organized networks of mental associations representing information about themselves and the sexes" (Martin, Ruble & Szkrybalo, 2002, p. 911). These representations are called gender schemas and these schemas influence their thinking and resultant gendered behaviour (Martin & Ruble 2004). Similar to Cognitive-Developmental Theory, Gender Schema Theory suggests that the child is an active agent in their own sex typing. The schemas developed by a child are therefore not just a replica of their environment, but rather children actively construct their gender using the gender schemas (Bem, 1983). For example, a boy may observe that his father is the one who works outside the home, while his mother manages household duties like cleaning and looking after the children. For this boy being female may therefore mean that you are responsible for the household duties while being male may mean that you are responsible for providing for the family. In addition, the development of such a gender schema may produce similar schemas that suggest that women are inferior to men. Gender Schema Theory departs from Cognitive-Developmental Theory in that it suggests that gender constancy is not a prerequisite for sex typing. Children simply need to have grasped gender identity or gender labelling (Martin & Halverson, 1981).

But how are these schemas or templates for thought and behaviour developed? According to Gender Schema Theory, humans have an inherent "...readiness to process information on the basis of the sex-linked associations..." (Bem, 1983, p. 604). Often the information children

receive from the adults around them are based on the child's sex. Thus, adults in the child's world provide the child with knowledge about 'what they ought to be' and 'how they ought to act' based on cultural definition of gender. For example, information about being strong and courageous may be omitted from the information about gender that a girl would receive. Similarly, a boy may not receive information about being nurturing. This information is then applied to the child's gender schema and is contained in their self-concept. This is then how "...children's self-concepts become sex typed...in their own eyes, not only different in degree, but different in kind" (Bem, 1983, 604). In essence, Gender Schema Theory suggests that societal definitions that prevail in a cultural context regulate the content contained in the gender schema (Bem, 1981; Luyt, 2007). The gender schema therefore regulates gendered attitudes and behaviours and then serves as a guide for appropriate gender behaviour. Bem (1983) suggests that an individual's self-esteem becomes a hostage to the gender schema to the extent that the individual is bound to conform to and imitate the cultural definitions of masculinity and femininity. Gender Schema Theory posits that, as a measure of self-esteem, the schema allow the individual to ascertain whether their behaviours, interests and attitudes are gender 'appropriate'. Thus self-evaluation is used to discontinue or re-direct 'inappropriate' gendered behaviours.

Gender Schema Theory addresses the shortcomings of both Cognitive-Developmental Theory and Social Learning Theory, by highlighting the salience of both culture and cognitive schemas in sex typing. It proposes that in cultures where clear distinctions are made between masculinity and femininity, individuals use their gender schemas to process and organise information about the world. Gender Schema Theory shares similar pitfalls as other theories (Psychoanalytic, Social Learning and Cognitive-Developmental Theories) that form part of the Sex Role Identity Paradigm. These theories suggest that gender identity is static. The Sex Role Identity Paradigm therefore fails to fully conceptualise the fluidity of gender. Viewing

gender typing as a static and linear process may suggest that conforming to these organised sets of behaviours and attitudes may have negative effects on self-esteem for those who divert from actions deemed as gender appropriate in their society. Pleck (1981) focused more closely on the consequences of non-conformity to gendered norms and the effects this has on men specifically, and in 1981, he formalised his ideas around gender role strain. This paradigm is discussed below.

3.2 Gender role strain paradigm

Given the burden of conforming to the socio-culturally prescribed expectations of masculinity, theorists have also given attention to the strain men may experience due to the pressures of prescribed gender roles. For instance, scholars like Hacker (1957) suggested that masculine role strain is caused by the culturally imposed expectations on men to perform an economically stable and an emotionally and physically strong masculinity. Other scholars such as Turner (1970) suggest that gender role strain amongst men is caused by thwarted masculinity. Turner (1970) proposed that thwarting is a consequence of men having inadequate male role models, due to absent fathers, and that men generally receive confusing messages about 'what it means to be a man'. For example some women might "...want men to have all the masculine qualities that men want for themselves, but also want them to have most of the desirable feminine features, such as gentleness, sentimentality, and soft-heartedness" (Jun, 2009, p. 86). Confusing messages about 'what it means to be a man' may cause men to experience gender role strain.

Pleck (1981) moved away from theorising sex role identity theories by undermining the assumption that biological sex determines the appropriate sex role identity a person should perform. An early attempt to provide an alternative, more critical understanding of the prescribed male role was Pleck's (1981) Gender Role Strain Paradigm, which laid the

theoretical foundation that initiated a social constructionist view on gender roles (Farrell, 1996; Levant, 2011). According to the Gender Role Strain Paradigm, gender roles are understood to be psychologically and socially constructed and not fixed (Levant, 2011). The Gender Role Strain Paradigm (GRSP) acknowledges the differences between men and women in terms of their gendered bodies, but posits that these anatomical differences are not the only thing that molds masculinity and femininity. The GRSP posits that masculinity and femininity is "...socially constructed from biological, psychological, and social experiences". As such, the paradigm "...emphasizes the role of social structural variables in establishing and maintaining gender norms" (Levant, 2011, p. 767).

Theorists, who supported Pleck's view on gender role strain, held that both men and women experience social pressure to conform to gender roles that are culturally constructed and prescribed (Pleck, Sonenstein & Ku, 1993). Pleck (1981) further suggests that based on cultural assumptions, men and women evaluate their perceived level of gender role success in an effort to avoid social scrutiny. However, even though both men and women experience negative social and psychological consequences for violating gender roles, it is argued that men suffer more severe consequences for violating masculine roles (Pleck, 1981, 1995). The Gender Role Strain Paradigm helps us understand the internal conflict men may experience during the 'man-making' process. Its ideology is centered on the perception that "male gender roles stem from masculinity ideologies (male gender role stereotypes and norms) that are learned via socialisation" (Burn & Ward, 2005). Thus, the basic assumption of the GRSP is that the efforts men may make toward demonstrating their masculinity places strain on them.

In his later reformulation of Gender Role Strain Paradigm Pleck (1995) proposes three forms of gender role strain namely discrepancy-strain, trauma-strain and dysfunction-strain. In essence, Pleck's theory suggests that some men may experience a prolonged inability to fulfil

male role expectations. This disjuncture may result in negative psychological consequences like low self-esteem (Pleck, 1995). If a man is psychologically conflicted about his ability to model an internalised masculine role, there may be significant consequences for him and those around him. This is known as discrepancy-strain. Researchers using this idea found that men who experience discrepancy-strain are more likely to also report gender role stress¹³ (O’Neil, Helms, Gable, David & Wrightsman, 1986) and a decrease in intimate relationship satisfaction (Burn & Ward, 2005). Secondly, Pleck (1995) suggests that even if men are successful in fulfilling the socially prescribed male role as expected, the process of role-socialization that precedes this fulfilment may be traumatic and may have lasting negative effects. This form of strain he calls trauma-strain. Another negative effect of male role fulfilment is dysfunction-strain. Dysfunction-strain is experienced when men focus solely on maintaining these masculine norms so that they neglect their relationships with others. Men who experience dysfunction-strain are therefore more likely to report intimate relationship stress. By examining the association between conformity to masculine norms and relationship satisfaction, Burn and Ward (2005), found that “fulfilling the requirements of the traditional male role may lead to negative outcomes for men’s relationships with others” (p. 260).

Pleck (1976, 1981) specifies two distinctive masculinity roles. These roles are distinguished as traditional roles and modern roles. Pleck (1976, 1981) suggests that when men conform to traditional masculinity roles, they are more inclined to view women as subservient and sexual conquests, show emotional inexpressiveness, aggressiveness and physical toughness (Luyt, 2007). Traditional men opt to associate with other men and their peers are therefore accepted as the primary validators of their masculinity. In contrast, Pleck posits that the modern role discourages impulsive behaviour, such as violence and anger. The modern role encourages men to value emotional expressiveness and sensitivity in relationships with women. Women

¹³ Gender role stress may be experienced when men are faced with situations that they perceive as a threat to their male identity (Eisler & Skidmore, 1987).

are highly valued as the primary validators of the masculinity of a modern man. Modern men are therefore more inclined to invest in their relationships with women (Jun, 2009; Luyt, 2007; Pleck, 1976, 1981).

Following a normative approach, GRSP suggests that common traditional masculine norms do exist universally. This means that most, but not all societies, may endorse masculine norms that suggest that a man should be a head of the household or father, provider and protector of his family (Levant, 2011; Thompson and Pleck, 1995). Gilmore (1990) agrees that some level of universality in terms of masculinity exists. He states that:

there is something almost generic, something repetitive, about the criteria of man-playing, that underlying the surface variations in emphasis or form are certain convergences in concepts, symbolizations, and exhortations of masculinity in many societies but – and this is important – *by no means in all* (emphasis added p. 2 – 3).

Masculinity ideology based on GRSP account for “...social classes, races, ethnic groups, sexual orientations, life stages, and historical eras” (Levant, 2011, p.768). It is important to emphasize that even though the degree to which gender norms are endorsed differ between cultures, salient ‘trademarks’ of manhood do exist. If these norms are not successfully achieved and adhered to, men experience gender role strain. Blazina et al. (2007, p. 101) states that when men experience internal pressure or feel pressured by their society and family to fulfil male role expectations that “...may not be congruent with who they are... it may have an adverse impact on their psychological well-being”. Eisler and Skidmore (1987) argue that men who have an increased sense of conformity to masculine norms are more likely to report higher stressful experiences, produced by their inability to conform to these socially prescribed rules. To compensate for their feelings of inadequacy, men may revert to violence to retain some sense of manhood (Eisler, 1995; Marshall, 1993; J. Walker & Bright, 2009). Some authors highlight that experiencing stress, associated with the inability to attain and maintain masculine standards, may increase the likelihood of men reacting with violence

(Eisler, 1995; Moore & Staurt, 2005; O'Neil & Nadeau, 1999; Pleck, 1995). Some forms of masculine displays, such as violence and aggression, may therefore be used in an effort to deal with situations that threaten their masculinities.

According to the GRSP, threatened or thwarted masculinity may result in men's performances of hyper-masculinity as a result of failure to successfully perform traditional masculinity. Researchers found that hyper-masculinity and aggression are linked (see Mosher & Sirkin, 1984; Mosher & Tompkins, 1988). Men who perform hyper-masculinity are callous in their "...sexual attitude towards women..." and may hold the "...belief that violence is manly" (Wolfe, 2003, p. 848). In essence, hyper-masculinity is performed when traditional masculinity norms are taken to an extreme. Men who perform hyper-masculinity may endorse toughness as a masculine norm and overcompensate by being violent or by taking extreme risks. In the section that follows I will demonstrate the link between normative traditional masculinity roles and the potential for dysfunctional displays of masculinity due to overcompensation or strain.

3.2.1 Salient 'trademarks' of masculinity

As suggested by the GRSP some universality in terms of gender norms do exist. With this section I explore such common masculinity norms. Thompson and Pleck (1986) for instance, suggested that masculine ideology is founded on three sets of norms namely 1) *Toughness* or the physical, mental, and emotional strength and avoidance of vulnerability; 2) *Success-status* defined as financial success facilitated by an understanding that men must succeed at everything they endeavour; and 3) *Anti-femininity* which is the rejection of behavioural displays that are stereotypically female. Masculinity theorists like Craib (1987) suggested that men are encouraged to perform and endorse masculine norms that include displays of optimum physical strength and economic stability. He states that:

The qualities of masculinity...are associated with the male as the breadwinner, provider, worker...strong, aggressive, rational, independent, task orientated, invulnerable and successful... (Craib, 1987, p. 723).

Sexual prowess is also a forerunner for masculinity (Donaldson, 1993; Kimmel, 1996; Morrell, 1998; Nemoto, 2008; Phillips, 2005; Shefer & Mankayi, 2007; Thompson & Pleck, 1986). I proceed with a discussion of three masculinity 'trademarks' by exploring international and local literature on masculine performances. These 'trademarks' emphasize; 1) optimum physical strength, 2) economic stability and 3) sexual prowess and how these 'trademarks' lend themselves to performance of violence. These masculine 'trademarks' are similar to the masculinity norms proposed by Thompson and Pleck (1986) in that it proposes that toughness is encapsulated in optimum physical strength; successful men are expected to be able to provide for their families – thus having an income is pivotal; and anti-femininity amongst heterosexual men is best performed as a display of sexual prowess. These 'trademarks' are also common forms of masculinity norms amongst South African 'coloured' men. I further suggest that these 'trademarks' lend themselves to men's abuse of self and of others, as an effort to perform traditional masculinity, but also to compensate (in forms of hyper-masculinities) when men experience their performances of masculinity as threatened.

3.2.1.1 Optimum physical strength and violence

Optimum physical strength involves displays of toughness and physical endurance. It is a required attribute of traditional masculinity and is displayed in media representations of the 'male hero'. Toughness has become an admired way of 'doing' masculinity. Displays of stoicism, aggression and self-reliance are signature qualities of toughness. These traits are displayed by men in everyday life, on the streets or in communities and on the sports field. For the purpose of this section I will engage with masculinity literature, which helps us understand how conforming to a masculine persona of toughness may harm both men and women, in that displays of toughness are often closely associated with violence.

Women as a collective bear the brunt of traditional masculinities, to such an extent that some carry the marks of physical abuse as evidence of male strength (Shefer, Strelbel & Foster, 2000; Wood & Jewkes, 2001). The American Psychological Association (1996) defines intimate partner violence as "... physical or psychological maltreatment perpetrated by men against women to gain control, power, or authority ..." (Moore & Stuart, 2005, p. 46). The abuse of women by their male intimate partners is often in reaction to men's perception that their masculinity is being challenged (Moore & Stuart, 2005). Studying the link between gender role stress and intimate partner violence amongst a sample of court mandated violent men in the United States of America (USA), Moore et al. (2008) found that men's violence against women was related to gender role stress. More specifically, men who perceived themselves unable to "perform in work and sexual domains" reported using psychological aggression to recoup their masculinity. Furthermore, Moore and colleagues (2008) found that men who report gender role stress in terms of intellectual inferiority also reported actual "injury to partners" (Moore et al., 2008, p.82).

As stated in Chapter One, South Africa has one of the most progressive constitutions aspiring to uphold human rights, gender equality, and the empowerment of women. However, even with these pieces of legislation in place, statistics show that women continue to be vulnerable in intimate spaces. In 2004 the research evidence from the South African Medical Research Council (SAMRC) showed that one woman is killed by an intimate partner every six hours (Abrahams et al., 2009; Mathews et al., 2004). In 2012 report (also by the same authors) statistics show that intimate femicide¹⁴ rates decreased in 2009, with one woman being killed by an intimate partner every eight hours, compared to six hours as reported by their 2004 findings. However, 56% of female homicides are still committed by intimate partners (Abrahams, Mathews, Jewkes, Martin, & Lombard, 2012), making intimate spaces

¹⁴ Abrahams et al. (2013) defines intimate femicide as "The killing of a female by an intimate partner" (p.1).

environments of abuse. These intimate spaces are also spaces where gender is performed and where violence is used to impose masculine superiority. The South African crime report (2010/2011) shows that crimes against women 18 years and older decreased by 3 percent, however, murder among this group increased by 5.6% (p. 14).

In reflecting on these statistics, this section will discuss optimum physical strength as it relates to men's displays of violence against women and other men and how conforming to optimum physical strength in different contexts may increase men's propensity for committing violence. It seems plausible to suggest that South African men's attitudes toward women may influence how they treat women. According to Glick et al. (2000) sexism is a root cause of men's violence against women. Glick and colleagues (2000) measured Ambivalent Sexism amongst men in 19 countries using the ASI¹⁵. Glick et al. (2000) found that men who conformed to traditional masculinity norms, such as toughness, were more likely to report hostility toward women. The results of this study showed that, South African men scored the second highest for hostile sexism. As suggested earlier, sexist attitudes of men may encourage the abuse of women.

Men have always been compelled to prove their masculine strength by enforcing violence. Speaking to this, Kimmel and Mahler (2003) looked at the increase in school violence in the USA. They point out that bullying often goes hand in hand with name-calling. In relation to school aged boys, name-calling is most often associated with homophobic baiting. For the young man "[g]ay-baiting¹⁶ suggests that he is a failure at the one thing he knows he wants to be and is expected to be - a man" (Kimmel & Mahler, 2003, p. 1453). Retaliating with violence, in this case random shooting, is the way he takes back and re-establishes his

¹⁵ The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI) was developed by Glick and Fiske (1996) to measure sexism. The authors indicated two types of sexism (hostile and benevolent) and argue that hostile-benevolent sexism evokes an ambivalent attitude toward women, where men may view women as controlling and sexually seductive on the one hand (hostile sexism), but weak and in need of men's protection (benevolent sexism) on the other.

¹⁶ "In many cases, gay-baiting is "misdirected" at heterosexual youth who may be somewhat gender nonconforming" (Kimmel & Mahler, 2003, p. 1447)

manhood, speaking of a clear link between conformity to traditional masculinity norms and violence.

As pointed out by Morrell (1998), although violence does not always help maintain masculinity, violence is legitimised through how masculinities are performed. This is also evident among prison masculinities, as illustrated by Gear (2007) in an exploration of male rape and homophobia in South African prisons. Gear (2007) found that inmates who experienced sodomy may think that perpetrating violence might redeem them from the 'woman' status and re-endow them with a 'masculine' status. Furthermore, Matthews (2006), reported that in her qualitative exploration of recidivism among juvenile inmates, participants agreed that prisoners should refrain from displays of weakness, as their survival depends on their strength and this strength should be visible to other inmates.

Optimum masculine strength as male prowess is also evident in the sports arena. Displays of sports(man)ship¹⁷ often increase men's vulnerabilities and allow men to use toxic practises to enact their masculinities. For instance, Phillips (2005) in an effort to shed light on discourses that produce marginalised masculinities, focused on adolescent boys' performance and negotiation of masculinity. The author highlights that athletes' display of masculine strength symbolises toughness, and toughness in turn warrants respect. She continues that the types of sport men participate in are important – the tougher or more dangerous the sport, the more respect he will earn. Messner (2002) concurs and argues that the type of sport a man plays can demote him to a marginalised masculinity. For example men who prefer chess over rugby may be ill-treated by those men who participate in rugby, as rugby may be considered a masculine sport. Fogel (2011) in his research with Canadian footballers, suggests that displays of power, violent and aggressive behaviour and dominance are pivotal to the sport. Men who do not enact these displays run the risk of being labeled feminine. Coaches use

¹⁷ For the purpose of this section the term "sports(man)ship considers male sporting activities only.

terms of inferiority (femininity) to encourage and discipline footballers. Comparable to teenagers in the school setting, name-calling on and off the sports field encourages sexist language, used by both coaches and players alike, to punish substandard performance and therefore a way of policing expected forms of masculinity.

Kreager (2007) found that boys who played contact sport (e.g. football) were more likely to engage in physical violence off the field. Similarly, Messner (1992, 2002) highlights that athletes' performance of manhood is not just performed while they are on the sports field. The problem solving methods (for example, violence) learned on the sports field are often utilised in their everyday lives, leading these men to often use violence as a problem-solving tool. Furthermore, Fogel (2011, p. 11) concludes that displays of violence used on the field accepted as sports(man)ship, "can be crimes of assault and battery off the field". Hence, these masculine performances (that men should enact a persona of toughness at all costs) may lead men to commit crimes like rape, and other forms of gender-based violence and the endangerment of themselves and others. I, therefore, reiterate that conforming to a masculine norm like toughness or portraying a persona of optimum physical strength may exacerbate and help fuel the cycle of violence.

3.2.1.2 Economic stability and violence

A second 'trademark' of masculinity is that of provider. Being a provider has been a longstanding masculine norm within most societies (Levant, 2011; Thompson and Pleck, 1995). Men who portray a provider identity must be financially capable of providing for themselves and the families for whom they are 'responsible'. Acker (1992, p. 257) states that a man is to provide financially for his family and the "wife should take care of everything else". Thus "the concept of a job is gendered ... because only a male worker can begin to meet its implicit demands". The engendered notion of provider as a masculine responsibility

influenced employment strategies during the 1900s in Europe. This consequently led to women's employment being seen as supplementary to that of men's, resulting in mainly low paying jobs for women, with men being held accountable for the breadwinner role (Haywood & Mac an Ghail, 2003). This accountability is entrenched in the socialisation around masculine norms. Said Connell (1995, p. 29):

Definitions of masculinity are deeply enmeshed in the history of institutions and of economic structures. Masculinity is not just an idea in the head, or a personal identity. It is also extended in the world, merged in organized social relations. To understand masculinity historically we must study changes in those social relations.

The need to understand masculinity in relation to work is said to be of utmost importance (Acker, 1992; Haywood & Mac an Ghail, 2003). When looking closely at social norms, the relation between masculinity and work is apparent. Not only is the move to becoming employed a passage from childhood to adulthood or dependence to independence; for men, work also symbolises masculine growth. More importantly, the type of work a man participates in typifies his masculinity. Haywood and Mac an Ghail (2003) suggests three styles of masculinities displayed by the type of work men do. These include those forms of employment commonly known as 'white collar', 'middle management' and 'blue collar' categories. These different types of work are usually manifested in the clothes worn by those who embody the work activity. Men who enact a 'white collar' persona are identified as 'the shirts'; middle management are 'the suits'. Men who are typified as 'blue collar' usually participate in more strenuous types of work for which overalls are most appropriate, thus, they are known as 'the overalls'. Haywood and Mac an Ghail (2003, p. 36) usefully suggests that apparel becomes an "important device not only to codify hierarchies but also styles of masculinities".

Men on the margin of the labour market (the 'blue collar' work force) often experience harsh work environments and receive minuscule wages. As this type of work is characterised as

inferior and workers are often left powerless due to their marginalised situation. Connell (1995), however, suggests that men on the margins may take on a 'protest masculinity' as a coping strategy, where they overcompensate in other areas of masculinity. Similarly, as highlighted by Sawyer-Kurian et al. (2009, p. 15), unemployment may evoke an 'identity crisis' within men, "which has led to expressions of male dominance over women through violence". Men therefore, may experience a sense of crisis and react by creating an alternative (often reckless) hyper-masculinity. Facing unemployment, men become less able to fulfill their role as providers and this may threaten men's sense of masculinity (Gheradi, 1995). Willott and Griffin (1997), in their exploration of long-term unemployment amongst working class men in the United Kingdom, suggests that paid employment allows men to move contentedly between the private (home) and public (labour market/work) spheres. Hence, stable financial backing will ensure a man the ability to spend time and money in the public sphere as well as have 'the family' taken care of. Willott and Griffin (1997) explore men's subjective feelings the men associated with unemployment. The participants shared that they felt like they lost a part of their identity and that their family relationships and environments had deteriorated. The authors posit that even though unemployment is not only a problem among men, the unemployment of men poses a threat to the stability of masculinity.

Closer to home, Barker and Ricardo (2005), in their research to understand constructions of masculinity among young men in sub-Saharan Africa, found that young men expressed anxiety about their ability to reach manhood, because being employed is a requirement for manhood salient in their cultures. Men must be able to support their dependents financially; having a good job (in the society Barker and Ricardo studied, and many others) is, therefore, a prerequisite for manhood (Burn & Ward, 2005). With the scarcity of jobs men have been experiencing immense vulnerability (Morrell, 1998). Currently, unemployment amongst

South African men aged 15 to 64 years old is calculated at 23% and its influence is far reaching (STATSSA, Quarterly Labour Force Survey, Quarter 2, 2012). A decade ago Ratele (2003), discussing constructions of masculinity in relation to employment, emphasised that young men may experience a sense of overwhelming desperation when they project their futures and estimating their ability or inability to attain manhood, based on job security.

Having financial resources also has an effect on proposing marriage to a woman. In many South African cultures, getting married is dependent on the man's ability to pay *ilobola* (the African dowry system). If he is unable to pay *ilobola* to the woman's family, he will be prohibited from marrying their daughter. Consequently, when financial stability but also marriage is a requirement for attaining traditional manhood, we can assume that when the ability to marry is dependent on a man's economic stability, failure to secure financial stability may decrease the man's marital prospects and, therefore, the successful attainment of manhood (Barker & Ricardo, 2005). Hunter (2005) used a combination of research methods to explore sexuality and multiple partner relations amongst Zulu men in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. Like Barker and Ricardo (2005), Hunter (2005) found that, according to historic Zulu tradition, manhood was associated with being married, having children and establishing an independent homestead. Again, as *ilobola* precedes marriage, children and the establishment of an independent homestead, young Zulu men were often unable to 'attain' manhood as unemployment prohibited them from paying steep *ilobola* amounts, which in turn resulted in adult men being positioned as boys by some members of their communities. Hunter (2005) makes the argument that men participated in multiple sexual relationships and violence against women as a form of bolstering their self-esteem. In a study with Xhosa speaking youth in the Eastern Cape province of South Africa, it was found that young men who felt that they had no future success to work toward, used sexual relationships as a "vehicle for gaining (or losing) respect and 'position' among peers" (Wood & Jewkes, 2001,

p. 318). Sexual prowess and even promiscuity, for marginalised men, is often the primary means used for attaining some sense of masculinity (Wood & Jewkes, 2001). Amongst ‘coloured’ men, as discussed in Chapter Two, unemployment encouraged involvement in gang activities and domestic violence (Boonzaier, 2005, Salo, 2003). Unemployment forced men to renegotiate their masculine identities by establishing and re-configuring what is traditional. This leads us to a discussion on sexual prowess as a means of re-negotiating and re-asserting masculine identity.

3.2.1.3 Heterosexual prowess and violence

Heterosexuality is the bedrock of traditional masculinity. Men ought to think, talk, practice, and even boast about their heterosexual sexual experiences. Hollway (1989) argues that the male sexual drive discourse is prevalent and involves an understanding of men as driven by innate and urgent sexual drives. Research with male participants often highlights that men report being sexually active as a biological need they have to satisfy (Hollway, 1989; Shefer & Foster, 2001; Shefer & Mankhayi, 2007; Shefer & Ruiters, 1998). Men, who hope to achieve and maintain traditional manhood, therefore, are bound to perform displays of a ‘healthy’ heterosexuality, in an effort to convince their peers of their masculinity. In Wood and Jewkes’ (2001) study, mentioned earlier, it is highlighted that having many heterosexual partners, the desirability of these partners to peers, and their ability to control their girlfriends, were what men deemed characteristic of manhood. Any man who failed to secure even one sexual relationship ran the risk of being seen as a boy. Even more so, any man who diverts from practising heterosexuality goes against the ideals of traditional masculine norms (Connell, 1995; McFadden, 1992; Shefer & Ruiters, 1998). For example, McFadden (1992, p. 183) states that:

“Heterosexual sex is essential in the realization of maleness, in the social mobility of the male from boy to man, to father, to head of household, to decision-maker to MAN”.

Thus, having sex with a woman (hetero-sex) is seen as an essential means through which the evolution from boy to man is achieved. What is often overlooked in research is that compulsory performances of heterosexuality can also make men vulnerable. Actualising this masculine norm often requires of men to engage in toxic behaviours like risky sex (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). Mfecane et al. (2005, p. 88) considers that masculinity has a “major influence in health related decision-making”. To illustrate this same point Rao Gupta (2000) and Greig (2006) mention three ways in which men make themselves vulnerable. Firstly, the authors highlight that masculine norms deem men to be knowledgeable about sex. Men who are not experienced or knowledgeable about sex may fear that if they seem unsure their peers might consider them inexperienced or even homosexual. So to remedy the situation men may start experimenting with intercourse prematurely and fail to protect themselves. Secondly, men might put off seeking medical help for sexually transmitted infections (STIs) because they fear being seen as unable to take the pain or fix it themselves. As acknowledged by participants in Hunter’s (2005) study, Zulu men knew the risks associated with unprotected penetrative intercourse, and saw the “embarrassing symptoms of STIs such as syphilis ... which ... reminded men of the hazards of a masculinity that celebrated multiple-sexual conquests” (p. 394). Neglecting to seek help, men then often opt to continue unsafe sexual practices and consequently would transmit STIs and even increase their risk of contracting HIV. Thirdly, men show their manhood by the number of sexual partners they have. “The prevailing discourse on men, masculinity and HIV/AIDS has identified men’s need to prove sexual potency as a key reason for their seeking of multiple sexual partners” (Greig, 2006, p. 4). As stated by Hearn (2007, 2008), what is central to the construction of masculinity is the sustained power of men over women. Consistent with research from other countries, South

African women in male-dominated relationships and those who experience sexual assault are consistently at higher risk of contracting HIV/AIDS and other STIs (Jewkes, 2009; Lindegger & Quayle, 2009; Shefer et al., 2008). Furthermore, research in South Africa has highlighted the association between men's endorsement of masculine ideals and multiple sexual partners (Kalichman et al., 2007; Morojele et al., 2006; Simbayi et al., 2006; Sawyer-Kurian, et al., 2009). A North American sample of college students provided similar evidence. Locke and Mahalik (2005) found that rape myth acceptance and sexual violence was associated with men who conformed to masculinity norms, which encouraged and approved of having multiple sexual relationships.

The three points highlighted above provide evidence of how heterosexual men increase their personal vulnerability. Rao Gupta (2000) and Greig (2006), however, also show how heterosexual men victimize men who deviate from that norm. Homosexual men suffer abuse and stigma from their communities and often are at the receiving end of gendered violence from 'real' (heterosexual) men. Wells (2006) points out in Msibi (2009, p. 51) that:

... effeminate gay men betray the superiority of masculinity, and masculine lesbian women challenge and try to usurp male superiority and therefore these individuals need to be punished for being a treat to the 'natural' social order.

Msibi (2009) argues that violence against the homosexual community in South Africa is enmeshed in notions of masculinity and heterosexuality, by suggesting that "the fear of deviance from normative masculinities drives this violence" (p. 53). Further the author elaborates that heterosexual displays of men who rape lesbian women (to 'cure' them) can be perceived as efforts toward reclaiming male superiority in society. In an effort to avoid these forms of scrutiny, homosexual men or men who have sex with men will therefore continue to conceal their sexual preferences and practices (by not seeking sexual and medical services) due to the fear of being stigmatised and abused. Thus, they increase their risk of contracting and spreading sexually transmitted infections. In reflecting on heterosexuality, it may be

suggested that sexual prowess as a requirement of traditional masculinity perpetuates increased vulnerability for men themselves and for others. The vulnerabilities that may be associated with sexual prowess, as suggested above, may include increased risk sexual behaviour, violence against women and homophobic violence.

In sum, the three masculinity ‘trademarks’ explored previously (optimum physical strength, economic stability and sexual prowess) are key examples of how masculinity norms lend itself to hyper-masculinity and contribute to gender role strain and violence. Hyper-masculine performances are due to men’s tendency to perform an exaggerated form of manhood; firstly as a result of discrepancy-strain due to internal psychological conflict about his ability or inability to model a prescribed masculine role. Violence, aggression and the neglect of self are evident in maintaining the ‘trademarks’ of masculinity as men may aim to maintain a form of masculinity they deem to be under threat (Wells, 2006; Msibi, 2009). Secondly, men performing hyper-masculinity may experience dysfunction-strain as they solely focus on maintaining masculine norms, by exaggerating stoicism, prowess and oppressiveness (Connell, 1995; Donaldson, 1993; Kimmel, 1996; Morrell, 1998; Nemoto, 2008; Phillips, 2005; Shefer & Mankayi, 2007; Thompson & Pleck, 1986). Thirdly, hyper-masculinity lends itself to trauma-strain. Trauma-strain is experienced by men as they are not only more likely to perpetrate violence, but they are also more likely than women to be the victims of crime (Kimmel & Mahler, 2003). Traditional masculinity norms such as those described here, show that men and those around them may be vulnerable to masculine practices that may potentially compromise their health and safety. Masculine ‘trademarks’ may therefore have far reaching effects for men who conform to these norms and the societies within which these masculine ‘trademarks’ are practiced and maintained.

3.3 Critique of sex role theory

This chapter has illustrated that Sex Role Theory has evolved over time. Sex Role Theory moved away from merely suggesting that gender is anatomically defined, to implicating other factors (such as the social context) as contributors to sex typing (Connell, 1987, 1993). However, Sex Role Theories are still heavily reliant on biological differences between men and women in their gender ontology¹⁸. The failure to problematize the unitary ‘male’ and ‘female’ role is therefore one of the biggest flaws of Sex Role Theories (Brittan, 1989; Horrocks, 1994; Kimmel, 2000; Pleck, 1995).

Although the Gender Role Strain Paradigm failed to directly abandon or overtly criticise ideas on sex roles, paradigm problematized the idea that masculine norms are inflexibly adhered to and how this adherence may negatively influence men (Brooks & Silverstein, 1995; Mahalik, 1999; Smiler, 2004). In doing so, the GRSP steers away from isolating any particular masculinity norm as problematic. Rather, Pleck (1995) criticises Sex Role Theories for their general lack of attention to behavioural flexibility (Smiler, 2004). This was also observed by Bem (1974, 1981). In addressing the lack of attention to behavioural flexibility in Sex Role Theory, specifically those theories that were incorporated in the Sex Role Identity Paradigm, Pleck’s (1981, 1995) Gender Role Strain Paradigm highlights that gender is a social construct. The social construction of gender, Pleck (1981, 1995) suggests, is a product of the social pressure (to adhere to rigid gendered norms) that men and women experience during sex typing. Even though Pleck and other sex role theorists acknowledge the power social forces (such as parents and other cultural gatekeepers) have over the process of sex typing, they fail to problematize this power. The Social Constructionist Paradigm, as a criticism of Pleck’s Gender Role Strain Paradigm highlights the absence of theoretical

¹⁸ For this study the concept of ‘gender ontology’ suggests that the theories on gender acquisition being discussed in this thesis are ‘specified theories of being a man’.

discussion on the structural positions of power of men over women and the hierarchy of power which exists between men (Brod, 1987; Connell, 2000). The structural hierarchical power relations of gender are what Connell (1995, 2005) give great depth and understanding to, under a Social Constructionist Paradigm. Connell's (1995, 2005) contribution to gender ontology is his theorisation of Hegemonic Masculinity. This will be discussed briefly below.

3.3.1 Connell's framework of hegemonic masculinity

Hegemony is a concept conceived by Antonio Gramsci in analysing class dynamics. According to Gramsci (1971), hegemony refers to the way one cultural group claims and maintains dominion over the rest. Using the concept of hegemony, Gramsci theorised about Italian class relations. Bates (1975) argues that Gramsci was not ignorant of the necessary buy-in the dominant group needed to receive from the public or those who were marginalised, to uphold their hegemonic position. Bates (1975, p. 355) highlights that:

A social class cannot convince others of the validity of its world view until it is fully convinced itself. Once this is achieved, society enters a period of relative tranquility, in which hegemony rather than dictatorship is the prevailing form of rule.

With this view, hegemony is, therefore, to be understood as a method of social domination which is maintained through or by common consent from the minority or the oppressed masses. Connell (1995) uses the notion of hegemony to understand power inequalities within masculinities. Therefore, hegemonic masculinity can be defined as the power relations between men in which one group of men have claim to and sustain their dominion over other men, based on a process of common consent. Connell (1995, 2005) does not offer any definition of masculinity. Masculinity, he says, stems from gender relations, it is "the practice through which men and women engage that place in gender, and the effects of these practices in bodily experiences, personality and culture..." (Connell, 1995, p. 71). With the view of gender at the foundation of masculinity, Connell (1995) introduced a hierarchy of

masculinities in which hegemonic masculinity is the dominant form. The construct of hegemonic masculinity supposes that an ideal form of masculine performance allows a certain kind of male power over women, but more importantly, it also allows power over other men who do not fall in the category of hegemonic masculinity.

The existence of multiple masculinities, as introduced by Connell (1995) further contributed to a shift in ideas about manhood. In his famous work, *Masculinities*, Connell (1995) proposed the idea that men are not all the same. Connell's theory of Hegemonic Masculinity is suggested to be the most comprehensive theory on masculinities (Giddens, 2002). Using the overarching construct of gender to understand masculinity, Connell advocates the importance of not looking at masculinity in isolation. The diversity of men, as developed from Connell's perspective, suggests that not all men have the "same amount or type of power, the same opportunities, and, consequently, the same life trajectories" (Lahoucine & Morrell, 2005, p. 85). Based on this view, it can be deduced that numerous categories or differential markers, like race, class, culture and religious affiliation (among others) may influence masculinities. However, every man, even from the same cultural background, race, class or religious affiliation, may experience and express his manhood differently (Abreau, Goodyear, Campos & Newcomb, 2000; Kimmel & Messner, 1992).

Connell (1995) further argues that not all men will successfully attain this ideal form of masculinity. Thus, men who do not fit the hegemonic ideal are classified under complicit, subordinate, or marginalised forms of masculinities. As discussed previously, heterosexuality is the bedrock of hegemonic masculinity. Therefore, homosexuality is the most noticeable form of subordinated masculinities. However, even some heterosexual men "are expelled from the circle of legitimacy" (Connell, 1995, 79). These men are often referred to as 'sissies' or 'wimps' and are seen as effeminate. Complicit masculinities are divorced from the hegemonic elite due to being known as slackers; for example, those who watch sport instead

of actively participating themselves. Complicit masculinities can be defined as the form of masculinities that do not always agree or comply with the ideals of hegemony. Men displaying the complicit masculine form may respect women and participate in household chores, and these behaviours challenge the ideas of hegemonic manhood. The marginalised group is not just influenced by the dynamics within the masculinity hierarchy. Their place in the hierarchy is influenced by social factors like class and race. Based on this view, it may be considered that black, working class, gay men are thus at the bottom of the masculine hierarchy, marginalised from what is deemed a 'real man' (Connell, 1995). According to Connell (2005) these proposed forms of masculinities should not be accepted as fixed categories. Masculinities (of any form) are constantly being reproduced and renegotiated (Connell, 2005). Those in power are in a constant state of negotiation to maintain their power. The instability of hegemony among men is also highlighted by other theorists. Bhana (2002) for instance, mentions that men often migrate between occupying both vulnerable and powerful spaces.

The concept of hegemonic masculinity has served as a spring-board from which men and the enactment of masculinities have been investigated (see Donaldson, 1993; 2005; Kimmel, 1996; Moller, 2007; Morrell, 1998; Morrell & Jewkes, 2011; Nemoto, 2008; Phillips, 2005; Shefer & Mankayi, 2007; Thompson & Pleck, 1986). However, theorists have critiqued the concept by emphasising the pitfalls and confusion hegemony brings when it is applied to masculinity. Wetherell and Edley (1999) and Hall (2002) suggest that even though hegemonic masculinity is relevant in understanding diverse masculinities, and allows insights on relations amongst men as well as between men and women, the concept gives too much attention to gender power. In fact, Wetherell and Edley (1999) argue that Connell (1995) fails to show how these forms of 'being men' regulate men's everyday lives. Wetherell and Edley

(1999) further suggest that how men negotiate and or resist hegemonic masculinity should get more focused attention.

In terms of masculinity research, Moller (2007, p. 265) argues that Connell (1995) “overlooks the complexity” of masculinity arguing that researchers seem to "name what [they are] looking for - that is hegemonic masculinity" before finding some evidence in the results that resembles it (p. 265). Preempting research results, Moller (2007) concludes, might influence the questions researchers ask and the conclusions drawn. This pre-conclusion in turn may limit masculinity discourse to performances that primarily assimilate masculine power. Lusher and Robins (2009) encourage researchers to explore and understand masculinities in their specific and local contexts. Furthermore, Bordo (1994, p. 266) reasons that more enlightened insights can be deduced when focusing on male bodies and their “vulnerabilities rather than the dense armour of its power”. In essence, Bordo (1994) suggests that masculinity scholars should move away from citing the male body as the center of either power (hegemony) or powerlessness (subordinate). Rather, we should consider and explore men’s vulnerabilities and power as experienced in their everyday lives.

This study considers Bordo’s (1994) suggestion to look closely at the vulnerabilities men experience in their ever day lives. Therefore, the current study used Pleck’s (1981) Gender Role Strain theory as it serves as an appropriate platform from which to understand the interconnectedness between the performance of masculinities, gender role strain and risk behaviours. I acknowledge that Social Constructionism and Hegemonic Masculinity theory may too have been a relevant theoretical choice as it allows an understanding of how gendered power intersects with race and class. However, the primary aim of this thesis is to explore masculine gender roles amongst ‘coloured’ men, and how the enactment of these gender roles influences men and those around them. The Gender Role Strain Paradigm allows the study greater scope to examine masculine roles amongst these ‘coloured’ men; how

enacting these traditional roles may give scope to enactments of hyper-masculinity (such as violence and risk-taking behaviours) and gender role stress.

3.4 Chapter conclusion

This chapter discussed the ontological framework of Sex Role Theory and how it informs the study of masculinities. The theories discussed here were framed under two theoretical paradigms. The Sex Role Identity Paradigm suggests that sex-typing is a process that is influenced by both psychological and social factors, but still explains sex-typing as a structured processes that is influenced by the person's biological sex. The Gender Role Strain Paradigm focus on how conforming to traditional masculinity norms may negatively influence men and those around them. The strain paradigm suggests that men may experience strain because of the burden to conform to masculine norms. Conformity to masculine norms may also encourage performances of risky behaviours. Utilising the Gender Role Strain Paradigm as theoretical framework, the thesis argues that male gender roles are social expectations of what it means to be a man. Some masculine expectations such as those discussed in this chapter, have shown to encourage men to participate in behaviours that are risky. These risky behaviours may influence men's attitudes and may make women vulnerable to bearing the brunt of hyper-masculine performances, especially violence.

The preferred theoretical framework allows the study to examine normative masculine roles, that are biologically assigned by society, while elucidating the possible negative effects men may experience when they conform to these masculine roles. As such, the Sex Role Theory provides a platform where gender roles may be observed as fixed, while acknowledging its cultural diversity. Furthermore, the Gender Role Strain Paradigm provides a perspective that problematises gender roles by highlighting the negative effects of conforming to fixed ideas

of gender. Thus, the Gender Role Strain Paradigm is the most appropriate theoretical framework from which to understand 'coloured' masculinity.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH METHODS

The first section in this chapter provides discussion of some common scalar instruments that have been used to measure masculinity. Presenting this discussion will help locate the preferred masculinity scale used for quantitative data collection, but also provide a background to gender and specifically, masculinity scale development and the theories used to inform these scales. This is followed by describing the methodological epistemology and motivating the use of mixed methodology (quantitative and qualitative methods) for the study, an overview of the research setting, recruitment process, the data collection instruments and the analysis process. This chapter concludes with a discussion of the ethical considerations the researcher adhered to during the research process.

4.1 Measuring masculinities

The concept of masculinity has been used to help researchers understand numerous social phenomena. In understanding social phenomena such as ‘male violence’ for instance, a researcher might use qualitative methods to theorise about the influence of the enactment of masculinities on violence. Examining the same social issue, a researcher employing quantitative methods may seek to measure men’s endorsement of traditional notions of masculinities and how this may influence their propensity to become violent. The latter method would need a measurement instrument with which to quantify men’s levels of endorsement of traditional masculinity, so as to have a base from which to examine this relationship. Relying mostly on Smiler’s (2004) review of masculinity scales since the 1930s, this chapter briefly discusses the evolution of masculinity measurement scales. A discussion

on prominent masculinity measures will then follow and the Male Attitude Norms Inventory–III (MANI-III) will be discussed in greater detail.

4.1.1 What is a masculinity scale?

A masculinity measurement scale helps the researcher estimate and measure men's conformity to or endorsement of traditional masculinity norms. The theoretical framework, on which the scale is based, is defined by socially prescribed male norms as a traditional form of masculinity. By completing a set of survey items (questions or statements) the researcher is able to calculate a score to ascertain a man's level of conformity. From the early to mid-twentieth century theorists focused solely on middle to upper class, white men when developing their understandings of masculinity. Thus, scales that were developed during this period focused on masculinity traits familiar among this group (Smiler et al., 2008). Smiler (2004) suggests that the researchers' theoretical preference is usually reflected in the measurements they develop. For instance, Terman and Miles (1936) developed the first tool for the measurement of masculinity and femininity. Based on the discipline of psychology and the focus on 'physiology', this measurement tool was founded upon the assumption that men and women are bipolar opposites. Furthermore, the authors specified that masculinity could only be attained through gender appropriate attitudes, behaviours, and traits. These included reason, status, independence, sexuality and toughness. Also men were to provide for their families, as the 'bread-winner' role was impressed on every man. In light of the economic depression of the 1930s, many men lost their jobs and many women started sharing the role of 'bread-winner'. However, even with a changed social climate (unemployment), men were still held responsible for their role as the 'bread-winner' (Smiler et al., 2008).

In the 1970s, theoretical perspectives moved away from defining men and women as two distinct biological opposites to a focus on the process of developmental learning during early

childhood. An androgynous perspective about gender emerged. This meant that theorists held that masculinity and femininity (note the singularity) were not distinct biologically inherent gendered categories. Smiler (2004) states that androgyny asserts that two socially prescribed, heterogeneous assortments of attributes are set as desired for either male or female. These prescribed characteristics are encouraged by elders or cultures to be modeled as socially desired attributes. This move from thinking of masculinity or femininity as biologically predetermined attitudes, to thinking of gender as a learnt entity, encouraged the development of measures “which simply asked participants to indicate the extent to which particular personality traits applied to them using Likert-like ratings” (Smiler, 2004, p. 18). The Personality Attributes Questionnaire (PAQ) developed by Spence, Helmreich and Sapp (1974) is one such scale. However, this period also signified a move toward thinking about masculinity as a social role which focused on anti-femininity. Thus theorists like Brannon (1976) continued to consider men in partial opposition to women. The Brannon Masculinity Scale (Brannon & Juni, 1984) held that men should refrain from any behaviour that society considered feminine. It is evident that even though the ideology around gender theorisation changed dramatically from biological essentialism to learnt conditioning and anti-femininity; the essence of what was expected of a ‘man’ (i.e. status, independence and toughness) stayed the same.

During the 1980s theorists started to pay more attention to the negative effect of the prescribed masculinity norms on men’s lived experiences. Theorists like Pleck (1981) started to problematise masculinity, and highlighted that men may experience a sense of strain or stress when they measure themselves unable to reach the ideal form of masculinity. For instance, Eisler and Skidmore’s (1987) Masculinity Gender Role Stress (MGRS) scale is an instrument that measures how men appraise or perceive situations to be stress provoking. Some of the ‘situations’ included in this scale, required men to imagine displaying behaviours

that were considered 'unmanly' and even feminine. Again the masculine role was maintained as a social role partially opposed to femininity.

Masculinity theories experienced a significant shift during the 1990s. Theorists like Connell (1995) introduced and maintained the idea of multiple masculinities. Masculinity traits that found relevance during this period included "status, power, nonemotionality, antifemininity, and antihomosexuality for each masculine type" (Smiler, 2004, p. 20). Masculinity measures started to focus on a masculine hierarchy and the enactment of a hegemonic form. By problematising the search for hegemony, men's level of conformity to traditional norms of masculinity gained more attention. One such scale is the Conformity to Male Norms Inventory (CMNI) in which Mahalik et al. (2003) highlight eleven masculinity norms that measures attitudes, behaviours and cognitions. According to Mahalik et al. (2003) masculinity is diverse and should be measured based on different masculine norms. The authors continue that men tend to conform or non-conform to masculine norms to different degrees (on a continuum between extreme conformity to extreme non-conformity).

Theories of masculinity have moulded the construction and focus of masculinity measurement scales. Even though theoretical ideologies on which masculinity measurement scales are based have changed over time, traditional masculine roles, in most part, remained the same. Masculinity continued to be viewed in opposition to femininity. More recently, the history of masculinity scales focused less on the distinction between genders and more on the hierarchical relationship within masculinit(ies). Focusing specifically on conformity to masculinity role norms, I will continue this chapter by discussing commonly used measures of masculinity.

4.1.2 Measuring conformity to masculinities

In accordance with its theoretical perspective, this study draws on a Sex Role theoretical perspective for its understanding of gender role acquisition and masculinity. As a measuring instrument, I used the Male Attitudes Norms Inventory III (MANI-III) (Luyt, 2007). To my knowledge this scale is the only masculinity scale developed in the South African context. However, measuring conformity to masculine norms is an age-old practice which produced many measurement tools. With this broad understanding of masculinity scales, I will briefly discuss salient scales that marked the theoretical evolution of masculinity scale development including, the MANI-III.

4.1.2.1 Bem's sex role inventory (BSRI) (Bem, 1974)

The BSRI was developed by Bem (1974) as an attempt to move away from theorising gender as a one-dimensional continuum between being either highly masculine or highly feminine. Bem (1974) suggested that a healthy gender identity should be considered as two-dimensional. The author used the concept of androgyny to give meaning to individuals who scored high on both masculine and feminine scale items, supposing that these individuals would be more likely to negotiate their gender identity. The BSRI is a self-report 60-item scale. Participants are asked to complete the items by rating themselves on a 7-point Likert-like scale. Item responses ranged from 1 (never or almost never true) to 7 (almost always true). Regarding test reliability, Bem reports alpha coefficients of .78 for femininity scales and .87 for the masculinity scale. The BSRI also has demonstrated high test-retest reliability.

4.1.2.2 Male role norms scale (MRNS) (Thompson & Pleck, 1986)

The MRNS evolved from the empirical factor analysis of the 58-item Brannon Masculinity Scale (BMS) (Brannon, 1976). Reducing the number of dimensions measuring masculinity

norms from four in the BMS to three dimensions, the MRNS utilises sub-scales. These are: status (11 items, $\alpha = .81$); toughness (8 items, $\alpha = .74$); and anti-femininity (7 items, $\alpha = .76$). The 26-item self-report MRNS primarily focuses on masculinity ideology and uses a 7-point scale (very strongly disagree to very strongly agree) on which conformity to masculinity is measured. The constructs the MRNS claims to assess have been examined, and is supported in studies focusing on men of all ages (Gradman, 1990; Riley, 1990). However, this scale excludes items measuring general gender attitudes and how men perceive women.

4.1.2.3 Male role norms inventory (MRNI) (Levant et al., 1992)

This scale consists of 58 items which reflect “normative and nontraditional statements about the male role to which respondents agree/disagree on 7-point Likert-like scales” (Thompson, Pleck & Ferrera, 1992, p. 591). Focusing on seven normative standards of masculinity the authors hypothesised that avoidance of femininity (8 items); homophobia (5 items); achievement/status (10 items); attitudes toward sex (10 items); restrictive emotionality (10 items); self-reliance (7 items), and aggression (8 items) would be salient in measuring masculinity. The items of this scale are worded as prescriptive statements which suggest appropriate masculine behaviour. The alpha coefficient for the entire scale was reported at .93. However, as mentioned by Thompson, Pleck and Ferrera (1992) two subscales of the MRNI (self-reliance = .62 and aggression = .48) yielded low alpha coefficients.

4.1.2.4 Conformity to masculinity norms inventory (CMNI) (Mahalik et al., 2003)

This 94-item measure assesses participants’ conformity or non-conformity to traditional masculine ideals. According to Mahalik et al. (2003), masculinity is diverse and should, therefore, be measured based on different masculine norms. They continue that men tend to conform or non-conform to masculine norms to different degrees (on a continuum between

extreme conformity to extreme non-conformity). The CMNI measures attitudes, behaviours and cognitions that reflect levels of conformity or non-conformity to masculinity by assessing 11 masculine norms (sub-scales), including winning, emotional control, risk-taking, violence, dominance, playboy, self-reliance, primacy of work, power over women, disdain for homosexuals, and pursuit of status. High scores on these sub-scales indicate greater conformity. The instrument enjoys a concurrent and convergent validity that is strong and test-retest reliability that is excellent ($r = .95$) (Mahalik et al., 2003).

It should be mentioned that these scales are “among some of the most notable attempts to operationalise masculinity ideology” (Luyt, 2005, p. 210). Acknowledging this, and even though these scales have been used substantially in measuring conformity to masculinity, and have proven good results, I opted for the use of an instrument that was more applicable to the South African context (albeit not tested after Luyt’s use in his PhD research in 2007) which was standardised for use with English, Afrikaans and Xhosa speaking participants. The current study used the Afrikaans version of the Male Attitude Norms Inventory-III (Luyt, 2007).

4.1.2.5 Male attitude norms inventory – III – Afrikaans (MANI-III) (Luyt, 2007)

I will primarily focus on discussing Luyt’s (2007) motivation for developing this scale and, therefore, motivate reasons for my use of this instrument. The analysis section of the thesis deals more in-depth with the psychometrics of the scale. As the name of the scale suggest, the MANI (Luyt & Foster, 2001) and MANI-II (Luyt, 2005) preceded the MANI-III (Luyt, 2007). The MANI was initially developed and used while examining traditional gang-related masculinities in Cape Town, South Africa. This scale was informed by the Male Role Norms Scale (MRNS) (Thompson & Pleck, 1986) and the Male Role Norms Inventory (MRNI) (Levent et al., 1992). Luyt and Foster (2001) argued that even with the help of these two

existing scales, it was important that they re-think how gender was theorised. Thus, the concept of 'gender' needed re-conceptualisation, as the authors considered that dominant masculinities exist in every social context, apart from the ideology of the 'westernised traditional norm'. The authors suggest that:

In this sense masculine practice that fails to reflect normative behavioural demand is not always seen as an instant of 'protest' in which individuals dismiss the virtue of traditional values, but rather often reflect alternative means of achieving 'true' masculinity in contexts of disempowerment (Luyt & Foster, 2001, p. 9).

Thus, the MANI was motivated by Luyt and Foster's (2001) attempt to develop a theoretically sound measure. The MANI consisted of 40 statements which reflected five dominant masculine norms. Twenty-six items were original to the scale; five items were informed by the MRNI and nine items by the MRNS. The authors, however, concluded that the MANI required more South African context specific validation as it relied heavily on westernised conceptualisations of masculinities.

After exploratory factor analysis on the data, the MANI yielded five sub-scales. These were '*toughness*', '*success*', '*homophobia*', '*individualism*' and '*anti-femininity*'. The MANI-II followed in 2005. Luyt (2005) attempted to improve the scale, by making sure that the scale would be theoretically sound and empirically informed. For this reason, "the entirely new sexuality dimension within the MANI-II" was added as the MANI was believed to have neglected "the notion of performative sexuality" (Luyt, 2005, p. 213-214). Therefore, the '*anti-femininity*' dimension was replaced with the '*sexuality*' dimension. Luyt's aim was to make the scale more culturally specific, reflecting context specific notions of masculinity. After further analysis another dimension was added (*'responsibility'*) which increased the number of dimensions to six. For a more in-depth study of the development of these scales, the reader is referred to Luyt (2005).

Luyt (2007) found that participants from the different language groups (English, Afrikaans and Xhosa) understood the measure differently. Consequently, different dimensions were found to be salient among the different language groups. Thus, the author opted to keep the MANI-III validation process separate for the three languages. The Afrikaans scale highlights three salient factors/dimensions. These are '*control*', '*status*' and '*dependability*'. The author reflects that even though he was motivated to develop a context specific measurement of masculinity, the results suggested that men from different language groups understood manhood differently or held different local notions of masculinity. For the South African context, language usually signifies cultural differences. For the purpose of this thesis, I will only focus the Afrikaans version, as this is what was used as the data collection tool. The MANI-III–Afrikaans will, be discussed in more detail in the methods section that will follow in this chapter and in Chapter Four.

As discussed in the literature, these men have less homogeneous cultural frames of reference relative to other race groups in South Africa. A commonality that binds them is a lived experience embedded in marginalisation and Afrikaans as their common language. Thus, I deemed it important to seek a measure of masculinity which is specific to the context of South Africa, and which has been standardised amongst this population, albeit only regarding language. Seeking to measure conformity to traditional masculine ideologies, the relationships between the MANI-III and risk behaviours for men will be reported. The risk behaviours salient for this study are:

- Risky sexual behaviours as measured by the personal attitudes to high risk sexual behaviours and protective sexual behaviours, as used by Kalichman et al. (2009)
- Sensation seeking behaviour built on Zuckerman's (1994) Experience Seeking Scale

- Hostile sexism, a modified measure inspired by Glick and Fiske's (1996) Ambivalent Sexism Inventory
- Drinking behaviours measured by the Alcohol Use Disorder Identification Test (AUDIT; Saunders, Aasland, Babor, de la Fuente & Grant, 1993)
- Acceptance of violence with the use of the Maudsley Violence Questionnaire (MVQ; J. Walker, 2005)
- Gender role stress as measured by Eisler and Skidmore's (1987) Masculine Gender Role Stress (MGRS)

These scales will be discussed in greater detail in the following section.

4.2 Methodological considerations

In this section I provide a detailed description of the process of data collection and the rationale for my use of these methods. Consistent with the chosen theoretical perspective, the study relied on self-report surveys to gauge men's endorsement of traditional masculinity norms and how this endorsement influenced masculine behaviours. The overall aim of this thesis was to study the influences of masculinity roles on risk behaviours and gender role stress amongst marginalized 'coloured' men. In light of these aims, the study utilised dual/mixed research methods (both quantitative and qualitative methods) to explore the social context in which 'coloured' masculinities emerge.

4.2.1 Methodological paradigms

For the purpose of this thesis, I proceed with a broad overview of mixed methods. This is followed by an overview of quantitative and qualitative methods and the relative contribution of each methodology to answering my research questions. This discussion will then show the compatibility of the paradigms and highlight the strength of using mixed methodology.

4.2.1.1 Mixed methodology

The use of multiple research methods in social sciences research inquiries can be traced to the late 1950s. Drawing on the initial ideas of Campbell and Fiske (1959), Webb, Campbell, Schwart and Sechrest (1966, p. 3) suggested that, “Once a proposition has been confirmed by two or more independent measurement processes, the uncertainty of its interpretation is greatly reduced. The most persuasive evidence comes through a triangulation of measurement processes”. Creswell and Clark (2007) highlights that the use of mixed methods allows the research to merge two research methods to answer the research question. Plano-Clark et al., (2008, p. 1546) defines “...mixed methods research as consisting of a set of designs and procedures in which both quantitative and qualitative data are collected, analyzed, and mixed in a single study...”. This method can also be used to cross check the validity of data (Bogdan & Biklen, 2006; Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004) and elucidate the complexities and depth of research phenomena (Altrichter et al., 2008). The use of mixed methodology permitted the use of both quantitative and qualitative data collection methods (surveys and focus groups) and analysis (linear regression and thematic analysis), while utilising a singular theoretical foundation (Gender Role Strain Theory). The methods were implemented sequential with the aim to explain the quantitative findings with the qualitative data.

It is not assumed that mixed methods goes without criticism. In his critique, Blaikie (1991, p. 131) suggests that the method “...has no relevance for genuine Interpretivists and ethnomethodologists”. However, as this study is rooted in social science, the study results should be approached as but a singular view of many possible renditions of how manhood is performed among these participants. Secondly, the use of mixed methods are criticised as being a failed attempt to unambiguously be “... regarded as equivalent in terms of ...” its “... capacity to address a research question” (Bryman, 2003, p. 4). The motivation for the use of

mixed methodology is to enhance the study's validity by deepening the understanding of how these marginalised men enact their masculinities, as is reflected in the chapters that follow.

4.2.2 Data collection

The data collection process happened in two phases. First men were asked to complete a quantitative survey. Later the same sample of men was contacted telephonically and invited to participate in a one to two hour focus group discussion. As per selection criteria all men were aged 18 years and older and were fluent in conversing in Afrikaans. Another participation criterion was that men were residing in the Delft or Vlottenburg areas. Three hundred men were recruited from the two Cape Town communities for the first quantitative phase. Of the 300 men who participated in the survey, 164 men agreed to participate in the qualitative phase and were contacted telephonically to schedule group sessions. At both phases the study was explained to participants, anonymity and confidentiality was ensured and informed consent was obtained. The researcher facilitated the implementation of both phases of data collection. Thus, I administered the questionnaire and facilitated the focus group discussions. Those who agreed to participate in the quantitative phase were asked to complete a paper-and-pencil self-report questionnaire. Some participants, fewer than 10% of the sample, were illiterate and needed help completing the survey. The data collection process commenced in September 2009 and was completed in December 2010.

The research community was a semi-rural and an urban area in the Western Cape. Delft (the urban area) is situated within the Cape Metropole, while Vlottenburg is a semi-rural community on the periphery of Cape Town as part of the Stellenbosch district. The reason for choosing these two communities is two-fold. Firstly, these communities are home to predominantly 'coloured' people (approximately 80%; National Census Data, 2001) and 'coloured' men were my target population. Secondly, both these communities experience

similar social problems, such as poverty, violence and substance abuse. These communities, however, differ regarding financial income and employment rates. Lindegger and Durrheim (2001) propose that focusing on differences between rural and urban communities is an essential platform for studying different masculinities. Even though this research study is not essentially a comparative study, I believe that this undertaking enriched the research outcomes. I have therefore made some comparisons where such data emerged and appeared relevant. The process of entry into the communities of interest was fairly simple.

4.2.2.1 The research setting

4.2.2.1.1 Delft community

This community is one of the most recently developed townships. As mentioned, more than half of its residents are ‘coloured’, however, Delft is the only township area that houses both black-African and ‘coloured’ people. The area is ‘typical’ of township areas in Cape Town, characterised by housing shortages, violence, unemployment, gangsterism and drug and alcohol abuse (Adhikari, 2005). Delft has an unemployment rate of over 40%. Those who are employed, earn a moderately larger salary, relative to rural areas (National Census Data, 2001). With high unemployment amongst urban dwellers, the breadwinner of a household often provides the only means of income and that often has to maintain the entire household. This in turn may translate into increased poverty. Urban township communities are also plagued by social issues that are mostly fueled by substance abuse (Adhikari, 2005, Cooper, 2009).

A) Shows a street-map view of Delft



B) Example of typical houses in Delft



4.2.2.1.2 Vlottenburg community

The people of this community are mostly Afrikaans-speaking ‘coloured’ people who work on surrounding farms. Farm areas are known for their higher employment rate, and due to the availability of farm labour, farm workers’ salaries are generally low (De Lange & Faysse, 2005) and the working conditions on these farms are often questionable (London, 1994). The lack of housing security is particularly problematic for farm workers given that access to housing is dependent on employment. Health facilities are often far away, which makes farm workers even more dependent on their employers, as farmers usually supply transport to their workers (Greenberg, Hlongwane, Shabangu & Sigubla, 1997). Further, London (1995) states that education levels in farm areas average five schooling years. Western Cape rural / semi-rural communities are known for their wine production. Historically, a proportion of farm workers’ salaries were paid ‘in kind’. This financial arrangement was known as the “Dop system”. Farmers would distribute wine among the workers for daily consumption as part of remuneration (Engelbrecht, 2009). After the “Dop system” was abolished, alcohol abuse among farm workers continued (London, 1999).

A) Shows a street-map view of Vlottenburg B) Example of some houses in Vlottenburg



4.2.2.2 The recruitment process of participants

The recruitment process of this study happened in two stages. Firstly, to map masculine attitudes, gender role stress and risky behaviours, a survey design was used. The quantitative sample was purposively drawn from the two communities. The data collection process was fairly simple as I was familiar with the Delft area since 2007, because the community is linked to an existing project of the Human Sciences Research Council (my current employer). A member of the community advisory board of this project, and a community liaison officer helped me gain access into the community and buy-in from potential participants for my own data collection. As my recruiter she helped me divide the participants (150) of this area into five groups with 30 men per group. We therefore, interacted with 30 men at a time, for a period of one month each.

Similarly the Vlottenburg community was part of an existing study of the University of Cape Town, in partnership with Stellenbosch University. I was not familiar with this community and found it difficult to access participants during the latter part of 2009. In 2010 a young student, who was actively involved in development programmes in Vlottenburg and the surrounding farms, helped facilitate the recruitment process in this area. One hundred and

fifty men were sampled over a period of three months. In total 300 men agreed to participate in the study.

The quantitative data was collected in community churches and halls where participants gathered in groups of thirty men per session. For the Delft community five groups of thirty men per session were sufficient. Recruitment in the Vlottenburg area, however, was more difficult as twelve group sessions were needed to reach the sample size. Starting with an information session, I explained to the participants the purpose of my study and what they would be consenting to if they decided to participate in the study. Men were allowed to ask questions and I attempted to address all their concerns. Their partial anonymity and confidentiality was assured and they understood that their participation was voluntary. I stressed that I would need their contact information as I would contact some of them for the focus group discussion sessions, thus complete anonymity was not possible. All of the men agreed to participate and, therefore, all of the 300 signed a consent form. The quantitative data collection process lasted approximately two hours and the allotted time frame included the consent process. Participants were remunerated for their time and transportation. The qualitative data collection followed a similar process. Fourteen focus group discussions (seven per community) were conducted. The focus group discussions consisted of six to eight men per group, facilitated by the researcher. After men agreed to participate and consent forms were signed I facilitated the discussions. Each session lasted approximately two hours, including the consent process. As with the prior quantitative phase, participants were remunerated for their time and transportation.

4.2.2.3 The data collection techniques

This study used mixed-methods to attain its objective to study the influences of masculinity roles on risk behaviours and gender role stress amongst marginalized ‘coloured’ men. First,

the quantitative phase helped to establish participants' conformity to traditional masculinity and whether conformity influenced gender role stress and risk behaviours. The second (qualitative) phase used focus group discussions to identify themes around the manhood-making process particular to these men in this social context.

4. 2.2.3.1 Quantitative measures

The quantitative part of the study aimed to measure participants' endorsement¹⁹ of traditional masculinity ideology, and how conformity to these masculine ideas affected their behaviour. The study assumed that participants who conformed to traditional masculinity ideology were more likely to participate in high risk behaviours. This section describes the quantitative measures that were used.

Prior to participation, the aims and objectives of the study were discussed with potential participants. Men who agreed to participate were asked to sign an informed consent form, and complete a 17-page questionnaire. Besides the Afrikaans version of the MANI-III, the rest of the questionnaires were translated into Afrikaans. Even though the questionnaire was a self-administered measure, the researcher was available to assist those who needed help by reading the questions to the participants and selecting their chosen options (common issues were illiteracy or eye problems). Although these situations were rare, the participant recruiters were also available to help illiterate participants complete the questionnaires. This may have weakened the rigor of the data collection.

The questionnaire included the following sections:

¹⁹ For the purpose of this report I used the concepts of 'endorsement' and 'conformity' to masculinity norms interchangeably. I did this with the assumption that the endorsement of masculinity norms inevitably would extend itself as motivation for men to conform to these norms.

4.2.2.3.1.1 Demographic information

The study collected participants' demographic details, which included information on their age, employment, fatherhood, education level, marital status and gang membership. The rest of the questionnaire consisted of two overarching sections. According to Gove (1979) common problems experienced by men in general, are alcoholism, antisocial behaviour and sexual deviance. Thus, to ascertain whether the endorsement of common masculine norms influenced risky behaviours among men, the first section aimed to measure participants' self-reported risk behaviours. Six scales were used to obtain this information.

4.2.2.3.1.2 Sexual behaviour

Sexual behaviour is related to constructs like consistent condom use, HIV testing and engaging with multiple sex partners. The following measures were used to test this behaviour. *Personal attitudes to high risk sexual behaviours*: This scale evaluated participants' attitudes toward risky sexual behaviours (Kalichman, et al., 2009). This measure consisted of five items and participants were asked to indicate their attitudes on a four point Likert-like scale (e.g. "How do you feel about having more than one sex partner?"). The five items evaluated participants' level of agreement or disagreement with sexual behaviours that may increase personal high risk sexual behaviours (Kalichman, et al., 2009). These items were then scored strongly disapprove = 1 to strongly approve = 4. High scores were considered to be a score higher than the mean score (e.g. between 5 and 20), which indicated high negative personal attitudes to high risk sexual behaviours. For this study, the scale yielded a reliability alpha of .65, with a mean of just under ten ($M = 9.8$; $SD = 2.903$).

Protective sexual behaviours: Here men were asked to indicate their agreement or disagreement with 12 statements on the extent to which they sexually protected themselves. For example: "In the past 30 days ... I reminded myself to use a condom". Participants were

able to score between 0 and 12 on this scale. The scale reported good psychometric properties ($\alpha = .74$; $M = 6.04$; $SD = 2.954$).

4.2.2.3.1.3 *Sensation seeking*

Built on Zuckerman's (1994) Experience Seeking Scale, a brief ten item assessment of sensation seeking was developed by Kalichman et al. (1994). This scale is theoretically centred on the idea that the propensity to seek optimal stimulation may encourage individuals to engage in risk behaviours (Kalichman et al., 1994; 2004; Zuckerman, 1994). The present study used seven items to measure *sensation seeking behaviour*. Men were asked to indicate the extent to which they agreed with statements relating to exciting and daring experiences. For example: "I sometimes like to do things that are a little frightening". Participants were able to choose options ranging from 1 (not at all like me) to 4 (very much like me), and possible total scale scores could range from 7 to 28. For the purpose of the current study, men who scored above the mean score were considered as high sensation seekers ($\alpha .80$; $M = 12.4$ $SD = 4.672$).

4.2.2.3.1.4 *Hostile sexism*

This scale is derived from Glick and Fiske's (1996) Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI). This 22 item scale primarily assesses hostile sexism and benevolent sexism, which relates to "statements concerning men and women and their relationships in contemporary society" (Glick and Fiske 1996, p. 512). This study only focused on the hostile sexism construct of the ASI, which measures hostility toward women. According to Glick and Fiske (1996), men who obtain high hostile sexism scores, stereotypically consider women who deviate from their prescribed feminine gender roles as ferocious and manipulative, as well as controlling and sexually seductive (Glick & Fiske, 1996; Glick et al, 2000). These stereotypes are in essence sexist ideals that stem from gender stereotypes that maintain the societal superiority of men over women (Guttentag & Secord, 1983). Five items measuring hostile sexism were

used to measure men's sexism toward women. For example: "When women talk and act sexy they are inviting trouble". These items were then scored as follows: strongly disagree =1 to strongly agree =4 ($\alpha = 0.63$; $M= 11.8$; $SD= 3.550$). Rates of hostile sexism have been measured among adult men and women in the general population in South Africa, often as a means of comparing local sexist behaviour with that of other countries (Glick et al., 2000; Zawisza et al., 2012). This thesis examined the association between the endorsement of traditional masculinity norms and hostile sexism, specifically among 'coloured' men in Cape Town.

4.2.2.3.1.5 Alcohol use

As discussed in Chapters One and Two, the Western Cape has a history of high levels of alcohol use among 'coloured' people (Peltzer et al., 2011). Also, literature has shown that risky drinking is a prevalent display of masculinity (Morojele, et al., 2006). To measure participants' drinking behaviour I used the Alcohol Use Disorder Identification Test (AUDIT; Saunders, Aasland, Babor, de la Fuente, & Grant, 1993). The test assumes that the use of high quantities (e.g., 4-5 units) of alcohol per occasion indicates hazardous drinking behaviour. One unit is equal to a standard drink. A second assumption of the AUDIT is that one Standard Drink equals one can of ordinary beer (e.g. 330 ml at 5% of alcohol), or one single shot of spirits (whiskey, gin, vodka) (40 ml at 40% of alcohol), or one glass of wine (140 ml at 12% of alcohol), or one small glass of sherry (90 ml at 18% of alcohol) or one small glass of liqueur or aperitif (70 ml at 25% of alcohol).

This ten-item scale measures the quantity and frequency of participants' alcohol use and indicates the degree to which alcohol use influences their physical bodies and social behaviours. The test consists of ten items asking participants to indicate their drinking behaviours. For example (item 1) "How often did you have a drink containing alcohol in the

past 12 months?” Participants had to indicate their responses agreeing to options ranging from ‘Never’ (scoring 0) to ‘4 or more times a week’ (scoring 4). The AUDIT total scores range from 0 to 40; with a score of 0 indicating abstinence; 1 - 7 indicating low risk drinking; 8 - 19 equalling high risk drinking, and a score of 20 and more indicating hazardous drinking or possible alcohol dependence (Saunders, et al., 1993). Scores of 8 and above also indicate possible risk drinking and these individuals may be experiencing alcohol-related problems (Conigrave, Hall & Saunders, 1995). The AUDIT measure has been used in similar South African contexts and has shown evidence of reliability and validity (Bekker & Van Velden, 2003; Kalichman, et al., 2008; Simbayi et al., 2004). For the present sample the AUDIT measure yielded a reliability alpha of .78. The mean AUDIT score was 15.46 (SD = 6.915). Of the men who indicated that they drank alcohol, the minimum AUDIT score obtained was 2 with the maximum score being 34.

4.2.2.3.1.6 Violent behaviour

With the view that conforming to masculinity norms may encourage violent behaviour, the study used the Maudsley Violence Questionnaire (MVQ) to establish whether the endorsement of or conformity to masculine norms increased violent/aggressive behaviour. J. Walker (2005) developed this instrument with the intention of measuring peoples’ thoughts and beliefs about when they deem violent behaviour to be acceptable and justifiable. The author further argues that males often use violence to deal with humiliating situations, and might justify violent behaviour so as to ‘save face’ or maintain their sense of masculinity. Thus, this 56-item scale consists of two subscales: 1) ‘Machismo’ – focusing on the display of physical strength and aggressive behaviour (e.g. item 1 “It is shameful to walk away from a fight”; item 8 “It is OK to hit your partner if they behave unacceptably,” and item 26 “Men who are gentle get walked on”); and 2) ‘Acceptance’ of violence – openly accepting or rejecting violence. These include items such as: Item 6 “I enjoy watching violence on TV or

in films” and item 14 “It is OK (or normal) to hit someone if they hit you first”. Possible scores on the ‘machismo’ subscale ranged from zero to 42 ($\alpha = .92$; $M = 15.6$; $SD = 9.595$) and the ‘acceptance’ subscale ranged from 0 – 14 ($\alpha = .60$; $M = 7.3$; $SD = 2.714$), with total raw scores ranging from 0 to 56 ($\alpha = .92$; $M = 22.7$; $SD = 11.471$). High scores (score above the mean scores) indicate greater acceptance of violence. According to J. Walker (2005) both factors display an acceptable internal reliability with Cronbach alpha coefficients of 0.74 and 0.91 for the two factors, respectively. The two factors are significantly correlated for both males ($r = 0.438$, $p < 0.001$) and females ($r = 0.554$, $p < 0.001$). The second section of the questionnaire measured men’s perceived levels of stress associated with an inability (also perceived) to maintain and fulfil traditional masculine roles.

4.2.2.3.1.7 Gender role stress

As discussed in the literature, men are often forced to conform to masculine roles that are prescribed by society, and suffer heavy penalties for deviating from these roles (e.g. Sideris, 2004). With the help of the Masculine Gender Role Stress (MGRS) scale, the study hypothesised that, when men are unable to reach their perceived standards of traditional masculinity, they may experience an increased level of gender role stress. Eisler and Skidmore (1987) argue that this may be a consequence of conforming to masculine norms that encourage men to be indulgent, aggressive and sexually potent. The authors argue that “men will experience stress when they judge themselves unable to cope with the imperatives of the male role or when a situation is viewed as requiring unmanly or feminine behaviour” (Eisler & Skidmore, 1987, p.125).

The MGRS scale is an instrument that measures how men appraise or perceive situations to be stress provoking. The degree to which the participants perceive the events as stressful is rated on a 6-point Likert-like scale; zero being “not at all” stressful to five being “extremely” stressful” (Eisler & Skidmore, 1987, p. 127). For this 40-item scale men were able to obtain

scores ranging from 0 - 200 ($\alpha = .92$; $M = 89.6$; $SD = 35.671$). The scale includes five subscales namely: 1) *physical inadequacy*, ($\alpha = .72$; $M = 20.5$; $SD = 9.103$) consisting of nine items; for example, item 1 'Feeling that you are not in good physical condition'; 2) *emotional inexpressiveness* ($\alpha = .71$; $M = 14.3$; $SD = 7.613$) consists of seven items; for example, item 2 'Telling your spouse that you love her/him'; 3) *subordination to women*, ($\alpha = .74$; $M = 18.5$; $SD = 9.163$) include nine items; for example, item 3 'Being outperformed at work by a woman.' The *intellectual inferiority* ($\alpha = .72$; $M = 15.2$; $SD = 7.705$) sub-scale, has seven items; for example, item 4 'Having to ask for directions when you are lost'. The *performance failure* ($\alpha = .73$; $M = 21.2$; $SD = 8.569$) sub-scale, consisting of eight items; for example, item 5 'Being unemployed'. These sub-scales recount stressful situations that represent various cognitive, behavioural and environmental events that are associated with masculine norms.

High scores on the MGRS indicate greater perceived stress due to conformity to or inability to achieve traditional masculine norms. High scores on the MGRS have also been associated with men's violence. Moore and Stuart (2005, p. 52) posit that "the level of men's appraisal of stress and threat to situations that challenge masculine norms may be a critical component in understanding why some men behave violently".

4.2.2.3.1.8 Masculinity

Motivated by the need to use the most culturally representative measure of masculinity, the 48-item Male Attitude Norms Inventory-III (MANI-III) (Luyt, 2007) was used to measure conformity to masculinity norms. To my knowledge the MANI-III was the most recent and socio-culturally relevant South African masculinity scale at the time of data collection. Following the MANI (Luyt & Foster 2001) and the MANI-II (Luyt, 2005), Luyt (2007) identified three dimensions (MANI-III) that he considered salient for Afrikaans-speaking participants. These were: 1) control ($\alpha = 0.88$) - with a focus on a man's ability to control his financial, sexual, social and self-experiences; 2) status ($\alpha = 0.87$) - here the focus was on the

importance of men's social dominance and distancing themselves from social groups deemed subordinate (e.g. gay men; 3) dependability ($\alpha=0.77$) - which focused on men being sexually (sexual performance), socially (being supportive of friends) and physically (being tough) dependable. For the purpose of this study, a revised version of Luyt's (2007) MANI-III was used. A detailed description of the analytic processes from which the MANI-III-R38 ($\alpha = .89$; $M = 134.20$; $SD = 20.214$) evolved is reported in the quantitative results chapter (Chapter 5).

In reflecting on the measurement scales used, it is important to mention an anticipated limitation. I knew that the use of 'western-developed' measures (for example the MGRS, MVQ, AUDIT etc.) might negatively influence my data, as these constructs might not have had the same meaning in this population. However, these were standardised measures that were used in a South Africa context previously and the Afrikaans translations were back-translated to assure that the meaning of the concepts stayed the same.

4.2.2.3.2 Qualitative data collection

For the present study, qualitative methodology served as a means through which the researcher could understand the common traditional masculinity roles amongst marginalized 'coloured' men in Cape Town and whether the endorsement of these masculinity norms influence men's risk behaviours and men's perceived gender role stress. The qualitative data collection method allowed the researcher to reflect on and develop ideas prior to data collection and to do so more intensely, during the data collection process (Neuman, 2000). It was, therefore, a means whereby 'coloured' masculinities became events in need of understanding (Terre Blanche & Durrheim, 1999).

Furthermore, qualitative methods gave the study the needed richness, and elicited peculiarities and complexities invoked by the research question. Utilising a qualitative approach was an attempt to understand the men's subjective perceptions on how they

perceived their social environment influenced their masculine habits and performances. These perceptions could only be captured through understanding their descriptions of their everyday lives, the context in which they operated, as well as their frames of reference.

The qualitative part of the study explored the constructions of masculinity (how it is attained and maintained) in these communities. In line with the study's epistemological framework, the study supposed that the use of qualitative methods would encourage 'thick descriptions' of participants' subjective views on masculinities (Henning, van Rensburg & Smit, 2004). Further, the study assumed that by discovering perspectives on masculinity, in-depth descriptions of the context in which local masculinities operate, and their frames of reference would surface. Thus, the use of focus group discussions as data collection technique was considered an appropriate data collection method for the present study.

4.2.2.3.2.1 Focus groups

Focus group discussions (FGDs) are widely used in social research (Creswell, 2003; Patton, 1987). When research is aimed at elucidating deeper patterns of a social phenomenon, FGDs have proven to be the most appropriate data collection method (Jakobsen, 2012). This is partly attributed to the fact that a FGD stages an environment where participants influence each other in relation to their perceptions, feelings, and thinking about particular issues (Krueger & Casey, 2000). Participants then construct meaning to their life situations and these meanings are typically forged in discussions or interactions with other persons (Babbie et al., 2001; Creswell, 2003). Hence, FGDs allow participants to "converse among themselves, questioning, challenging and answering one another" (Jakobsen, 2012, p. 113). Therefore, as was envisioned, my study participants shared, questioned and challenged meanings of masculinities that were familiar in their social context.

Focus group discussions as we know them today developed through three stages, as suggested by Morgan (1998). However, one common thread that spans from the 1920s to the present day is that the method is commonly aimed at understanding ‘ground-level’ social issues. In the 1920s social scientists used the method to inform the development of surveys. After the Second World War the method was used as a market testing tool to gauge people’s social needs. Since the 1980s, FGDs have been used to understand attitudes, beliefs and behaviours on social issues like health, sex and sexuality. Morgan (1988; 1998) further suggests that the use of FGDs affords the researcher the opportunity to listen to and learn from the study participants. Participants usually find this method less intimidating, and more enjoyable and stimulating than one-on-one interviews.

FGDs are not without limitations. As mentioned by Jakobsen (2012), power relations between the researcher and the participants or how the participants perceive the researcher, may influence their opinions on the discussion topics. The researcher, therefore, should review the data to ascertain “...to what extent is this merely what they say to me, based on who I am to them?” (Jakobsen, 2012, p. 116). This shortcoming, however, is shared by all data collection methods, even quantitative methods (for example self-administered survey methods). The researcher is always in a position of power and the openness of the participant to share personal information is relative to the rapport they either develop or do not develop with the researcher. Madriz (2000) maintains that FGDs allow the researcher less control over the discussion as compared to interview methods, due to the multi-vocality intended by this method. Thus, even though the researcher may choose to use a focus group schedule, the method only allows the researcher partial influence as the discussion facilitator. The decision to use this method for the current study was influenced by the assumption that FGDs would generate group interactions, which would inform reliable data on group norms on masculinities.

4.2.2.3.2.2 Focus group data collection process

The focus groups included six to eight participants from similar backgrounds and were guided by a focus group guide (see Appendix D) that helped the researcher (I facilitated all the focus group discussions) facilitate the group discussions, and elicited greater depth and meaning than the quantitative measures were able to yield (Bloor, Frankland, Thomas & Robson, 2001). The focus group guide was informed by the research question which aimed to study the influences of masculinity roles on risk behaviours and gender role stress amongst marginalized 'coloured' men. The focus group guide used semi-structured probing questions to guide the discussions. These questions explored men's subjective perceptions of the traditional masculinity roles amongst marginalized 'coloured' men in their communities. Furthermore, the guide also explored men's views about the effects of men's endorsement of traditional masculinity roles on their risk behaviours and strain experienced due to masculine role expectations (Appendix D).

Of the men who agreed to participate and had left contact details, 200 (72% of the overall sample) were telephonically contacted. Of these, 164 men agreed to participate, and were available during a time most convenient for the group, however, only 108 men joined the group on the set dates. Fourteen FGDs (seven per community) were conducted. Prior to participation, the study's aims and objectives were discussed with potential participants. Men who agreed to participate were then asked to sign an informed consent form. The focus group discussions lasted approximately 45 to 90 minutes. The discussions were audiotape-recorded with consent from the participants and conducted in Afrikaans, to ensure that participants were comfortable expressing themselves in their mother tongue.

4.2.2.3.2.3 Qualitative data analysis

4.2.2.3.2.3.1 Transcription process

All of the focus groups discussions were audio-tape recorded. The 14 recordings were transcribed verbatim. The transcription process was outsourced to a professional company and took about one month to be completed. After the transcriptions were received the researcher cross-checked the transcripts with the audio recordings. After careful scrutiny and correction of the transcripts, the quality of the transcripts was improved. The data were analysed in Afrikaans (my mother-tongue) and only the extracts utilised in this thesis were translated for an English audience. The English quotes are then presented in the findings (in Chapter 6 and 7). Some of the men's expressions are presented in Afrikaans and were explained in brackets or as footnotes. In so doing the reader will encounter the terminology, similes and maxims common in the vernacular of 'coloured' men's talk.

4.2.2.3.2.3.2 Thematic analysis

"In an interpretative study, there is no clear point when data collection stops and analysis begins" (Terre Blanche & Durrheim, 1999). These two usually separate steps in research flow from collection to analysis. Interpretive analysis is deemed to be the most appropriate data analysis technique to utilize. According to Terre Blanche and Durrhiem (1999), the key principle of this technique is to remain intimate with the data so as to interpret it from an empathic position. Further, this method familiarises people with peculiar phenomena, but also makes familiar things or events peculiar.

Thematic analysis (among others) is structured under interpretive analysis which is seen as an umbrella tradition of qualitative analysis. As stated by Braun and Clarke (2006), thematic analysis has often been disregarded as an analytic method in the qualitative sciences. Citing researchers like Boyatzis (1998) and Ryan and Bernard (2000), the authors argue that many researchers who utilise thematic analysis regard it as a stepping stone toward 'major' analytic

processes (e.g. discourse analysis and grounded theory). Advocating for the use of thematic analysis (TA) as “a method in its own right”, Braun and Clarke (2006, p. 78) argue that many qualitative studies are essentially thematic in nature. For the purpose of this analysis I deemed TA the most appropriate for exploring the data. This method allowed a process through which I was able to identify, analyse and report themes relating to the everyday performances of masculinity, subjective to these men.

The use of thematic analysis also allowed the researcher to play an active role in identifying and making sense of the themes, based on the theoretical stance observed in this thesis. Thus, recognising that gender roles are learned from local constructions of what it means to be a man, encouraged an understanding of men’s social or cultural contexts, instead of focusing solely on their individual experiences. Considering recommendations provided by Braun and Clarke (2006), the following data analysis process was followed:

The themes that highlight recurrent explanations, justifications and vernacular terms that men used while discussing how masculinities are performed in their communities were extracted. These were coded with key words or phrases that capture the essence of the content, and were then taken to constitute emergent themes (see Appendix F and G for the coding scheme). The coded themes therefore reflect participants’ own words and phrases that communicate their meanings of masculinities. The data analysis was informed by the research question and theories of traditional masculinities, gender identity and Sex Role Theory under the Gender Role Strain Paradigm. The analysis was therefore a mixture of inductive and deductive methods.

4.2.2.3.2.3.3 Data coding

This process started with the researcher reading through the transcripts to become familiar with the data. Because transcriptions exclude non-verbal communication, researchers should

be cautious not to take discussions out of context. Therefore, the reading process included listening to the original recordings for voice intonations and expressions that could help the researcher answer or speak to the research question. Based on an initial reading of these transcripts a number of themes or re-occurring categories were established. Each focus group discussion was then systematically explored using these themes or re-occurring categories. The systematic exploration of the categories which evolved from the initial reading of the transcripts was then further scrutinised and reduced to codes using the participants' own words and phrases (see Appendix F and G). These codes facilitated the development of themes and sub-themes which are reported in Chapters 6 and 7.

It should be acknowledged that the peculiarities and interpretations that evolved from the data were influenced by researcher bias. However, as previously mentioned, the methods employed here required the researcher to be the primary tool in conducting research and analysing the data. Therefore, the thematic interpretation was based on the researcher's own sources of understanding in relation to the context (Banister et al., 1994; Burman & Parker, 1993). Furthermore, the process that was adopted in conducting the analysis was a combination of inductive and deductive methods. This means that the preferred theoretical framework and existing literature on the topic of interest, informed the research questions as well as the themes that evolved from the data (Braun and Clarke, 2006). This being said, I continued to be open to finding things that was not anticipated by the literature or theory on masculinity, but emerged from the data. As previously discussed, the scientific status of interpretive social science has come under constant criticism. However, interpretative understanding provides social observers a method of investigating social phenomena in a way that does not distort the social world of those being studied (Neuman, 2000).

4.3 Summarising data collection techniques

Both qualitative and quantitative methods have strengths and weaknesses. On the one hand, qualitative methods may be criticised for being too subjective and influenced by the individual researcher. Quantitative methods, on the other hand, may fail to capture the individual experience of the participant and are said to be stringent pragmatic ideologies of positivist quantifications (Terre Blanche & Durrheim, 1999). This study combined these research methods to capitalise on both methods' strengths. Mixed methods (employing both qualitative and quantitative methods) helped the researcher cross-check findings against one another, thereby increasing the validity of the results evoked during the research process. Many social scientists concur that together, both methods strengthen research outcomes. They argue that fieldwork (e.g. focus groups) can be informed by survey methods (e. g. research questionnaires) and vice versa (Reiss, 1968; Sieber, 1973; Vidich & Shapiro, 1955). It is important to highlight that this research exploration was the sum of two methodological parts. Both phases were research explorations on their own, used to strengthen the study outcomes, and which add valuable insights to the existing masculinities literature.

4.4 Ethical considerations

The highest ethical standards were maintained regarding informed consent, rights to terminate participation, anonymity, issues of confidentiality, and the researcher's duty to report abuse perpetrated or experienced by participants. The participants were informed about the aims and objective of the study and were given a choice to consent to participating in the study. All the men who participated were asked to sign a consent form that included consent to audio-record the focus group discussion during the qualitative data collection phase. In data processing, all the participants' identifying information was removed and the study data

(SPSS data files, audio-recordings and transcripts) were stored on the researcher's personal computer that was password-protected.

4.5 Personal reflexivity

Qualitative research is not necessarily concerned with objectivity or whether or not the data reflects a generalisable 'truth' (Banister et al., 1994). Rather, qualitative methods are concerned with understanding social phenomena by way of eliciting 'rich' data which highlight the "subjective meanings ... of social relations and institutional power" (Sinding & Aronson, 2003, p. 95). To elicit these subjective meanings, researchers delve into the data and the researcher's subjectivity becomes apparent. Banister et al. (1994) maintain that the researcher's acknowledgement of their subjectivity may be the closest they can come to an 'objective' account of the research process and the meanings evoked by the data. It should be emphasised that although the use of both quantitative and qualitative methodologies has increased the validity of this research, both these methodologies have their respective biases. The strengths and shortcomings of these methods have previously been discussed.

Davison (2007) has shown that the biographical profile of the researcher may influence, amongst others, the preferred methodological processes selected by the researcher. It is for this reason that researchers using qualitative method reflect on their research processes in order to account for possible biases that may have arise as a consequence of power imbalances between the researcher and the participants (Jakobsen, 2012). Boonzaier (2005) concluded that researchers have influence over the entire research process. These include the kind of research that is done, the research questions that are asked, who is asked to participate in the study, and how the data is analysed. Acknowledging that research does not occur in a vacuum and that research facilitators are not unseen, genderless, classless, and raceless individuals, the importance of reflecting upon how these realities shape the research process

is imperative. In this reflexive process I therefore reflect on my role in the overall research and the impact my role may have had on the research outcomes (Babbie et al., 2001; Boonzaier & Shefer, 2006).

The exploration of 'colouredness' was a difficult process for me. This is due to the many unanswered questions I have around 'origin' and 'belonging'. Drawing on my personal experience of 'colouredness', it was not the evident 'othering' of and from the white or black groups that moulded my local identity, but the 'othering' within the 'coloured' population that, as for me, influenced many to reject this identity, as categorising oneself as 'coloured' became a conflict ridden process. The struggle with identity made me more sympathetic to the participants' daily struggles with 'personhood'. Even more so, although I consider myself 'middle-class' now in my adult life, my working-class childhood background fostered similar experiences as shared those by the participants. Therefore, being assumed as particularly violent, fertile (teenage pregnancy in particular) and a substance abuser is a common assumption people make of me, based on my racial identity. The familiarity had contradictory effects, however. Men assumed that I should have experienced many of the things they had. I was, therefore, often not seen as a 'normal 'coloured' girl'. Thus, even though I have had similar life experiences as the men in this study, differing beliefs about each other and our current 'realities' surfaced.

Gender relations were at the core of this thesis. At first the difference in gender seemed to be straightforward. I am a woman who will ask men some questions. In this patriarchal society, men are the ones who hold the power. The power dynamic during the group discussions highlighted the complexities of the relationship between me (the researcher) and the men (study participants). In addition, the complexity of this relationship increased as the men shared the thwarting they experienced in doing masculinity in these marginalised contexts. Men might therefore have experienced the research participation as emasculating. In a few

instances, however, men reasserted masculine power as they made comments that sexually objectified me directly or women in general. In this study, as the administrator of the questionnaires and the focus group discussion facilitator, I was aware that responses given by the study participants might have been influenced by my presence as they might have endeavored to please the researcher or achieved their own agendas (Willig, 2001).

CHAPTER FIVE

CONFORMITY TO MASCULINITY NORMS

The aim of this thesis was to study the influences of masculinity roles on risk behaviours and gender role stress amongst marginalized ‘coloured’ men. The study used mixed methods to examine this research problem. In particular, the quantitative investigation focused on examining the following hypotheses.

1. More men in this sample will report high levels of traditional masculinity norms relative to those who do not endorse traditional masculinity norms.
2. Men who endorse traditional masculinity norms are more likely to report high risk behaviours like:
 - a. Practicing risky drinking,
 - b. Engaging in risky sexual activity,
 - c. Hostile sexism toward women,
 - d. Display sensation seeking behaviours,
 - e. Accept and justify violence and violent behaviours, and
 - f. Experience gender role stress.

This thesis measured participants’ endorsement of masculinity norms with the use of the Male Attitude Norms Inventory-III (MANI-III) (Luyt, 2007). The MANI-III extracted three dimensions that I suggest are common masculine norms. This scale measures “the extent to which individuals endorse dominant norms of masculinity that serve to legitimate and (re)produce unequal gender relations” (Luyt, 2007, p. 233). Using Luyt’s (2007) measurement, I examined men’s level of endorsement in terms of traditional masculinity norms; which values control, status and dependability as salient characteristics of masculinity. Additionally, the present study examined the endorsement of masculinity and

how this endorsement may influence men's displays of masculinity. Masculine performances or displays, I argue and as seen in the literature (Kalichman, et al., 2007; Morojele, et al., 2006; Pattman, 2005; Strelbel et al., 2006), are often unavoidably equivalent to displaying risky behaviours like risky drinking and risky sexual behaviours, hostile sexism, sensation seeking and acceptance of violence. These and other risky behaviours are therefore often viewed as common masculine performances amongst men.

Examining risky drinking and sexual behaviours, hostile sexism, sensation seeking and acceptance of violence was therefore deemed salient for this investigation. I further suggest that the attainment of any traditional masculine archetype²⁰ is an aspiration that is associated with a great degree of stress and therefore, I also measured men's reports of perceived gender role stress. Thus, the study included masculine gender role stress as a risk outcome of conforming to traditional masculinities. Hence, I hypothesised that men who reported high scores on the masculinity scale would be more likely to report higher perceived gender role stress, acceptance of violence, would engage in more risky sexual and drinking behaviours, report higher levels of sensation seeking behaviour and display more hostility toward women, as compared to men who score low on the masculinity scale.

For the purpose of this study, traditional masculinities were conceptualised as behaviours that are learned through social interaction. The thesis therefore posited that male gender roles are learnt, bought-into, and then internalised (Ratele, 2003), and that the internalisation of these norms are influenced by the intersections of men's lives (Crenshaw, 1991). With the use of the Male Attitude Norms Inventory-III-Revised 38 (MANI-III-R38)²¹, the endorsement of traditional masculinities was measured as any behaviour or belief held by participants that

²⁰ The concept 'archetype' in this thesis primarily connotes traditional 'model' or 'standard' of masculinities.

²¹ The Male Norms Inventory-III-Revised 38 (MANI-III-R38) is a revision of the Male Norms Inventory-III (MANI-III) following the process of exploratory factor analysis. This process will be discussed further in this chapter.

indicate that certain masculine displays make a man more superior to women and other men. In relation to scores obtained on the MANI-III-R38, participants' risky behaviours (sexual attitudes and behaviours and alcohol use), hostile sexism (derived by the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory), gender role stress (using the Masculine Gender Role Stress scale), and acceptance of violence (using the Maudsley Violence Questionnaire) were measured and correlated. A more in-depth description and motivation for using these measures were discussed in the previous chapter (Research Methods).

In this chapter, demographic data is presented first in order to describe the sample. Second, an overview of risk-taking behaviours is presented. The data will provide an overview of the overall results and results indicating the differences between the two communities. Missing data is also presented. Describing the sample is then followed by a report and discussion on the exploratory factor analysis process which precedes further analysis. The chapter then reports on the empirical findings observed using the means (M) and standard deviation (SD) measures, frequencies (n) and percentages (%) to describe continuous and discrete variables respectively. To measure the reliability of the measurement scales I used Cronbach's (1951) alpha coefficient to measure psychometric properties, and considered alpha coefficients of greater than .60 sufficiently reliable (Field, 2005). Associations between the study variables and masculinity (as measured by the MANI-III-R38) were determined using bivariate correlation analyses. The bivariate correlation analysis examines the effect two variables have on each other. It is therefore expected that, "when one variable deviates from its mean...the other variable (similarly will) deviate from its mean in a similar way" (Field, 2005, p. 108, brackets added). The results of the bivariate analysis were then exposed to a Linear Regression Model so as to establish predictability. Variables showing significant univariate

(one criterion²² and one predictor variable) association with masculinity were entered in a multivariate (one criterion variable with several predictor variables) linear regression model sequentially to determine their unique contributions. For the demographic analysis, survey items that were not completed by participants were dealt with as ‘missing data’ or ‘non-response’. As a default function for the regression analysis model, all missing data was excluded by excluding participants who had missing scale scores from the analyses, listwise.

For the purpose of this study the significance level was set at 95% ($p = .05$) for all analyses. Collinearity between the independent/predictor variables was tested with measures of variance inflation factor (VIF), that indicates the level of the relationship between independent/predictor variables. Tolerance (Tol) statistics for each variable entered into each model were also assessed to curb collinearity. VIF values of greater than one would flag concern. Similarly, tolerance values of less than one would indicate collinearity (Field, 2005; Myers, 1990). All analyses were conducted in SPSS version 18 (SPSS Inc., Chicago, IL).

5.1 Results

5.1.1 Demographics and risk-taking behaviours

5.1.1.1 Demographics

For demographic characteristics, as an ethical requirement and as one of the study’s inclusion criteria, all participants were 18 years and older. The men’s ages ranged from 18 years to 72 years with a mean age of 33 years. More than half of the participants (53.3%) were aged between 18 to 30 years. Of the men who participated in the study, 32.3% ($n = 97$) reported that they were employed. The unemployment rate of this sample is measured at almost two

²² For the purpose of this thesis, the concepts of *Dependent, Criterion and Outcome Variable* will be used interchangeably to refer to *Masculinity Variable*.

thirds of the sample. The overall unemployment of 64% might be due to the fact that I collected data from the Delft area during working hours. For the Vlottenburg sample I was unable to access the participants during the day and had to administer the surveys in the evening as most of the men were farm workers and finished their shifts at five o'clock on week days. Thus, it could be assumed that the employment status of the overall sample may be skewed by the Delft sample's unemployment. However, as established earlier, the unemployment rate in Delft (the urban area) specifically stands at 40%. It could therefore be suggested that even if I opted to collect data from both participating communities during the evening, or even during weekends, the probability that I would have reached similar employment characteristics to the current sample is highly likely, as high rates of unemployment are characteristic of the Delft community. A more detailed look at unemployed men showed that men who were aged 18 to 30 were twice as likely to be unemployed compared to older men. Employment status amongst 18 to 30 year old men was rated at 66.9% (unemployed) compared to 30% (employed). Similarly, according to the Quarterly Labour Force Survey (QLFS, 2012), of the 4470 000 unemployed men in South Africa, 42% are men aged between 25 years and 34 years old. These statistics render the age range a particular vulnerable group regarding unemployment. For a more in-depth look at the employment data the QLFS (2012) can be consulted.

Fifty-eight per cent of the men reported that they were fathers, and almost half (46.3%) of the men reported being married or living together. For education, 12.3% of men reported obtaining an education level of grade five or less, and of the 261 participants who indicated their level of education, 15.7% (n = 47) graduated from high school and fewer than five per cent went on to higher education (3.7%). An unexpected finding yielded that only 13.7% (n = 41) of the men reported ever being part of a gang. As previously mentioned, the sample consisted of 150 participants from the Delft area and 150 participants from the Vlottenburg

area within the Western Cape. While the above discussion describes the overall sample, Table 1 also tabulates the similarities and differences between these communities. As can be observed in Table 1, although the two communities were similar in terms of demographic characteristics, three significant differences between these communities are apparent. These are employment status, marital status, and gang membership. Firstly, regarding employment rates, 56% of the participants from the Vlottenburg area reported being employed, with 8.7% reporting employment from the Delft sample. The difference in employment rates can be explained by the availability of work in farm areas as large numbers of workers are employed as unskilled and semi-skilled labourers even though the wages are meagre (De Lange & Faysse, 2005). In addition, as stated above, the discrepancy in the employment statuses of these groups could also have been affected by the fact that the research in Delft was conducted during work hours.

Secondly, regarding marital status, more participants from the Delft area reported being married than Vlottenburg (38.2% compared to 20.7%). However, more Vlottenburg participants indicated that, although they were not legally married, they lived with their partners (27.9% compared to 14.7%). Thirdly, the Delft sample indicated almost three times more lifetime participation as a gang member relative to the Vlottenburg men (22.1% compared to 8.4%). This was an expected finding as gangsterism is more common in urban township areas than in rural areas. However, the low overall number of men indicating lifetime gang membership could be perceived as a misrepresentation of lifetime gang-participation, especially in the Delft area, as gangsterism is rife in this area. This hypothesis suspicion was confirmed by the qualitative data, as will be discussed later. Other authors also found that when the unemployment rate in an area is high, boredom may encourage idleness, which in turn might influence gang related activities (Adhikari, 2005).

Although, overall education levels are the same and, thus, did not result in significant differences between the two communities, it is important to point out that the Vlottenburg education level of less than grade five is almost double that of the Delft sample. This can be attributed to the availability of unskilled farm work in the Vlottenburg area, indicating that the level of education, presumably, does not infringe on employment possibilities. In addition, urban areas like Delft often have better access to schooling facilities than rural areas like Vlottenburg. Vlottenburg has one primary school in the area, with no high (secondary) school within the community. The nearest high school is approximately ten kilometres away. Delft on the other hand, is furnished with at least one high and one primary school in each of the six sub-areas. With this description of the sample in mind, I turn my focus to reporting the risk-taking behaviours of the sample.

Table 1. Demographic characteristics of study participants (by community)

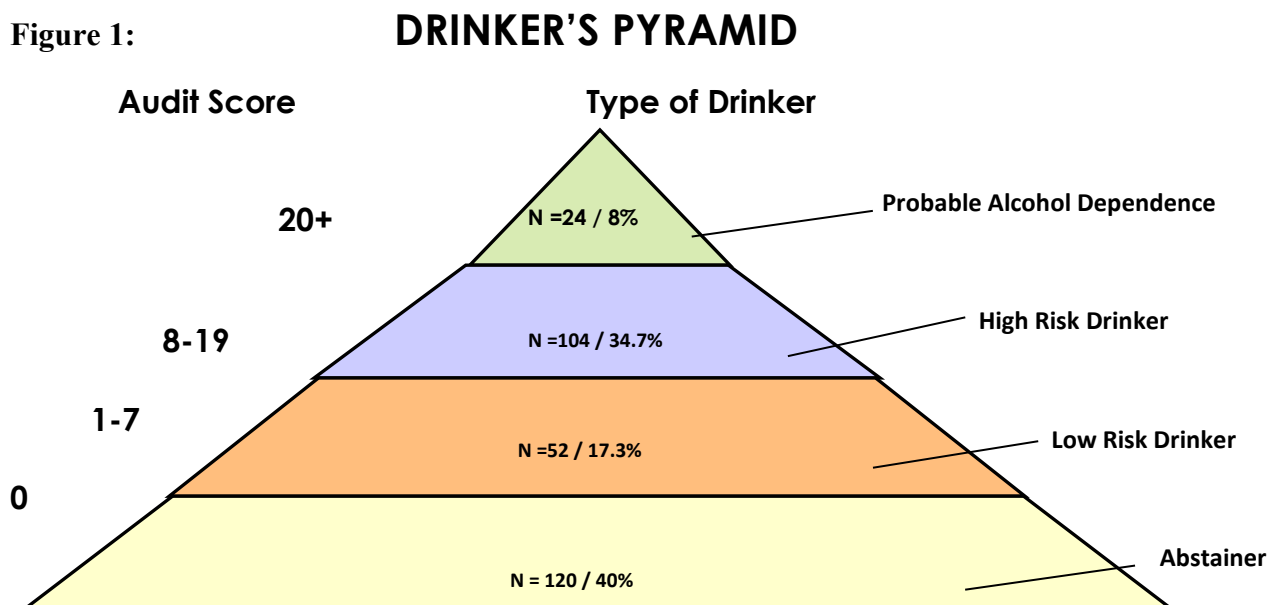
Variables	All participants Frequency (%)	Delft Frequency (%)	Vlottenburg Frequency (%)	Missing data Frequency (%)	Chi-square <i>p-value</i>
Age				14 (4.7)	.917
18-30	160 (53.3)	79 (54.9)	81 (57.0)		
31-50	98 (32.7)	51 (35.4)	47 (33.1)		
51+	28 (9.3)	14 (9.7)	14 (9.9)		
Highest level of education				39 (13)	.677
>Grade 5	37 (12.3)	15 (11.6)	22 (16.7)		
Grade 6 to grade 8	64 (21.3)	34 (26.4)	30 (22.7)		
Grade 9 to grade 11	102 (34)	53 (41.1)	49 (37.1)		
Grade 12 (Matric)	47 (15.7)	21 (16.3)	26 (19.7)		
College and beyond	11 (3.7)	6 (4.7)	5 (3.8)		
Employed (Yes)	97 (32.3)	13 (8.7)	84 (56.0)	11 (3.7)	.000
Marital status				24 (8)	.001
Yes Married	81 (27)	52 (38.2)	29 (20.7)		
No - Living together	59 (19.3)	20 (14.7)	39 (27.9)		
No - Not married	136 (45.3)	64 (47.1)	72 (51.4)		
Children (Yes)	175 (58.3)	82 (54.7)	93 (62.0)	10 (3.3)	.105
Gang member (Yes)	41 (13.7)	30 (22.1)	11 (8.4)	33 (11)	.002

5.1.1.2 Risk behaviours amongst participants

As established in the literature, the endorsement of traditional forms of masculinities has been deemed a catalyst for men's participation in displays of risk-taking behaviour (Kalichman et al., 2007; Leclerc-Madlala et al., 2009) and gender role stress (Hammond & Mattis, 2005). Six such risk behaviours were identified for the purpose of this study. These are risky drinking, risky sexual behaviours, hostile sexism, sensation seeking, acceptance of violence and gender role stress.

5.1.1.2.1 Risky drinking behaviours

The first risk behaviour that was considered, measured participants' alcohol drinking behaviour using the AUDIT scale. The AUDIT total scores range from 0 to 40. As noted in Chapter Four, the AUDIT measure yielded excellent reliability properties ($\alpha = .78$; $M = 15.46$; $SD = 6.915$; range 2 - 34). This indicates that most of the men scored more than eight, with a common score hovering around 15. For the purpose of illustrating the participants' AUDIT scores, the Drinkers Pyramid (Figure 1) below is a summary of the current study participants' drinking behaviours.



According to Saunders et al. (1993) most (50% and above) people abstain from alcohol. This is evident from the data as 40% of the men indicated that they never drank alcohol. Of those men who indicated that they drank alcohol 17.3% scored between 1 and 7, indicating that 52 men were ‘low risk’ drinkers; 34.7% of the men scored between 8 and 19, indicating that they were ‘high risk’ drinkers. Twenty four (8%) of the men scored 20 and above, and fall in the ‘probable alcohol dependence’ category. As shown in the drinker pyramid, a score of 8 to 19 indicates that the person is a high risk drinker.

Even though it has become evident that alcohol consumption throughout the Western Cape is a problem, semi-rural/rural (farm) areas experience alcoholism and by extension, fetal alcohol spectrum disorders (FASDs) to a greater extent compared to their urban counterparts (May et al., 2000).

Table 2. AUDIT scores of study participants (by community)

Variables	Delft Frequency (%)	Vlottenburg Frequency (%)	Chi-square <i>p-value</i>
AUDIT			.019
Low risk (1-7)	12 (16.2)	12 (11.3)	
High risk (8-19)	49 (66.2)	55 (51.9)	
Hazardous/Dependence (20+)	13 (17.6)	39 (36.8)	

Looking at the differences in drinking behaviour (Table 2) between the two communities, the data showed that Vlottenburg men scored significantly higher than Delft men with a significance value of .019. A closer look at the AUDIT categories yielded that similar results on the low and high risk drinking categories were obtained between the two communities. Regarding hazardous drinking or alcohol dependence, 36.8% of the Vlottenburg sample compared to 17.6% of the Delft sample scored 20 and more on the AUDIT scale.

Alcohol is readily available in both these areas, but as the Western Cape rural areas are mostly wine farms, and farm workers who consume cheap wine (off-cuts/rejects to the

international market) are common in these areas. Problem drinking among ‘coloured’ people, specifically those living in rural areas, is rooted in a particular feature of South African Apartheid policy implemented in agriculture. This policy was named the ‘dop system’ under the Liquor Act of 1928 (London, 1999). The ‘dop system’ as previously discussed, allowed farmers to pay a portion of farm workers’ wages with low grade alcohol.

Alcohol abuse among the ‘coloured’ people remains a salient social problem for this community. However, alcohol abuse is a global social issue which renders heavy drinkers more prone than lower risk drinkers to alcohol induced aggression (Giancola, 2006), and increases their likelihood to report higher levels of risk taking behaviour, specifically intimate partner violence (Hines & Straus, 2007), as well as risky sexual behaviours (Kalichman et al., 2007), amongst others. For the remaining five risky behaviours studied, I proceeded by reporting the psychometric properties of the measures for this sample of men, followed by a report and discussion of these results.

5.1.1.2.2 Risky sexual behaviours

The second risk behaviour commonly displayed when men perform traditional forms of masculinity, which I studied, was sexual risky behaviours (Kalichman, et al., 2007). Firstly, I studied *negative personal attitudes to high risk sexual behaviours*. I hypothesised that men who obtain high scores on this scale will be more likely to show attitudes that display high risk sexual behaviours. This measure yielded a reliability alpha of .65 (M= 9.8; SD= 2.903). The second scale measuring sexual behaviour examined participants’ *protective sexual behaviour*²³. I hypothesised that men who obtained high scores on this scale would be more likely to conform to behaviours that display high sexual protective behaviours (i.e. condom use). This measure yielded a reliability alpha of .74 (M= 6.04; SD= 2.954), with high scores

²³ These are behaviours that protect people from sexual risks such as unplanned pregnancy and contracting HIV and other sexually transmitted infections.

indicating *positive* sexually protective behaviour. Men who scored more than the mean score were considered as those with higher sexually protective behaviours.

In terms of sexual behaviours amongst these men in relation to *negative personal attitudes to high risk sexual behaviours*, the results recorded a mean score of 9.8 (SD= 2.903). This indicates that most of the men disapproved of the statements that endorsed negative personal attitudes to high risk sexual behaviours. For *protective sexual behaviours* a mean score of 6.04 (SD = 2.954) was obtained. This indicates that most of the men endorsed protective sexual behaviours. In reflecting on existing HIV data amongst the ‘coloured’ population, even though researchers have correlated heavy alcohol use with risky sexual behaviour and HIV infection (Morejele, 2005), researchers have struggled to make this link within ‘coloured’ communities. For example, as reported in both the 2005 and 2008 South African national surveys (see Shisana et al., 2005, 2009; also see Peltzer et al., 2011), it was consistently found that men have a higher frequency of heavy drinking than women, but lower HIV prevalence; ‘coloured’ adults have a higher frequency of heavy drinking than black-African adults, but lower HIV prevalence; residents of the Western Cape and Northern Cape (predominantly ‘coloured’ populations) have the highest frequencies of heavy drinking, but the lowest provincial HIV prevalence and incidence levels. Thus, it could be inferred that ‘coloured’ men might choose to practice sexually protective behaviours or refrain from sex when under the influence of alcohol, making the study results coherent with that of existing data. More light will be shed on sexual practices amongst ‘coloured’ men in the focus group discussions.

Table 3. Participants' risk and protective behaviours (all participants and by community)

Variables	Alpha coefficients	All participants Mean (SD)	Delft Mean (SD)	Vlottenburg Mean (SD)	t-test (<i>p</i> -value)
Sexual behaviour					
Negative personal attitude to high risk sexual behaviours Raw score range 5 - 20	.65	9.8 (2.903)	9.30 (2.463)	10.4 (3.189)	-3.054 (.002)
Protective sexual behaviour Raw score range 0 – 12	.74	6.04 (2.954)	5.93 (3.139)	6.15 (2.767)	-.615 (.539)
Hostile Sexism					
Raw score range 5 – 20	.63	11.8 (3.550)	11.7 (3.360)	11,9 (3.744)	-.326 (.745)
Sensation Seeking					
Raw score range 7 – 28	.80	12.4 (4.672)	12.4 (4.547)	12.4 (4.813)	129 (.897)
Acceptance of Violence					
MVQ Total Scale Raw score range 0 – 56	.92	22.7 (11.471)	21.95 (12.188)	23.46 (10.775)	.926 (.356)
MVQ-1 Machismo Raw score range 0 – 42	.92	15.6 (9.595)	14.92 (10.346)	16.26 (8.840)	1.009 (.314)
MVQ-2 Accept violence Raw score range 0 – 14	.60	7.3 (2.714)	7.35 (2.644)	7.18 (2.789)	-.516 (.606)
Masculine Gender Role Stress					
MGRS Total Scale Raw score range 0 – 200	.92	89.6 (35.671)	93,1 (37.787)	86.1 (33.155)	1.631 (.104)
MGRS-1 Physical Inadequacy Raw score range 0 – 45	.72	20,5 (9.103)	20.9 (9,454)	19.9 (8.736)	.952 (.342)
MGRS-2 Emotional Inexpressiveness Raw score range 0 – 35	.71	14.3 (7.613)	14.7 (7.525)	14.0 (7.712)	.748 (.455)
MGRS-3 Subordination to Women Raw score range 0 – 45	.74	18,5 (9.163)	19.3 (9.619)	17,6 (8.617)	1.627 (.105)
MGRS-4 Intellectual Inferiority Raw score range 0 – 35	.72	15.2 (7.705)	16.0 (7.905)	14.4 (7.422)	1.859 (.064)
MGRS-5 Performance Failure Raw score range 0 – 40	.73	21,2 (8.569)	21.9 (8.710)	20.4 (8.381)	1.569 (.118)

5.1.1.2.3 Hostile sexism

Hostile Sexism was the third risk behaviour measured. Participants responded on a five item – four point-Likert-like scale, their level of agreement or disagreement with items (e.g. “When women talk and act sexy, they are inviting trouble”). This scale yielded a reliability alpha of .63 (M= 11.8; SD= 3.550), with high mean scores representing higher levels of hostile sexism toward women. For the purpose of this analysis, mean raw scores greater than 10 were considered high hostile sexism (Glick & Fiske, 1996). Based on the results (211 of 286 participants), most of the participants agreed with statements indicating hostile sexism towards women. The hostile sexism results of this study are similar to those reported by other studies (Glick et al., 2000; Mthembu et al., 2014; Zawisza, Luyt & Zawadzka, 2012). For example: studying hostile sexism amongst students in Poland, Britain and South Africa, Zawisza, Luyt and Zawadzka (2012) found that South African men rated the highest. Similarly Glick et al. (2000) found that South African men scored the second highest hostile sexism scores.

5.1.1.2.4 Sensation seeking behaviour

The fourth scale consisted of seven items and measured *sensation seeking behaviour*. Participants were asked to choose options ranging from 1 (not at all like me) to 4 (very much like me), and possible total scale scores could range from 7 to 28. This scale delivered an alpha of .80 (M= 12.4; SD= 4.672). Kalichman and Cain (2004) received a similar reliability alpha ($\alpha = .83$) when studying sensation seeking as predictor of sexual risk behaviours in Milwaukee, United States. Further analysis showed that 41% of these men scored above the mean score.

5.1.1.2 .5 Acceptance of violence

The fifth measure focused on men's endorsement of violence. Using the 56-item Maudsley Violence Questionnaire (MVQ) (J. Walker, 2005), men were asked to indicate 'True' (scoring 1) or 'False' (scoring 0) to statements, thoughts and beliefs about when they deemed violent behaviour to be acceptable and justifiable. The total scale delivered an alpha coefficient of .92 ($M = 22.7$; $SD = 11.471$). This measure consists of two sub-scales. The first subscale is *Machismo* which consists of 42 items yielded an alpha of .92 ($M = 15.6$; $SD = 9.595$). *Acceptance of Violence*, sub-scale two, consists of 14 items and yielded an alpha equalling .60 ($M = 7.3$; $SD = 2.714$).

For the overall violence scale, 34% of the men rated above the mean of 22.74. This shows that most of the men rejected violence. For the first factor of the MVQ (*Machismo*), 47% of the men scored 15.62 and above. Almost half of the men rated high on the *Machismo* sub-scale, which could indicate that men approved of displays of physical strength and aggressive behaviour. Most (61%) of the men scored above the mean ($M = 7.27$) on the *Acceptance of Violence* sub-scale of the MVQ. This sample of men reported openly accepted and agreed with violent behaviours. Township residents specifically on the Cape Flats are greatly exposed to gang-related violence. Recent news reports reflect the existing crisis in communities such as Hanover Park, Lavender Hill and Manenberg. The continuous exposure to violence could have a desensitisation effect on people in these communities. The endorsement of violent behaviour by the men may therefore be a reflection of the reality of the environments in which they live and the level of violence they are exposed to.

It is important to highlight that the MVQ, is a Western scale. The South African context and its Apartheid history might have increased people's tolerance for violence, and questions referring to the acceptance of violence might have been seen as 'normal' in this context, for

example, a question like item 6 on the MVQ: “I enjoy watching violence on TV or in films”. While the scale assumes that the endorsement of this question indicates that the individual accepts violence, the participants might not have perceived that watching violence on television could translate into accepting violence, due to having been exposed to and desensitised by violence in their social context.

5.1.1.2.6 Masculine gender role stress

To measure gender role stress, the Masculine Gender Role Stress (MGRS) scale was employed. This 40-item instrument developed by Eisler and Skidmore (1987), measures men’s appraisal of situations they might view as emasculating, that in turn might be perceived by men as stress provoking. With relation to this sample, the scale obtained a reliability alpha of .92 (M= 89.6; SD= 35.671). The five sub-scale of the MGRS yielded excellent reliability alpha’s with *Physical Inadequacy* reporting $\alpha = .72$ (M=20.5; SD= 9.103); *Emotional Inexpressiveness* yielding $\alpha = .71$ (M= 14.3; SD= 7.613); *Subordination to Women* yielded a reliability alpha of .74 (M= 18.5; SD= 9.163); *Intellectual Inferiority* report and alpha of .72 (M= 15.2; SD= 7.705) and *Performance Failure* yielded an alpha of .73 (M= 21.2; SD= 8.569).

Most studies using the MGRS scale concentrate solely on the total scale scores obtained. An example of this can be seen in the work of Moore and Stuart (2005) and Gallagher and Parrott (2011). For the purpose of this analysis I looked at how participants scored on the sub-scales. An average of 51% to 54% of the participants perceived factors 1 through 5 (namely, physical inadequacy, emotional inexpressiveness, subordination to women, intellectual inferiority and performance failure) as medium to extremely stressful (those scoring above the respective mean scores). It could be assumed that most of these men

experienced failure to perform their expected gender roles particularly stress provoking (Thompson, Pleck & Ferrera, 1992).

Most of the measurement scales that I used yielded adequate alpha coefficients with this sample of men. This is indicated in the acceptable to excellent reliability alpha scores the scales achieved. Thus, it could be trusted that the measurement scales I used were reliable to test the constructs of interest. It is noteworthy however, to mention that the *negative personal attitudes to high risk sexual behaviours* ($\alpha = .65$; $M = 9.8$; $SD = 2.903$) and the *Hostile Sexism* ($\alpha = .63$; $M = 11.8$; $SD = 3.550$) scales consisted of only five items each. The limited number of items I argue had an influence on the borderline alphas the scales yielded (Cortina, 1993; Field, 2005). Likewise, the *Acceptance of Violence* ($\alpha = .60$; $M = 7.3$; $SD = 2.714$) also yielded a borderline alpha coefficient. As mentioned earlier, due to the violent landscape of South Africa, participants might not connect activities like watching violence on television as accepting violence, due to possible desensitisation to violence. Hence, using Cronbach's (1951) alpha coefficient to measure the psychometric properties of the scales I used, I considered alpha coefficients of .60 and greater sufficiently reliable (Field, 2005).

To gauge an understanding of the difference between risk behaviours amongst these men, an independent samples *t*-test was performed. Using the means of the scale scores obtained on these measures, this test helped determine whether the mean scores of the two communities were significantly different regarding the risk behaviours of interest. The results ascertained one statistically significant difference between the communities. The results shows that men from the Delft community ($M = 9.30$; $SD = .2.463$) scored significantly lower ($t = -3.054$, $p = .002$) on the *negative personal attitudes to high risk sexual behaviours* scale compared to the Vlottenburg community ($M = 10.4$; $SD = 3.189$). Thus it may be concluded that in this study, Vlottenburg men were more likely to agree with statements suggesting negative personal attitudes to high risk sexual behaviours compared to men from the Delft community. This

may be indicative of the results obtained on HIV attitude in the 2005 national health survey (Shisana et al., 2005), which suggested that urban populations report more positive attitudes toward people living with HIV compared to rural populations. By extension, this might suggest that urban areas are more exposed than rural areas to mediums which broadcast HIV and protective behaviours, like the television. I, therefore, suggest that exposure to knowledge about safer sex may have influenced the Delft men's reported lower *negative personal attitudes to high risk sexual behaviours*. These risk behaviours will be explored further during discussion of the qualitative phase of the study.

5.1.1.3 Masculinities

The concept of masculinities is multi-faceted in its definition. Similarly, measuring conformity to masculinity attitudes proves to be multi-dimensional in nature. For this reason, researchers cite different dimensions, factors, or sub/scales as important when measuring masculinities. As discussed in Chapter Four, Table 4 highlights four such measures, with dimensions ranging from three to eleven. The dimensions tabulated fit into three overarching theoretical constructs. Firstly, men should be able to 'control' every sphere of their lives. Secondly, is the importance for men to suppress any feeling or behaviour that is deemed feminine by society or rather, men are encouraged to show 'anti-femininity'. Thirdly, men are to display 'toughness' or violence when necessary.

For the purpose of this study, a revised version of Luyt's (2007) Male Attitude Norms Inventory-III (MANI-III) was used to measure conformity to or endorsement of traditional masculinity norms. As presented in Table 4, Luyt (2007) identified three dimensions that he considered salient for Afrikaans speaking participants. To my knowledge, this is the first study, after Luyt's use in his doctoral research (2007), to use the MANI-III; the current

sample, although Afrikaans speaking, was demographically different from Luyt's (2007) participants. Exploratory factor analysis was therefore considered a logical step.

Table 4. Four Masculinity scales, highlighting salient dimensions

Masculinity scales	Number of items	Dimensions
Male Role Norms Scale Thompson and Pleck (1986).	26	1. Toughness 2. Status 3. Anti-femininity
Male Role Norms Inventory Levant et al. (1992).	57	1. Aggression 2. Achievement / Status 3. Homophobia 4. Self-reliance 5. Attitude toward sex 6. Femininity avoidance 7. Restrictive emotionality
Conformity to Masculinity Norms Inventory Mahalik et al. (2003).	94	1. Winning 2. Emotional control 3. Risk-taking 4. Violence 5. Dominance 6. Playboy 7. Self-reliance 8. Primacy for work 9. Power over women 10. Disdain for homosexuals 11. Pursuit of status
Male Attitude Norms Inventory-III (Afrikaans) Luyt (2007).	48	1. Control 2. Status 3. Dependability

5.1.1.3.1 MANI-III exploratory factor analysis

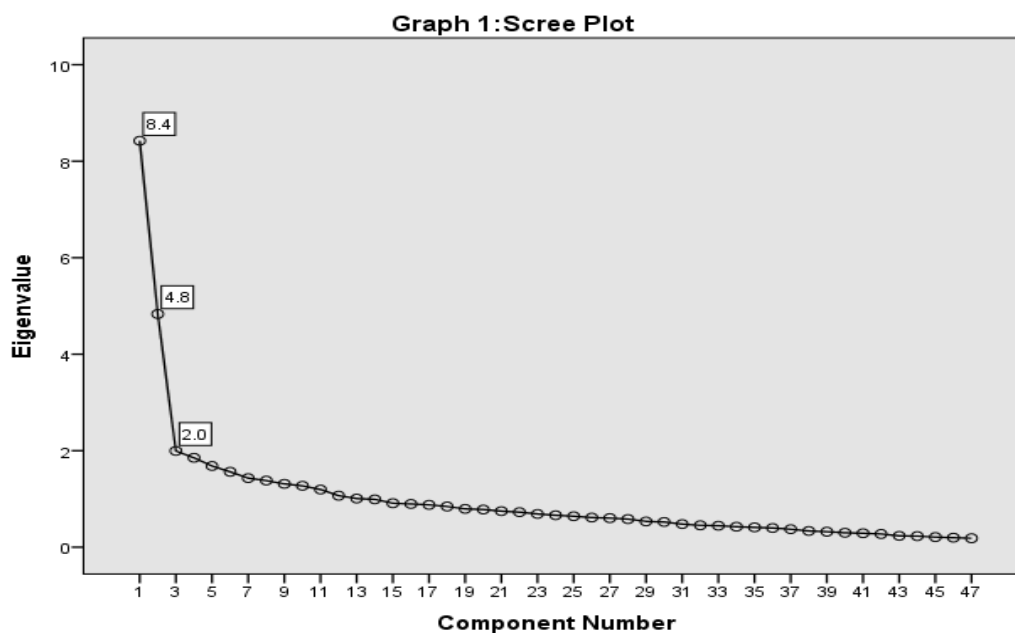
Exploratory factor analysis is a statistical method used to discover underlying dimensions or factors. Before attempting factor analysis, two preparatory steps were considered. One, the actual data were screened for inconsistencies and their suitability for factor analysis needed to be assessed. It is suggested that the sample size should be 300 or more for the analysis to be reliable (Field, 2005; Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001). The suitability and sampling adequacy of the sample can also be established with the help of a Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) measure.

This test calculates the “ratio of the squared correlation between variables to the squared partial correlation between variables,” which “varies between 0 and 1” (Field, 2005, p. 640). A KMO value of greater than .6 is considered suitable for yielding reliable factors. Two, it was important to assess the strength of the inter-item correlations. Doing so is imperative as it is assumed that the scale measures the same underlying construct (e.g. masculinity) albeit with the use of different subscales (e.g. factors). Thus, it is expected that all items strongly correlate with each other. Field (2005) and Tabachnick and Fidell (2001) suggests that scale items should be excluded from further analysis if correlation coefficients are close to zero or greater than .9. When items are too highly correlated ($R > .9$) it is difficult to determine their “unique contribution to a factor” (Field, 2005, p. 641). Prior to exploratory factor analysis (EFA), an internal reliability test was conducted on the full 48-item scale. This data yielded 202 valid cases, as participants who had missing MANI-III scores were excluded listwise. The 48-item scale displayed an excellent alpha of 0.89 ($M = 169.66$; $SD = 23.830$) (compared to Luyt’s $\alpha = 0.80$; $M = 117.27$; $SD = 14.03$).

The objective of EFA was to summarise the original data into factors or components that would (with the help of the subscales) shed light on the degree to which men conform to or endorse traditional masculinity norms. Thus, with this in mind, Principle Component Analysis (PCA) was best suited as it is concerned with “establishing which linear components exists within the data and how a particular variable might contribute to that component” (Field, 2005, p. 631). This process was also valuable in discerning which of the scale items needed to be excluded to increase the reliability alpha. Furthermore, even though the English version of the scale was user-friendly, some of the Afrikaans items were ambivalent and some items were phrased using double negatives. The use of double negative items (e.g. *not/nie*) can easily confuse respondents and are difficult to answer (Pershing,

2006; Neuman, 2000). Thus, EFA was imperative at this stage of the analysis to sift out troublesome items.

Component extraction was restricted to those displaying Eigen values greater than 1 and items that displayed factor loadings greater than 0.40 were retained. With the use of an oblique rotation method (direct oblimin – with the assumption that components are expected to correlate), 13 factors resulted. Results yielded an acceptable KMO of .79, but further scrutiny of the individual item KMOs suggested the exclusion of two items (less than .6) (Field, 2005). This was item: 8 “A father should not be embarrassed if he finds out that his son is gay.” and item 31 “A man should not feel embarrassed that his best friend is gay.” An internal reliability test was again conducted. This time, the two items with low individual item KMOs was excluded. The scale then consisted of 46 items. This data yielded an unchanged alpha ($\alpha=0.89$). Again EFA was conducted which yielded a KMO of .81 and still 13 components were extracted. Similar to Luyt’s (2007) EFA results, the Eigen value distribution identified in the scree plot (Graph 1) suggested the relevance of exploring a three factor model, as factors seemed to load highly on the first three components.



This time, component extraction was again restricted to those displaying Eigen values greater than one. Items that displayed factor loadings greater than 0.40 were retained and an oblique rotation method was again applied. The three extracted components explained a total item variance of 32.8%, with component 1 being responsible for 18.22%.

Component 1 extracted sixteen items with factor loadings greater than 0.40. This component illuminated the importance of men's social *Status* considering how men view themselves (e.g. item 15 "A man deserves the respect of his family." And item 30 "It is important for a man to be successful in his work."), and how men perceive they are viewed by those around them (e.g. item 6 "Being called a 'faggot' is one of the worst insults to a man."; item 9 "Men should appear confident in difficult situations."; and item 41 "Men should aim to have the respect and admiration of others"). The scale reliability coefficient (the internal consistency of the scale, measuring the degree to which the items of the scale measure what they claim to measure) displayed a great sub-scale alpha ($\alpha = .86$). The sixteen item sub-scale formed the *Status* sub-scale (M = 63.35; SD = 10.051).

For component 2, 12 items emerged which highlighted male *Superiority*. Being a 'real man' meant that a man needed to display superiority in terms of control over emotions (e.g. item 2 "If a man hurts himself he should try not to let others see he is in pain."); oppress 'inferior sexualities' (e.g. item 24 "It is wrong for a man to be seen in a gay bar." and item 34 "Gay men should be beaten-up."); and enforce the role of head of the family (e.g. item 32 "A man should make all the final decisions in the family."). This component may seem similar to Luyt's (2007) *Control* sub-scale, however, of the 12 items included in this study's *Superiority* sub-scale, only 4 items were the same as those loaded on Luyt's (2007) *Control* sub-scale. The *Superiority* sub-scale therefore, relates to a construct that measures more than masculine control. The scale reliability coefficient for this sub-scale also received an excellent alpha (α

= .83). The number of items in the *Superiority* sub-scale was twelve items (M = 38.07; SD = 9.426).

The third component loaded ten items. It is important to highlight that seven of the ten items in this component are reverse scored (see table 5 and 6 below). As suggested by Luyt (2007) these items suggest an alternative form of masculinity. These items call for a masculine archetype that performs a sense of valiance or bravado not ‘normally’ expected from a ‘real man’ (e.g. item 11 “Winning should not be important for men” and item 33 “A man’s success is not measured by what he owns”). Thus, agreement with these items might be considered contrary to traditional masculine norms. Again scale reliability testing displayed a strong alpha coefficient ($\alpha = .75$; M = 31.96; SD = 7.218), and the third dimension was then named the *Alternative Masculinity* sub-scale.

Table 5. MANI-III-R38

	Number of items	Score range	Alpha coefficients
Status	16	16 – 80	.86
Superiority	12	12 – 60	.83
Alternative masculinity	10	10 – 50	.75
MANI-III-R38	38	38 – 190	.89

In sum, a total of 38 items were retained from which three sub-scales evolved: *Status*, *Superiority* and *Alternative Masculinity*. The sum of the 38 items comprises the raw total score of the overall scale ($\alpha = .89$; M = 134.20; SD = 20.214). This measure will be used for further analysis and will be renamed MANI-III-R38. I will henceforth, consider the MANI-III-R38 as three (status, superiority and alternative masculinity) archetypes of masculine attitudes.

Table 6. Exploratory three-factor solution

ITEM CONTENT	Components		
	1	2	3
1. A man should prefer sports to needlework.	.463		
2. If a man hurts himself he should try not to let others see he is in pain.		.547	
3. A man should be able to provide for his family.	.647		
4. It is not important for a man to know a lot about sex.*		.646	
5. To be a man you need to be physically tough.		.554	
6. Being called a 'faggot' is one of the worst insults to a man.	.433		
7. A man should take a break from his responsibility to be with his friends.			
8. A father should not be embarrassed if he finds out that his son is gay.*			
9. Men should appear confident in difficult situations.	.543		
10. A true friend is someone who would fight by a man's side no matter what.	.512		
11. Winning should not be important for men.*			.499
12. Men should not be allowed to sleep intimately in the same bed together.			
13. Men should do work that earns them respect.			
14. A successful man should be able to live a comfortable life.	.550		
15. A man deserves the respect of his family.	.623		
16. Men who have small penises should not be self-conscious.*			.479
17. Men should accept that their work responsibilities might lead to ill health.			.557
18. Men who cry out-loud in public are weak.		.557	
19. Men who stay at home to clean and look after the children should be proud of what they do.*			.469
20. Men should feel embarrassed if they are unable to get an erection with a new sexual partner.			.432
21. A real man should not look for others to blame when things do not work out.	.542		
22. If a man is frightened he should try and not to let others see it.		.570	
23. It is not acceptable for a man to use physical force to get himself out of an unpleasant situation.			.486
24. It is wrong for a man to be seen in a gay bar.		.515	
25. A man should take the lead when something needs to be done.	.465		
26. A man need not plan well in advance for the future.*			.481
27. It is not always a man's task to protect his family.*			.557
28. It is important for men to be good in bed.	.470		
29. Men should be determined to do well.	.603		
30. It is important for a man to be successful in his work.	.632		
31. A man should not feel embarrassed that his best friend is gay.*			
32. A man should make all the final decisions in the family.		.578	
33. A man's success is not measured by what he owns.*			.507
34. Gay men should be beaten up.		.721	
35. Men should be able to remain focused even in difficult situations.	.700		
36. A man should back his friends up no matter what.			
37. Men should be able to kiss each other passionately without feeling ashamed.*			.541
38. A man's decision should not be questioned.		.435	
39. A man's decision should not be questioned.	.466		
40. Men should not feel embarrassed if they ejaculate before being able to make love.*			
41. Men should aim to have the respect and admiration of others.	.557		
42. If something goes wrong at work a man should be prepared to take the blame.			
43. It is wrong for men to call anyone a chick.*			
44. It is okay for men to lose their cool in frustrating situations.*		.572	
45. Men should be careful not to take unnecessary risks.*	.514		
46. It is not necessary for a man to love his sexual partner.		.666	
47. Gay men are not suited to many jobs.		.501	
48. A man should tell others when he is feeling depressed.*			

*Reversed-scored Items

5.1.1.4 Correlation and regression analysis

To examine the quantitative hypotheses of this dissertation, I first measured the level of endorsement of traditional masculinity amongst men. I hypothesized that more men in this sample will endorse traditional masculinity norms and therefore report high levels of endorsement, as compared to men who do not endorse traditional masculinity norms. The study considered *Masculinity* (as measured by the MANI-III-R38) scores above the mean score ($M = 134.20$; $SD = 20.214$) as high levels of endorsement. To measure masculinity endorsement amongst men, a one samples *t*-test was performed. The results showed that of the 215 valid cases (participants) ninety eight (46%) men reported *Masculinity* scores that were higher than the mean score. This finding indicates that *fewer* men scored above the *Masculinity* mean. I am therefore unable to confirm my hypothesis as the data suggests that more than half of the men ($n = 117$; 54%) reported lower levels of masculinity endorsement.

In terms of the *Masculinity* sub-scales, most men ($n = 135$; 54.8%) scored above the mean ($M = 63.35$; $SD = 10.051$) on the Status sub-scale. The Superiority subscale scores indicates that fewer men ($n = 128$; 48.3%) scored above the mean ($M = 38.07$; $SD = 9.426$). Similarly, the Alternative Masculinity subscale showed that fewer men ($n = 123$; 46.4%) scored above the mean ($M = 31.96$; $SD = 7.218$). The data therefore suggests that men are more likely to endorse a form of masculinity that is associated with social status and how they are viewed by those around them.

I then ascertained whether any associations exist between the endorsement of traditional masculinity norms (measured by the MANI-III-R38) and the extent to which men reported participating in risky behavioural practices (e.g. risky drinking, sex attitudes, sensation seeking, and hostile sexism), accept violence (measured by MVQ), and report perceived gender role stress (using the MGRS) for all men.

5.1.1.4.1 Bivariate correlations

Bivariate test of associations was used to determine the first level of analysis. Here the aim was to determine whether relationships existed between masculinity and the variables of interest. The use of a two-tailed test was motivated by the assumption that predicting the direction of these relationships was not important at this stage. Results indicated that the three MANI-III-R38 sub-scales were all correlated with the MANI-III-R38 total scale; with *Status* yielding a correlation coefficient of .729; *Superiority* ($r = .804$) and *Alternative Masculinity* reaching a coefficient of .782. All three of the MANI-III-R38 sub-scales were positively correlated to the MANI-III-R38 total scale. From this point on I will refer to the MANI-III-R38 as *Masculinity* (while still identifying the three sub-scales) as it is used to measure the construct of traditional masculinity.

Significant bivariate correlations were found between Masculinity and *Hostile Sexism* ($r = .457$), the total Maudsley Violence Questionnaire (MVQ) scale ($r = .264$), and the MVQ subscales *Machismo* ($r = .296$) and *Acceptance of Violence* ($r = .141$). No associations were found between Masculinity and risky drinking (AUDIT), sensation seeking, negative sex attitudes, protective sexual behaviour and the MGRS, including the five MGRS sub-scales. When looking at the three Masculinity sub-scales, *Status* yielded bivariate associations with *Hostile Sexism* ($r = .106$), *Negative sex attitudes* ($r = -.182$), the MGRS total scale ($r = .142$) including its fifth sub-scale *Performance Failure* ($r = .154$) and the *Acceptance of Violence* ($r = .138$) of the MVQ scale. The *Superiority* sub-scale showed significant bivariate correlations with *Sensation seeking* ($r = .227$), *Hostile Sexism* ($r = .522$), *Negative sex attitudes* ($r = .266$), the MGRS subscales, *Intellectual Inferiority* ($r = .157$) and *Performance Failure* ($r = -.199$), the total MVQ scale ($r = .349$), and the MVQ subscale *Machismo* ($r = .404$). *Alternative Masculinity* displayed significant bivariate coefficients with *Hostile Sexism* ($r =$

.370), *Physical Inadequacy* ($r = -.141$) and *Performance Failure* ($r = -.174$) of the MGRS, the total MVQ scale ($r = .194$), and the MVQ subscale *Machismo* ($r = .215$).

It was surprising that the AUDIT showed no correlations with any of the Masculinity constructs. The data suggested that risky drinking, although used excessively by these participants, did not influence their 'masculine performances' or influence their masculine behaviours as measured by the MANI-III-R38. *Protective sexual behaviour* also showed no associations with the *Masculinity* constructs. Similarly, the *Emotional Inexpressiveness*, and *Subordination to Women* sub-scales of the MGRS showed no associations with the *Masculinity* constructs.

To summarise the bivariate findings it was found that:

As *Masculinity* scores fluctuates men's reported *Hostile Sexism*, and *Acceptance of Violence* as measured by the total MVQ and its two sub-scales also fluctuated. The more men endorsed the *Status* archetype of *Masculinity* the more likely they were to report higher *Hostile Sexism*, gender role stress caused by anxiety around *Performance Failure*, and *Acceptance of Violence*. However, men who endorse *Status* as a traditional masculine archetype were more likely to report lower *Negative sex attitudes*. For this sample, the endorsement of the *Superiority* archetype encouraged higher *Sensation seeking behaviour*, *Hostile Sexism*, *Negative sex attitudes* and *Acceptance of Violence* measured by the MVQ total scale and the *Machismo* sub-scale. It was found that men who endorse *Superiority* were more likely to report lower gender role stress caused by anxiety around *Performance Failure*, but higher gender role stress caused by anxiety around *Intellectual Inferiority*. Men who endorsed characteristics that called for an *Alternative Masculinity*, reported higher *Hostile Sexism*, and surprisingly *Acceptance of Violence* measured by the MVQ total scale and the *Machismo* sub-scale. When men endorsed *Alternative Masculinity* they were more likely to report lower gender role stress caused by anxiety around *Physical Inadequacy* and *Performance Failure*.

Table 7: Bivariate correlations

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
MANI-III-R38Masculinity - 1	1																	
MANI-III-R38 Status - 2	.729**	1																
MANI-III-R38Superiority - 3	.804**	.298**	1															
MANI-III-R38Alternative - 4	.782**	.357**	.591**	1														
AUDIT - 5	-.014	-.053	.044	-.010	1													
Sensation seeking - 6	.110	-.045	.227**	.112	.018	1												
Hostile Sexism - 7	.457**	.160*	.522**	.370**	.078	.191**	1											
Negative sex attitudes - 8	.076	-.182**	.266**	.108	.194*	.259**	.168**	1										
Protective sex behaviour - 9	.022	-.063	.096	-.024	-.092	.024	.033	.111	1									
MGRS Total Scale - 10	-.031	.142*	-.040	-.064	.096	.047	.024	-.067	.046	1								
MGRS Physical Inadequacy - 11	-.068	.044	-.048	-.141*	.124	.072	-.004	-.012	.137*	.757**	1							
MGRS Emotional Inexpressive - 12	-.034	-.067	.117	-.063	.075	.076	.130*	.013	.121	.663**	.613**	1						
MGRS Subordination Women - 13	.011	.008	.107	-.075	.027	.153**	.110	.010	.103	.734**	.675**	.719**	1					
MGRS Intellectual Inferiority - 14	.085	.065	.157*	-.010	.095	.121*	.109	.034	.108	.706**	.642**	.658**	.746**	1				
MGRS Performance Failure - 15	-.134	.154*	-.199**	-.174**	.081	.098	-.062	-.105	.042	.680**	.733**	.466**	.582**	.589**	1			
MVQ Total Scale - 16	.264**	.025	.349**	.194**	-.027	.227**	.279**	.112	.199**	.261**	.260**	.357**	.377**	.348**	.134	1		
MVQ Machismo - 17	.296**	-.001	.404**	.215**	.000	.248**	.303**	.154*	.188**	.230**	.247**	.386**	.385**	.359**	.079	.982**	1	
MVQ Accept Violence - 18	.141*	.138*	.081	.032	-.078	.132*	.042	-.036	.150*	.237**	.272**	.184**	.266**	.293**	.275**	.749**	.611**	1

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)

5.1.1.4.2 Linear regression

Further analysis used a Linear Regression Model to gauge whether any of the predictor variables could significantly predict, *Masculinity* from those variables that showed significance in the bivariate analysis (Table 7). The Linear Regression Model yielded significant analysis of variance ($p = .001$), which suggests that the model is a good predictor of the outcome variable (*Masculinity*). Firstly, univariate analysis was performed. This method is used to predict the relationships using one predictor variable.

Univariate analysis showed significant associations between *Masculinity* and education: specifically men who reported having a level of education of less than grade eight scored significantly higher on the *Masculinity* scale as compared to men who reported an education level between grades 9 to 11. *Hostile Sexism* delivered a very significant result of $p = .001$. Both *Machismo* ($p = .001$) and *Acceptance of Violence* ($p = .05$), of the Maudsley Violence Questionnaire yielded significant results. Of the five Masculine Gender Role Stress subscales, *Performance Failure* (0.05) showed significance. These variables showing significant associations on a univariate level were then entered in a multivariate regression model.

With multivariate analysis, I was able to detect the unique relationships between *Masculinity* as the outcome and the study predictor variables. Variables showing significant associations on the multivariate level were considered to be salient predictors of high conformity to masculinity. Thus, as presented in Table 8, men who indicated high *Hostile Sexism* ($p = 0.001$) were more likely to score high on the *Masculinity* scale (as measured by the MANI-III-R38) as compared to participants who indicated low *Hostile Sexism*. With reference to this sample, it can be concluded that hostile sexism amongst men is a salient predictor of conformity to traditional masculine norms. Thus, men who held hostile sexist ideals about women were

more likely to conform to traditional masculinity norms as compared to men who were less sexist toward women.

Table 8. Univariate and multivariate linear regression models of determinants/predictors of Masculinity

Model	Univariate model		Multivariate model			
	B (S.E.)	Sig.	B (S.E.)	Sig.	TOL	VIF
<i>Community</i>						
Delft (Ref)						
Vlottenburg	0.81 (2.76)	0.77	3.96 (4.23)	0.35	0.542	1.844
<i>Age</i>						
18 - 30 (Ref)						
31 - 50	2.26 (2.91)	0.44	-2.80 (4.12)	0.50	0.584	1.711
51>	5.71 (4.70)	0.22	-5.35 (6.33)	0.40	0.711	1.407
<i>Employment</i>						
Yes	-4.84 (2.86)	0.09	-2.32 (4.40)	0.60	0.556	1.800
No (Ref)						
<i>Children</i>						
Yes	4.63 (2.81)	0.10	0.034 (4.30)	0.99	0.571	1.751
No (Ref)						
<i>Education</i>						
Less than Gr 5	10.43 (4.32)	0.017	10.30 (5.70)	0.07	0.756	1.324
Gr 6 - 8	9.01 (3.33)	0.008	6.40 (4.72)	0.18	0.714	1.401
Gr 9 - 11 (Ref)						
Matric/Grade 12	-6.60 (3.57)	0.07			0.661	1.514
College and beyond	-5.44 (6.52)	0.41			0.870	1.149
<i>Marital status</i>						
Married - Yes	4.02 (3.07)	0.19			0.481	2.080
Living together	0.57 (3.34)	0.86			0.659	1.518
Married - No (Ref)						
<i>Gang membership</i>						
Yes	2.93 (3.86)	0.45			0.871	1.148
No (Ref)						
<i>Audit</i>						
Low risk	1.88 (4.38)	0.67			0.983	1.018
High risk (Ref.)						
Hazardous/Dependence	1.82 (4.23)	0.67			0.983	1.018
Negative Sex Attitude	2.70 (2.49)	0.28			1.000	1.000
Protective Behaviour	0.15 (0.49)	0.76			1.000	1.000
Sensation Seeking	3.46 (2.16)	0.11			1.000	1.000
Hostile Sexism	12.72 (1.72)	0.001	12.13 (2.64)	0.001	0.672	1.488
<i>MVQ</i>						
MVQ-Machismo	0.62 (0.16)	0.001	0.17 (0.27)	0.54	0.425	2.351
MVQ-Accept Violence	1.07 (0.54)	0.05	0.54 (0.91)	0.55	0.454	2.203
<i>MGRS</i>						
MGRS-Total Scale	-0.82 (2.34)	0.69				
MGRS-Physical Inadequacy	-1.33 (1.36)	0.33				
MGRS-Emotional Inexpressive	-0.64 (1.30)	0.62				
MGRS-Subordination Women	0.21 (1.35)	0.87				
MGRS-Intellectual Inferiority	1.55 (1.26)	0.22				
MGRS-Performance Failure	-2.44 (1.27)	0.05	-2.50 (1.56)	0.11	0.751	

Dependent/Criterion Variable: Masculinity; Note : B = Regression coefficient ; S.E. = Standard Error ; Sig. = Significance p= <.05 or p=<.01 ; VIF = Variance Inflation Factor ; TOL = Tolerance ; Ref. = Reference category

5.2 Summary

In this chapter I examined and reported on two study hypotheses. Firstly, I measured men's endorsement of traditional constructions of masculinities. Secondly, I examined the relationship between men's endorsement of traditional constructions of masculinities, and their attitudes and behaviours in terms of their perceived gender role stress, their acceptance of violent behaviours, their participation in risky sexual and drinking behaviours, their sensation seeking behaviours, and hostility toward women. With the use of the MANI-III-Afrikaans (Luyt, 2007) I calculated men's level of endorsement of masculinity which values control, status and dependability.

The current study found that relative to Luyt's (2007) findings, the current analysis shows the emergence of three different constructs of masculinity. The current study participants valued masculine characteristics which included status, superiority and alternative masculinity. This dissimilarity between the two studies may be the result of the difference in the demographic variance of the study participants. Luyt's (2007) participants were reasonably younger and better educated than my participants. Luyt (2007) also focused on developing a linguistically sound masculinity measure whereas my study was more focused on the intersection between race and the performances of masculinities. It was therefore, expected that the salient constructs of masculinities will differ from those found to be salient in Luyt's (2007) sample.

Furthermore, the first hypothesis asserting that most men endorse traditional masculinity norms was not supported by the data. On the contrary, more men reported lower levels of endorsement of masculinity. However, it was found that men scored higher on the Status subscale. This may suggest that men support masculine norms that encourage men to be successful, confident and heterosexual. The second hypothesis investigates risky drinking and risky sexual behaviours, hostile sexism, sensation seeking, acceptance of violence and

gender role stress as these behaviours were suggested to have salient influences on masculine performance in the literature. The findings based of the Linear Regression Model used, suggest no predictive associations between conformity to traditional masculinity norms and risky drinking and risky sexual behaviours, sensation seeking, acceptance of violence and masculine gender role stress, on a multivariate level of analysis. However, at a bivariate level of analysis the endorsement of masculinity was associated with hostile sexism and violence. This may suggest that men's hostile sexist attitudes towards women and men's acceptance of violence are associated with their endorsement of traditional masculinity norms or versa visa. Further scrutiny of the data at a univariate level of analysis suggested that men who endorsed traditional masculinity norms were more likely to report an education level of less than grade 9; more likely to report stress associated with gender role performance failure, machismo, acceptance of violence and hostile sexism.

Both the bivariate and univariate levels of analysis consider the associations between the dependent/criterion variable (masculinity) and the independent/predictor variable/s (risk behaviour). The Linear Regression Model, progress further than highlighting associations, it attempts to model the relationship between masculinity and the predictor variables. Therefore, although the Linear Regression Model failed to show a relationship with most of the predictor variables at a multivariate level, it was found that high endorsement of masculinity was related with hostile sexism towards women at a multivariate level of analysis. As such, the study results suggests that even though there is an association between the endorsement of traditional masculinity norms and men with low levels of education; men who report gender role performance stress and men who show machismo and accept violence, it is only hostile sexism that can predict the endorsement of traditional masculinity norms, amongst this sample of men.

Hostile sexism is in essence sexist ideals that stem from gender stereotypes that maintain the superiority of men over women (Guttentag & Secord, 1983). Thus, it can be deduced that the enactment of traditional masculinities is fraught with attitudes of hostility toward women. This finding is supported by hooks' (1994) argument that marginalised men often use sexism as a vehicle to maintain power over women. The question that arises then is how can men still 'be men' without also displaying attitudes of hostile sexism? Johnson's (2010) work on marginalised black male identity concluded that the only way black men can get rid of their sexist attitudes toward women, is to "redefine their ideas about male identity" (p. 182).

Even though experts have shown that conformity to traditional masculine norms is linked to an increase in risky behaviours amongst men, a possible implication of these findings suggests that although these men showed high levels of hostile sexism, they displayed reasonably 'mild' forms of other risk behaviours typically associated with men who endorse notions of traditional masculinity. Further explorations of these findings will be facilitated by a thematic analysis of the qualitative focus group data, which is presented in the following chapters.

Inferences deduced from the quantitative findings of this study should be considered in light of its limitations. Firstly, even though the original masculinity scale (the MANI-III) is a locally developed instrument, the present study is the first (to my knowledge) after Luyt's use in his PhD research (2007) to use the instrument. Thus, further validation of the scale is necessary. Secondly, for the development of the MANI-III, Luyt (2007) did not consider race as particularly salient as he focused on developing linguistically sound masculinity measurements. Luyt (2007) also acknowledged that his study participants were "disproportionately young and well educated" (p. 239). Thus, in light of the 'newness' of the MANI-III scale and the limited level of education of the current sample, the study results

should be considered as a novel experimentation of Luyt's MANI-III scale, focusing on masculine norms as it relates to race.

Furthermore, I primarily relied on self-report measures for all of the assessments in this study. This method, although anonymous, left room for participants to subjectively report personal behaviours and attitudes. This may possibly have been as a result of social desirability bias²⁴ as the participants may have felt the need to exclude behaviours or attitudes that society deems 'socially inappropriate'. The study results may also have been influenced by the literacy level of participants. Although the questionnaire was translated into their home language (Afrikaans), the vernacular used for translation (predominantly spoken by white Afrikaans speakers) and the low levels of education might have had an impact on my participants' understanding of the survey questions.

Therefore, the findings cannot be considered as generalisable to all 'coloured' men in these communities. Nevertheless, the study results provide valuable information regarding the social context in which 'coloured' masculinities in the two participating Cape Town communities are situated. The main study results found that men who conform to traditional masculinity norms are more likely to display hostile sexism toward women, compared to men who report less conformity to masculinity norms. This relationship is further explored in the qualitative chapter.

²⁴ Social Desirability Bias (SDB) is the tendency of participants to respond to survey questions in a way they (participants) think is socially appropriate. Thus, some participants often are not truthful about sensitive issues like their sexual behaviours.

CHAPTER SIX

THE CHRONICLES OF MARGINALISATION

The aim of this thesis was to study the influences of masculinity roles on risk behaviours and gender role stress amongst marginalized ‘coloured’ men. Chapter Five presented the quantitative findings which suggest that most men in the sample endorse masculinity norms that value status and men who endorse traditional masculinity are more likely to show sexist hostility toward women. The qualitative section aimed to situate the context of men’s lives and how the endorsement of masculinity roles takes shape through men’s risk-taking behaviours and the experience of gender role stress. Furthermore, I explored common masculinity roles amongst marginalised ‘coloured’ men in Cape Town. Here the study particularly considered men’s subjective understandings of what it means to be a man; how in their own understanding of masculinities they either affirmed or resisted gendered expectations and how gender expectations are fulfilled in their marginalised contexts. I also explored how different forms of risk behaviours are displayed to protect masculine identities.

The data used for this analysis were fourteen focus group discussions that I facilitated in two Cape Town communities; with seven focus groups per community. The men who consented to participate in this part of the study were 108 working-class ‘coloured’ men, who were aged 18 years and older. Using transcribed focus group data, I was able to elucidate patterns of collective behaviour, attitudes, and perceptions about lived experiences of traditional masculinity that men shared during these discussions.

The focal question presented to the men, as an introduction to our main discussion on performances of ‘coloured’ masculinity in their communities, was; “What would you say are the types of problems here?” This broad question helped to gauge from men’s talk what they

saw as social concerns for their communities. This chapter, therefore, draws on themes relevant to describing the context in which ‘coloured’ masculinity is performed. The chapter which follows will make meaning of men’s talk about the constructions of traditional masculinity as performed within this community setting. For this chapter (Chapter Six), three dominant themes emerged. These were *consciousness of marginalisation*, *marginalisation as unemployment* and *consequences of marginalisation*.

As marginalisation emerged as salient from men’s talk, I discovered patterns which suggest that these men position themselves, their race group and their communities as marginal in relation to ‘others’ in the greater Cape Town and South African communities. Through men’s talk, it becomes clear that the ubiquity of unemployment renders their performances of manhood and personhood at the periphery of their community and of their homes. Furthermore, as also demonstrated through the narratives of men’s everyday life experiences, substance abuse dependency, different forms of violence and social exclusion are some of the consequences men face for being situated on the margins.

6.1 Consciousness of marginalisation: Being ‘coloured’

It is a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at one’s self through the eyes of others, of measuring one’s soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity.

—W.E.B. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folks* (1989 /1903:3)

Reflecting on the literature discussed in Chapters One and Two, ‘colouredness’ is said to be an identity that is marked by stigma associated with shame, complicity, and a sense of ‘not-good-enough-ness’ even in post-Apartheid South Africa (Adhikari, 2005; Erasmus, 2001). Considering stigma, Dovidio, Major and Crocker (2003) suggested that stigma is a concept that is socially constructed and situational. For these scholars, stigma is shaped by the culture and history of a society. Thus, what is perceived as stigma in one community or at one time

may not transcend time and space. Rather, the stigmas that prevail about a certain group are located in essentialist stereotypes that have been patterned over time (Ainlay et al., 1986; Dovidio et al., 2003; Goffman, 1963; McGarty, Yzerbyt & Spears, 2002). This view is relevant as common stigmas about ‘coloured’ people have prevailed over time (Adhikari, 2005).

This theme discusses the pervasiveness of racial stigmas about ‘coloured’ people, and further demonstrates that men’s awareness of these stigmas contributes to their marginalisation. Based on men’s talk, the stigmas they experience stem from attitudes and beliefs about their racial identity. Race is one of the most robust factors associated with social deprivation and displacement in South Africa. Public rhetoric about ‘colouredness’ embodies ambivalence around ‘being ‘coloured’’ and the social context in which ‘coloured’ masculinities are performed. For instance when public speech-making (i.e. comments of Jimmy Manyi²⁵ and Khuli Roberts²⁶) perpetuates an essentialised form of ‘colouredness’ that, like Apartheid policies, threatens ‘coloured’ people with displacement and a sense of shame about what ‘colouredness’ represents in the public sphere, then ‘coloured’ identity may be threatened. Thus, ‘being ‘coloured’’ or ‘colouredness’ is seen to signify a sense of collective heritage, that is riddled with various prejudices as these men reported:

Extract 1: Delft Group 5

P4: If you go into the shop. Do you know how people look at you?

P1: Watch that [laughing] three securities follow you. Especially in the mall. The security will walk behind you. You did not do anything, but just because you look like this. They look at your face.

P2: /.../²⁷ We get put-down /.../

²⁵ Jimmy Manyi was the president of the Black Management Forum, in 2011 when he stated in a media interview that there is an ‘over supply of Coloureds’ in the Western Cape. He further mentioned that they (Coloureds) should move to the Limpopo Province.

²⁶ Khuli Roberts’ is a South African television personality and fashion journalist. Her article (Jou ma se kinders, 2011) draws on common stereotypes of Coloured women and suggested that Coloured women are vulgar sex ravens, who are no strangers to drugs.

²⁷ /.../ - This sign indicates missing text.

P4: That is their way to get rid of us 'coloureds'.

In Extract 1 above, men reported intense surveillance when they were in public spaces, "because of the way you look". Talk about being implicated as a possible 'threat' or a criminal by 'others' found common place in men's talk:

Extract 2: Vlottenburg Group 7

P8: Yesterday, my friend and I came walking down. So the police came. On the other side of the road there are whites with bicycles. The police jumped straight to us. They jump for us not for the 'whites'; to search them. /.../ That's wrong.

This talk demonstrates the pervasiveness of the stereotypes that prejudice 'coloured' bodies and the public discourse of 'colouredness' in these communities. As discussed in Chapter Two, the Population Registration Act of 1950 was informed by a subjective process which gave Apartheid Home Affairs officials the authority to determine an individual's racial identity. The body or how others positioned 'coloured' bodies was the primary signifier of racial categorization during this process. In reflecting on Extract 2, I agree with Marais (2005) who suggests that even today the body is still a crucial signifier of identity. Furthermore, Marias (2005, p. 21) states that "... the discourse of race not only reduces the body of the individual coloured person to a material sign of racial difference, but also inscribes a history of shame on that body". For these men then 'shame' might be experienced in terms of miscegenation, but even more so as a consequence of marginalisation due to their impoverished communities (Erasmus, 2001; Millin, 1924). I would, therefore, suggest that these men's talk about their identity might not be indicative of their acceptance or approval of the prevailing ideologies about 'colouredness' (i.e. being perceived as criminals) but may be because they are aware that 'others' perceive them as such.

In addition, the suggestion in Extract 1 that 'they' want to "get rid of us 'coloureds'" shows the use of metaphor to position the self as socially excluded. Political discourses continue to contribute to the instability of 'colouredness' as this identity is equated to marginalisation and social exclusion (Adhikari 2005; Alexander 2007; Hammett 2008, 2009).

Moreover, men talked about ‘colouredness’ as a devalued identity in the South Africa context:

Extract 3: Delft Group 5

P7: /.../ Apartheid is not out. They just look at us as thieves. Sometimes a person regrets being a ‘coloured’. They just think we are thieves. /.../

P2: That’s the truth. It does not matter who you are they look at you as a thief. As long as you have the mark of a ‘coloured’...it stuck...it sticks to you.

Existing stereotypes about ‘colouredness’ penetrate much deeper than mere assumptions about phenotypes. Men’s talk demonstrates that their views about ‘coloured’ identity were influenced by the reactions of ‘others’ towards them. In the above excerpt men suggested that their racial identity was like a “mark” that “sticks to you”. These words reflect men’s sense of ‘shame’ about their racial identity. Here men designated ‘coloureds’ as ‘less’ in value than other groups. What also emerged from men’s talk was that the ‘devalued’ or ‘spoiled’ identity associated with ‘colouredness’ appeared to have been internalised by men as a social identity (Crocker, Major and Steele, 1998; Dovidio et al., 2003; Goffman, 1963). The stereotypes about ‘colouredness’ may have been internalised by these men as they attempted to negotiate their ‘freedom’ from the preconceptions about their identity through their talk. Suggesting that ‘colouredness’ “sticks to you” may imply that stigma experienced by these men, was ubiquitous. Their characters were clustered in a collective identity, which was perceived in a negative light by ‘others’. This talk also reflects perceptions of double-consciousness, according to Du Bois (1903; 1989), who suggested that stigmatised groups are aware of how they are evaluated by others. This awareness he argued causes an identity crisis amongst stigmatised groups who use the same, often illogical, means to measure themselves. In their awareness of how ‘colouredness’ was evaluated, I propose that these men graded themselves and their identity as ‘devalued’ and, therefore, contested the societal rhetoric about ‘coloured’ identity. Crocker and Quinn (2003) term this double-consciousness the

“looking-glass self”. These authors posit that “we come to know ourselves...through the reactions of others to us (p. 155).

Some authors suggest that negative stereotypes about a devalued social identity may have serious penalties for men who occupy these spaces (Heatherton, Kleck, Hebl & Hull, 2003; Crocker & Quinn, 2003). Being perceived in terms of prejudiced notions of what it means to be a ‘coloured’ man, may therefore infringe on the achievement of ‘successful’ or ‘productive’ masculinity; men’s livelihood and social identities (Jensen, 2006). Furthermore, the pervasiveness of existing stereotypes about ‘colouredness’ continue to segregate these urban spaces from more affluent spaces. These stereotypes remain as perspectives of ‘otherness’ as it is frequently reiterated and reaffirmed in public rhetoric (Hook, 2005). Being ‘ill-perceived’ by others evokes feelings of shame and regret that may cause men to experience ambivalence about being ‘coloured’. This ambivalence may have its origin in the ‘in-between-ness’ of their social positioning and the active effort to rid themselves of the prevailing stigma associated with ‘colouredness’ (Bhabha, 1984; 1994). Again, a sense of ‘shame’ about ‘colouredness’ and what ‘being ‘coloured’’ represents is inferred (Erasmus, 2001). From this discussion it can be assumed that men believed that they were rendered ‘guilty by association’.

In the following excerpts men further draw on ideas about stigmatized ‘colouredness’ by referring specifically to the ways in which they are treated by the police. The discussion below reflects men’s reaction to incidents of police harassment.

Extract 4: Vlottenburg Group 7

P4: If we stand up for that it almost like ‘what you talking about you ‘hotnot?’

P6: The one ‘hotnot’ say that to the other one. Because he thinks now that he is a white man cause he has a badge on his chest and he has power with him. But now what power, that his job...he uses it not like he is supposed to. He misuses it. Now what does he make of me that is a citizen? He forces me to measure him also man. Now I will go out of my way to give him work to do.

Referring to others as 'hotnot'²⁸ has become a derogatory term and its use is therefore prohibited by the South African constitution. Here, the term 'hotnot' was used to refer to 'coloured' people as a form of retaliation against harassment. Men's invoking of this derogatory term (hotnot) for 'all' 'coloured' people serves as a reminder of a shared 'colouredness', and as suggested earlier reflects some level of internalisation of an identity that has become devalued. In this case, the term was used to remind 'coloured' police officers who think they are 'white' of their 'real' identity.

In this discussion, the men also drew on ideas of 'whiteness' and racial privilege – referring to the 'coloured' policemen who 'think they are white'. Statements such as these are entangled in the 'shame' discourses around 'colouredness' (Adhikari, 2005; Anderson, 2009; Erasmus, 2001). 'Coloured' people have often experienced 'shame' imposed upon them by Apartheid policies, which categorised 'coloureds' as impure and of mixed race (Erasmus, 2001). 'Whiteness', for these men possibly symbolises privilege associated with access to resources. In bestowing 'whiteness' on these 'coloured' policemen, men could simply be drawing on Apartheid discourses, where 'coloured' people were motivated to 'pass for white' in order to have access to the privileges associated with 'whiteness'. On the other hand, and probably more realistically, these men could be drawing on local perspectives about the continuing hierarchies of race.

When men suggested that 'coloured' policemen want to be 'white' they assumed a context in which 'coloured' civilian men are inferior to 'coloured' police men - almost a master-slave relationship. The idea that these police men wanted to be seen for what they are not also suggests that the men disagreed with the public performances of 'coloured' police men.

²⁸ The European immigrants who colonised the Khoikhoi, the local indigenous people, labeled them Hottentots. This was in imitation of the sound of the Khoekhoe vernacular. Today the term 'Hottentot' or 'hotnot' as commonly used, is considered derogatory ("[Bring Back the 'Hottentot Venus'!](#)". Web.mit.edu. 1995-06-15. Retrieved 2012-08-13).

Further, the extract above suggests that participants often showed resistance to police by intentionally displaying criminal behaviour to give the police a reason to treat them badly. This might be because these men rationalised that such behavioural displays were expected of ‘coloured’ men. On the other hand, it may have been a way for the men to disrupt the status quo and enforce their own sense of ‘power’ by initiating the ill-treatment.

All of the groups shared similar encounters with the police. The negative impact of the harassment men experienced from the police was also discussed as potentially damaging for men:

Extract 5 Delft Group 6

P3: The other challenge is the police. /.../. The way they treat you is not right. /.../

P8: The one who carries the gun [referring to criminals in their community] they allow to pass, but, because you look guilty they search you. This is what makes me fed-up.

P2: Because you stand and chat on the [street] corner then they come here. Then they want to search you in front of the people. That’s not nice. Here everyone must see you get searched. /.../. Now your girlfriend’s mother doesn’t want you to see her anymore...

[Group Agreeing]

P2: Because now you are a criminal. You are a threat now. Then you are innocent.

The way these men talked about how they were treated by the police highlights the abuse of power by the police in the community. The group in Extract 5 talked about the fact that when a man in their community is apprehended by the police (whether innocent or guilty), he runs the risk of being stigmatised and ostracised by community members; so much so, that “your girlfriend’s mother doesn’t want you to see her anymore”. In this sense it may be suggested that experiences of police brutality may diminish men’s image amongst their peers in the community, but also may have rendered them helpless and emasculated. Police brutality was one of the biggest problems men in these neighbourhoods faced. The following quotes provide further evidence of police harassment experienced by the men in these communities.

Extract 6: Delft Group 5

P4: Every day we are sworn at and searched by the police.

P5: They pick you up and [cross talk] And then they go [cross talk]

P7: They kidnap, you can just say, they kidnap us. That is kidnapping man, if you [cross talk] they come leave me here by the police station in front of the door then they tell me I must walk. Then they have kidnapped me see I am on my way looking for work. It is kidnapping. To take me in the night I am standing in front of my house [cross talk]

/.../

P3: Then they beat you.

P2: That is the biggest problem we have here.

Experiences of or having witnessed men brutally man-handled by the local police are events that most of the men in this study (from both communities) could confirm. This became clear in the excerpt above, when men talked over each other as they contributed to telling one story about police brutality. It is imperative to emphasise this dynamic, as it illustrates the commonness of the story, as most of these men could contribute some of their own experiences. Ill-treatment received from the police appeared to be a regular occurrence. In the above discussion, men described their encounters with police as abduction rather than arrest. These narratives are very similar to what Brankovic (2012) found when studying gangsterism amongst young men in a Cape Town township. The men in her study related stories of being beaten by the police because they were suspected of a crime or because they appeared suspicious.

Police brutality against marginalised groups is not just a national phenomenon; it is a global phenomenon (Dottolo & Stewart, 2008; McIntosh, 2004; Young, 2004). Young's (2004) work on marginalised Black men in the USA found that frequent arrests were common, with men often describing themselves as having been "in the wrong place at the wrong time" (p. 119). Police profiling of marginalised and black men in particular is a problem gaining much visibility at the moment²⁹. Exploring the intersections of race, class and gender in men's encounters with the police, Dottolo and Stewart (2008) studied both black and white high school graduates in the American Midwest. The authors concluded that the poor black men's

²⁹ For a recent example of police brutality toward black men in the USA I will make reference to current events happening in Ferguson, Missouri. This is one but example of numerous reports of police using excessive force and sometimes fatal violence against young black men in the US.

<http://www.newyorker.com/news/news-desk/movement-grows-ferguson>

<http://www.buzzfeed.com/joelanderson/what-it-was-like-in-the-streets-on-fergusons-worst-night>

stories of police brutality often positioned the police as structural agents who infringed on the basic human dignities of men of colour.

Extract 7: Delft Group 6

P1: The way they treat you is not right. It is almost like a lot of gangsters that they gave uniforms and say search the people. You don't actually feel safe.

A sense of ambivalence about the duties of the police was engrained in men's discussions on police brutality. The above quote associates the police with gangsters. This is not a far-fetched criticism of police conduct in township communities. Referring to the lawlessness of South African police officers, a news report stated that:

“... torture and outright violation of human rights is becoming the order of the day for some of our police officers and experts warn that the line between criminals and our law enforcement officers is "blurred"” (The Editor, The Times Newspaper, 30th April, 2012).

There are a number of recent media reports referencing cases of police brutality in South Africa (IOL news, October 4th 2012; Mail & Guardian, April 15th 2013). For example, video footage showed the level of public police brutality a foreign national mini-bus taxi driver experienced, as he died at the hands of nine police officers. The Institute for Security Studies (ISS) recently highlighted the importance of discussing police brutality in South Africa. The ISS reports that even though police brutality has become more visible in the media and frowned upon, police still receive little criticism (Collins, 2013).

Beyond the talk about being stigmatized and harassed by the police, men in this study also spoke about negative evaluations they received from other members of their communities.

Extract 8: Vlottenburg Group 7

P2: The people here label a person as a tik³⁰ -head even if you work for your money. They class you as a thief. People who don't even know you, label you so then they handle you like that.

/.../

[Two security officials walked into the group venue to check what was happening in the church hall].

³⁰ Tik is the colloquial word used for methamphetamine, an extremely addictive stimulant. The use and abuse of tik (Methamphetamine) has reached epidemic proportions in the Western Cape; particularly amongst Coloured communities. For more insight on this refer to Plüddemann and Parry (2012).

P2: Can you see? They are contracted to look after the farmers' vineyards. Not to search us on the streets.
/.../

Being provoked by the arrival of two security officers, who came to check why the facility was being used on a holiday, men again positioned themselves as victims of the authorities. In their talk men referred to members of their own communities who stigmatised them. Unlike the previous excerpt, where public ill-treatment from the police influenced the perception the community held about these men, this extract shows that men were 'classed' based on their previous and current illegal activities. The experience of being 'classed' as a drug addict was not the issue they protested most. What these men protested was that they were 'classed' as drug users by members of their own communities.

Significantly though, half of the group did not offer any insights during this part of the discussion. The silence of these men in the group might be suggestive of in-group labeling of men who participated in drug activities. However, I would suggest that, with their silence, men acknowledged the reality of poverty and the practice of drug use and drug dealing as a prevalent method to combat poverty in communities such as these.

Overall, 'coloured' township communities are characterised by excessive drinking, drug use and criminal activities, and have become assumptions 'others' hold about 'coloured' men (Adhikari, 2005; Erasmus, 2001; Salo, 2005). As suggested in the following extracts, men contextualised their participation in criminal activities as triggered by their poverty stricken communities, and as the only way they could support their families.

Extract 9: Delft Group 5

P3: /.../ Children of 9 years old must go out to rob and steal to have something on the table for their little brothers and sisters. That's why they say us 'coloureds'...

[Group cross talks]

P6: Yes, us 'coloureds' they say us 'coloureds' just know one mix. Rob and steal. Smoke and smuggle and that. Now we don't get another way of living. Automatically that is our only piece of bread that we can bring in.

Extract 10: Vlottenburg Group 6

P4: The children all wants to live with money in their pockets so they can give it to their parents. Now they don't have money now they have to go steal; then they go to prison, and why? For nothing, there is nothing they can do.

In the excerpts above the participants described crimes like theft and dealing in drugs and alcohol as a necessary means to obtain resources to provide for basic needs. Participants' narratives suggested that the assumptions about 'coloured' men's lived experiences were not just prejudiced preconceptions, but that these preconceptions were grounded in actual everyday life experiences in their marginalised contexts. This is not to say that 'all' 'coloured' men perform their masculinities in this way, rather, I would suggest that these men themselves were very aware of how the 'coloured' community is represented in public discourse and how these representations shape their everyday experiences. Furthermore, from their dialogue it is clear that their marginalised status had influenced the decisions they have made to survive these environments, resorting to crime as the only available option. This is shown in the following discussion:

Extract 11: Delft Group 4

P8: Yes. okay but at the end of the day it's not cool what you do, you know you are not supposed to do that but if it is the only way out, if I have to put myself in his shoes I get the deal right, I must now do something like that, quick a few millions then I will do it yes. Just for now, I know, I know myself. After that I get out.

P3: Just to get out on the deal yes.

P8: Just the deal yes and then I move yes. /.../

Discussing the issues around the use of crime to support themselves and their families, men in the above excerpt acknowledged the crime associated with dealing drugs, but still considered it to be one option that men in their communities often resorted to. Here drug dealing was shown to be the most convenient way to make money. During the discussion, I attempted to challenge the view that drug dealing was the easiest option to provide for their families, and suggested other, more legal means:

Extract 12: Delft Group 4 (continuation of the above discussion)

Jacque: What about selling vegetables, can't you do that?

P4: Okay, that's legal.

P8: That is a very slow business because everybody does it here.

P5: Look if you know how to sell it.
Jacque: Or selling fish, or chicken or whatever you know?
P8: Okay if you have people that can sponsor you.
P4: Okay look here in Delft here the people need fish.
Jacque: Yes now, now. Okay this is my question then, how do you get the drugs? Don't you have to have money to buy the drugs so you can sell the drugs?
P3: Yes, yes.
Jacque: So why can people like not buy vegetables and fish or chicken to resell?
P3: It goes off.
P8: Okay but sometimes then they can store it for you.
P3: The things go off then they cannot be sold again. The drugs they can sell again cause it doesn't go off it stays in the packet so...
P8: It's so yes.
Jacque: Okay.
P8: That's the end of the story missus.

My suggestions, they pointed out, would take too much energy and time to prove profitable. It is true that there are barriers to entering the informal labour sector. As mentioned by Kingdon and Knight (2003) these barriers may include, amongst others, the necessary start-up costs, the skills and contacts needed to succeed in informal trading. The difficulty these men saw in entering the informal sector was, therefore, not a minor concern. Nevertheless, what emerged through men's talk was that criminal activities for these communities might be considered as an accepted and somewhat expected method used to provide for the family. Given the demand for drugs in these communities, dealing in drugs makes for a lucrative business as profit margins are high.

The above discussion was concluded by 'quietening me down' saying "that's the end of the story miss". This strategy may have been used to make it clear to me that this was the way things were 'done' in their community, and I (the outsider) should not attempt to challenge it. This could be interpreted as an attempt by men to re-assert their power as 'knowers' over me the 'outsider' who had now challenged them and their knowing. I wrongfully assumed that these men saw me as an insider, as I shared their racial category and have had similar life experiences, or have been witness to similar experiences as those men shared during our discussions. Naples (2003) and others explained that one can be both an insider and an outsider at the same time and in differing dimensions during the research process (Banks,

1998; Johnson-Bailey, 1999; Merriam, Johnson-Bailey, Lee, Kee, Ntseane and Muhamad, 2001). The fluidity of the researcher's position is clear in the above excerpt as men located me (at this point) as an outsider. This positioning could have been influenced by my 'position' as a woman, a student, and my now middle-class status, amongst others. Kirk and Okazawa-Rey (2004) discussed the importance of how the researcher is socially located. The authors defined 'social location' as the point at which all of the elements of our identity intersect. Furthermore, 'social location' is our social position relative to others and "it determines the kinds of power and privilege we have access to and can exercise, as well as situations in which we have less power and privilege" (Kirk & Okazawa-Rey, 2004, p. 68). During the above discussion, it became clear that my 'social position' reduced the weight of my attempt to provide a challenge to the idea that illegal activities were sometimes the only available means to 'survive'.

6.1.1 Summary

Thus far men have made a case for the importance of understanding 'colouredness' as a factor that influenced their life experiences, as these experiences "still continue to shape people's everyday lives..." (Salo, 2004, p. 52). In negotiating personhood in these communities it was clearly difficult to evade stereotypes about 'colouredness'. Stigma played a great part in the ways men described their experiences in their communities. Men talked about stigma in terms of how they were perceived by 'others', and how they located themselves in relation to others' perceptions of them. Moreover, what has come to light is that the perceptions of others about 'coloured' men are not far-fetched, as it was shown that these men constructed themselves as both protesting but also confirming the stereotypes held about 'coloured' men. Scholars postulate that stigmatised groups are often aware of the prejudices that others hold against them and other members of their social group (Ainlay et

al., 1986; Crocker & Quinn, 2003; Dovidio et al., 2003; Goffman, 1963; McGarty et al., 2002). Furthermore, being aware of the prejudices against their identities may negatively influence the way stigmatised groups experience their world and make sense of the events that surround them (Crocker & Quinn, 2003).

The above theme clearly illustrated the ways in which men respond to the racialised category of ‘colouredness’; both in the ways they adopt and challenge stereotypes about the identity. It also shows how such identifications are shaped by the particular contexts men find themselves in. A further feature of the social context men highlighted as significant to their experiences of marginalisation was unemployment, discussed in the next section.

6.2 Marginalisation as unemployment: The ‘big problem’

Even in an era of ‘equal opportunities for all’ the marginalised Black³¹ populations of South Africa are still facing numerous social ills that may be triggered by the soaring unemployment and poverty rates particular to marginalised communities. This theme suggests that poverty due to unemployment or underemployment³² in these communities may have encouraged disparaging displays of masculinity (Morrell, 2001). The demographic contexts of these men, as sketched in the quantitative results chapter (Chapter 5), shows the levels of poverty and overall ‘lack’ familiar to these men. The view that unemployment has debilitating effects for these men and their communities was also proposed by Adhikari (2005), who suggested that most ‘coloured’, working-class communities, are prone to a range of social issues that are exacerbated by unemployment. Salo (2006) posits that being under-educated makes finding gainful employment even more difficult for ‘coloured’ men.

³¹ As stated in the note on terminology, the use of ‘Black’ here is to suggest all people of colour.

³² Underemployment refers to jobs that pay less than minimum wages (see Government Gazette, 1 July 2013).

As presented in the previous theme, men stated that ‘colouredness’ had come to represent many negative stereotypes that included being positioned as criminals. What was also present in the men’s narratives was that men’s actions and everyday displays of personhood often conformed to the assumptions held by ‘others’ about ‘colouredness’ (i.e. men’s participation in crime). While men discussed their awareness of being marginalised, they rationalised that the social position in which they were located was motivated by their race. A recurrent theme of unemployment emerged in men’s talk as way for them to explain their marginalized status. High rates of unemployment and joblessness³³ are social problems familiar to many marginalised communities. The difficulty men experienced in obtaining and maintaining gainful employment was discussed as a concern for these men:

Extract 13: Vlottenburg Group 5

P6: The employment number is low...

[Group agreeing]

P6: Because here there are few men who get work, if they get a job, then it is seasonal or you wouldn’t just get a permanent job.

[Group agreeing]

/.../

Extract 13 demonstrates key concerns about the difficulty of finding unemployment and the instability of available employment opportunities, expressed by many of the participants in the study.

Extract 14: Delft Group 5

P3: Unemployment yes. That is the biggest problem...big problem for men. It is unemployment, because if you look at this population of the people here in Delft, 80% of the men are at home.

While the estimation of the unemployment rate by the participant above may be an inflation, it is not very different to the unemployment rate documented amongst the men who participated in this study (namely, 64%). National unemployment statistics report a rate of

³³ Joblessness refers to people who are unemployed, but are not actively looking for work or are discouraged work seekers.

unemployment amongst ‘coloured’ men at 21% (STATSSA, Quarterly Labour Force Survey, Quarter 2, 2012).

The relation of ‘coloured’ men to employment opportunities (or a lack thereof) has a longer history in the Western Cape. The availability of employment for ‘coloured’ men was restricted by Apartheid labour laws (Coloured Labour Preference Act, 1956) which favoured ‘coloured’ women as the preferred workforce in the textile, canning and leather industries in the Western Cape. The male work force in this area mostly consisted of casual labour (Salo, 2003, 2004). The instability of employment not only left men unable to provide for their families, but unemployment amongst men increased the social problems experienced in their communities as a whole (Cooper & Foster, 2008; Jensen, 2008; Pinnock, 1997). Willott and Griffin (1997) posit that long-term unemployment influences where and how men choose and are able to spend their time. Unemployment may, therefore, become monotonous and may encourage idleness, which in turn may increase the likelihood of men participating in gang related activities (Adhikari, 2005). In dissecting men’s talk further, the narratives imply that unemployment increased their marginalisation. In the following excerpts participants suggest that unemployment is the starting point for all of the other problems they experience in their lives.

Extract 15: Vlottenburg Group 7

P6: Unemployment is a big problem. He causes all the small problems.

Extract 16: Vlottenburg Group 4

P5: Almost like there where I am now, you don’t work or so, you must go steal, you don’t want to go steal but you must go steal to get something that you want.

In the second excerpt above, a direct link is made between unemployment and engagement in criminal behaviour. Committing crime for these participants was seen as a natural or logical progression, caused by the level of deprivation they faced. Here stealing was motivated as the only way the men could meet their basic needs. Sampson (1987), studying the effects of

unemployment and family disruption on black violence in 171 cities in the USA, found that male unemployment showed insignificant effects on male violence; however, male unemployment was strongly linked to family disruption, which by extension strongly predicted male violence. In essence, even though the author failed to find a direct link between male unemployment and male violence/crime, he concluded that unemployment had significant negative effects on marginalized men and their families.

In a related way, men spoke about the lack of employment as further reinforcing their marginalization and making it difficult for them to obtain the resources to become employed. They suggested that unemployment and being financially deprived posed substantial structural challenges (Connell, 1993; 1995; Morgan, 1992; Willott & Griffin, 1997).

Extract 17: Delft Group 6

P7: Also unemployment increases every day. Also we do not have a station [train station]. Now we must use the taxi and we are not all privileged to afford it. Money to go look for work. If you want to do something you have to use the taxi or the bus.

P3: There are no factories here. There is only Golden Crust (a bread factory) and cleaning the roads. There are not enough for everyone. If you get something you have to think where must I go borrow money to get there? /.../

The inaccessibility of structural resources like public transport (specifically the cost-effective train services) poses a dilemma for these communities as they are geographically excluded from the city center and other industrial hubs where most jobs are located. For these men, geographic isolation rendered men economically inactive and unlikely to be employed. Boonzaier and de la Rey (2003) studied narratives of violence amongst marginalised women from Mitchells Plain on the Cape Flats. The authors state that the high transport costs for people living in this area exacerbated unemployment and poverty, as these residents had to travel great distances and pay high transport costs to seek employment opportunities. To illustrate the effects unemployment had on their communities, men returned to the idea that illegal activities were consequences of unemployment:

Extract 18: Delft Group 6 (continuation of excerpt above)

P8: Gangsterism and drug abuse will be curbed. If there are jobs then all the other problems will sort themselves out.

P2: We even go to the rubbish heaps to get scrap [scrap metal]. Now you come home with it. On your way to the scrap yard [selling scrap metal] then the men take your stuff then they take your trolley.

P3: That happens daily.

P2: At the end of the day then this tells me I will also rob them man. Because I couldn't protect my scrap against the scoundrels then I can't get my bread on the table and have my burning candle. I will then, the ones who are still trying to collect I will take their things. It is logical that we must start to think like that. Which is wrong. We know that it is wrong, but each of us have a need that we must see to. And it is difficult. /.../. We all have that need and desire to work.

The above excerpt was described as a common scene in Delft. It provided a view of the setting within which these men had to carve out an existence. Men showed that, after they struggled to secure some means to provide for their families, they were faced with 'scoundrels' who stole the goods they had acquired. The 'scoundrels' (who also lacked the basic necessities) in a sense demotivated men from engaging in 'honest' work. Although acknowledging that robbery was wrong, men continued to discuss it as one means to access much needed financial resources. Standing (2003) also suggests that, due to the scarcity of formal employment, a major part of the income-generating activities on the Cape Flats are illegal, these commonly include dealing in drugs and stolen property.

What further emerged from men's talk was that they differentiated between what was meant by being 'unemployed' and what it meant to be 'jobless'. The following extracts show that some men chose to be unemployed (and therefore jobless).

Extract 19: Delft Group 1

P3: Then you get those men who do not want to work at all. They want to walk around and '*skarrel*'³⁴ the whole day. They do not want to get up and go work for their children.

This sentiment (Extract 19) was shared by most of the participants, as they talked about other men in their communities who chose to be unemployed. From men's talk it was clear that

³⁴ The use of '*skarrel*' ('scurrile') in this context, refer to walking around in the hope of making money, by either legal (odd jobs) or illegal (robbing, stealing) means.

they saw ‘jobless’ men as men who would rather walk around looking for a way to make easy money, than do an honest day’s work:

Extract 20: Delft Group 6

P6: They [men] make five children for All-pay³⁵. The state will provide for them.

Extract 21: Vlottenburg Group 6

P6: /.../ live on their all-pay cards because they don’t feel like working [laughing]

P3: That is true yes.

P4: They say straight no, why should I work if the state can provide for me?

P3: Yes state can provide for them.

Other men capitalised on the social grant provided by the government to single mothers, as a means of child support. Some ‘jobless’ men accompanied their women partners to the payment points as they expected ‘their share’ of this money. The South African Department of Social Development recognises the fact that women are expected to share the government child grants with their extended household and, in many cases, with the fathers of the children too (see White Paper on Families in South Africa, 2012). What further emerged from participants’ talk on employment was that many men diverted the responsibility to work for their children and themselves to the state. This was also true for men who chose to be ‘jobless’, even when the availability of work and geographic location (transport to find work) were not an obstacle:

Extract 22: Vlottenburg Group 5

P5: I right I...many of them [referring to the other group members] will probably disagree with me now hey, there are jobs for these people hey. Especially for the young ones, but the thing is they do not want to do this work.

P3: Yes, and he wants a certain type of job that must come to him and he does not go and look for another job.

P6: Yes but [cross talking] he also has no qualifications to look for another job.

P4: And the amount of money.

P1: Yes but you see if you talk about farms. It is hard labour and many...many especially school leavers [grade 12 graduates] do not want to do that.

P5: He does not have the qualifications to go look for a better job because now he feels he can do that job...

[Group agreeing]

³⁵ Is the service provider the government uses to pay out social grants. In this case men speak about the monthly grant children receive.

P5: Right okay I give him his due maybe he can do that job, but he is not going to get it because he does not have qualifications for it.

[Group agreeing]

P5: Now he gets a job that is not what he wants, say farm work, many of the young men do not want to do farm work because they are scared that they will be called names, I don't care I am a matriculant [graduate] and I work on the farm I am happy I am a, and I am a...because I come get every time, I learn something new,

P3: Mmmm...Yes you build knowledge on the farm.

P2: The young children they don't want to work on the farm because of money, they are looking for a lot of money when they start working, when they start, they want somewhere in the thousands.

P3: Yes...yes they don't want to start at R500 [± 50US\$ per week].

From the above discussion it was clear that jobs were available in the Vlottenburg area, albeit low-wage farm labour. What the discussion demonstrated was that some young men may feel 'ashamed' of doing farm labour, as this type of work may be void of status and may diminish their 'respectability' amongst their peers.

Previous research has shown that respectability is a concept that carries enormous weight in marginalised communities (Anderson, 2009; Salo, 2003 2009). Watt (2006, p. 786) suggests that respectability "... proved to be an important lens through which many ... assessed themselves, their neighbours and their neighbourhoods". It is clear from the above discussion that young men in this community made a concerted effort to distance themselves from farm labour as, it was seen to not be a 'respectable' form of work. The representation of farm labour and the low wage earned was something most of the participants were aware of. However, for some men participating in farm labour provided them with a 'respectable' image as responsible men who were gainfully employed.

What also emerged were men's silences about education as a stumbling block to obtaining gainful employment. A minority voice attributed the scourge of unemployment to being under-educated and unskilled:

Extract 23: Delft group 3

P2: Many of us who are looking for work and we are not educated...now you get to the boss uhm... what is your; what are your qualification? No I left school in standard six [grade 8] and then the boss says to you, here's a broom, sweep there. That is the kind of

job that you get. If you don't have qualifications and education today then you can't expect to get paid big because you don't have any skills. You don't have any resources; you can't show them anything.

Extract 24: Delft Group 6

P8: Today when you get to the factories there is written big "NO VACANCIES". So you must have papers. You must have proof that you can do this work or that you come from that university or you must have experience.

As evident from the above, the jobs available to men who lack education were low-paying and have low status. These jobs required them to do laborious tasks for minuscule wages and had no 'respectability' attached. Furthermore, the 'shame' of unemployment for some of the men in these communities was not motivation enough to propel 'jobless' men (mostly youth) to accept lowly jobs. From the above we see an age difference in the importance attached to being employed and ideas about 'respectable' employment. The men in this study, who are not considered 'youth' reflect on their own constructions of employment opportunities and contrast these to the ways in which they see younger men and their yearning for 'respectability'. This way of thinking is not particular to men in these communities. Kingdon and Knight (2003) found that although unemployment is high in South Africa, many choose to be 'jobless' and hold out for a better paying employment than to work for a minimum wage.

6.2.1 Summary

Unemployment is a critical social issue for South Africa as a whole. Men's talk revealed that being on the periphery of society decreased their ability to find gainful employment. This in turn left these men marginalised as they were socially and economically excluded. Employment or the lack thereof was therefore captured as a central social issue in men's dialogue. They reasoned that employment earned a man access to all the living essentials. Men's talk also suggested that increased employment of men in their community would decrease crime and other social problems with which their communities grapple. What also

came to light was men's silence about their limited schooling, which may have been a major factor in restricting their employability. This especially might have been the core reason for their long-term unemployment. Another theme that emerged was that gainful employment facilitated the social status of 'respectability'. This included respect from both their families and communities. Joblessness on the other hand was frowned upon and associated with the immaturity of youth. Thus far, this study showed that men are aware of and, therefore, are able to reflect on and make meaning of their social position, as they named unemployment as a major contributing factor to their marginalised position in the South African context.

The themes that emerged around unemployment may appear reasonably un-gendered as discussions primarily focus on general unemployment in these communities. However, these themes also reflect participants' experiences of unemployment as men in their communities. This is significant because the expectation that men provide for their families continues to be part of their narratives around employment. Men perceived that being an unemployed man in their community may have a negative effect on how masculinity is displayed their community. For instance, participating in criminal activity and gangsterism emerged as a means to perform their role as provider. In addition, from men's understanding of unemployment, emerged a division amongst those "men who desired to work" and "men who chose not to work" and differences in how the two groups expressed masculinities. A more comprehensive analysis of men's understanding of masculine expectations is an issue I return to in the following chapter.

6.3 Consequences of marginalisation

The theme 'consequences of marginalisation' relates to the issues participants saw as emerging from their marginalised statuses, namely, substance abuse, different forms of violence and social exclusion. As previously mentioned, the focus group discussions started

with a discussion on the social contexts in which these men lived. Extracts from this discussion are presented as men's impressions of the common social problems in their communities:

Extract 25: Vlottenburg Group 5

Jacque: /.../. What would you say are the types of problems here in Vlottenburg?

P1: It is wine,

P5: It is wine and drugs, drugs, drugs and the wine,

Ja [participants agree] /.../

P1: I think alcohol plays a big role.

P5: Drugs abuse and alcohol abuse.

P6: And sexual activities at a young age from 13 years up, mmmh.

Extract 26: Delft Group 6

P5: /.../ gangsterism, facilities that are available is too small. Say maybe if he [a person] goes to hospital, then you have to be there in the line at 5 o'clock.

P3: There are no activities that you can do on weekends or during the week. So the majority of us just go into one direction. The wrong direction. Drug abuse. We rather take part in those things and it is 'mahala' (free) and it is all over.

P1: There are no places where we can go like to the cinema. There was no provision made for such things.

These extracts reflect agreement in the discussions about common social issues with which these communities struggled. Substance abuse and particularly alcohol abuse was constructed as a major problem in both of the communities studied. Additional issues such as high levels of gangsterism and associated crime, service delivery problems and insufficient recreational and health facilities were highlighted contributing to the marginalised status of their communities. Three major sub-themes on the consequences of marginalisation are outlined below, namely, (1) talk on the pervasiveness of drinking, (2) violence, and (3) social deprivation.

6.3.1 Woza weekend – binge drinking as recreation

While highlighting their subjective views on the existing social problems, collective agreement indicated that drugs and alcohol were either the cause or the result of other social problems. Mager (2010) suggests that the excessive alcohol drinking amongst 'coloured' people is the way in which empty hours on the weekend are occupied. Thus, it could be

proposed that marginalisation (i.e. the lack of recreational facilities) may encourage risk behaviour like alcohol and substance abuse. Drinking or the culture of weekend drinking and its influence on these communities emerged as a pervasive theme in men's talk, and as a cause of continued marginalisation of these men. In the context of township communities such as these, weekends are commonly the time when people are free to relax and drink alcohol. 'Woza³⁶ weekend' is a common street slogan used to signal the start of the weekend. This sub-theme presents the talk amongst men as they described what usually happens on a weekend in their communities:

Extract 27: Vlottenburg Group 5

P1: /.../ but I just mean it is just, like especially over the weekend, there is chaos [crosstalk].

With all the talk of what happened in these communities on the weekend, this excerpt demonstrates an all-encompassing description of weekends in the context of these communities. This narrative is similar to Cooper's (2009) description of a Cape Flats community he studied. The following extracts demonstrate the 'normality' of alcohol drinking in these communities, especially on the weekend:

Extract 28: Delft Group 7

P3: I drank. On a Friday I get home from work then I drink, then I get home at 12 o'clock. Tomorrow morning I go to work. I get home then I drink again, it goes on like that.

Extract 29: Vlottenburg Group 6

P3: They just think 'hey I must still finish a half a case [6 beers containing 750ml each] then I'm cool'. We just go there where the opportunity is.

In addition to the talk about the excessive consumption of alcohol, men also spoke about the normality of alcohol consumption and abuse in their communities:

³⁶ Woza is a Zulu word meaning come in. It is also commonly associated with the idea of 'calming down' or 'relaxing'. The phrase 'Woza weekend' has been used in media advertisements to usher in the weekend.

Extract 30: Vlottenburg Group 7

P4: WOW! That is expected from a place like Vlottenburg. This is the wine route [not symbolising the actual place but the availability of wine in the farm area]. Look, like I said half of the men here drink /.../

Extract 31: Delft Group 5

P3: /.../ they get used to it because it's a trend. They drink 'hey this is normal; to be like this is normal to go to the merchant buy whatever; is normal to drink your ass drunk /.../

Discussing employment in relation to weekend drinking, men highlighted that some men took the opportunity to work just to get the money to buy alcohol on the weekend:

Extract 32: Delft Group 1

P4: Then you get those men, they want to work, just till they get paid, Friday cause Monday they are done working cause now they have just enough money for wine and for the whole weekend /.../

Marked by drinking, the weekend ushered in a time for joviality. The weekend, therefore, signifies the ideal opportunity to drink, as weekdays were used to put processes in place (like making money) that would make alcohol more accessible on the weekend. Research has shown that, amongst South Africans who drink, a high proportion drink large amounts of alcohol when they do drink. Furthermore, it was found that risky levels of alcohol consumption happen especially over weekends (Parry et al. 2005; Peltzer & Ramlagan, 2009) and that binge drinking, specifically amongst middle-aged men (35-64 years old), was more common in neighbourhoods that suffer deprivation compared to more affluent neighbourhoods (Fone et al., 2013). Amongst a South African sample, Morojele and colleagues (2004) found that men between the ages of 25 and 44 years old were more likely than men of other age groups to drink excessively over the weekend. One assumption that could be made; is that middle-aged men experience an increased level of stress facing their 'difficulty' to attain a traditional form of masculinity and may use alcohol as a means to deal with this 'masculine crisis'. On the other hand, excessive drinking in essence is shown to be an essential part of traditional masculinity (Schneider et al., 2008). The culture of drinking

familiar within the ‘coloured’ community has become a social and health problem for these communities, one that is rooted in past Apartheid policies³⁷. Current drinking behaviour in these communities may, therefore, be a residue of the past.

Through men’s talk and consistent with the argument made by Mager (2010), it emerged that the excessive use of alcohol in these communities was caused by the inaccessibility of recreational facilities:

Extract 33: Delft Group 5

P7: Facilities, there’s not even a relax place for the children. If they want to go out [of the house] then they must go stand on the [street] corners. There is not even a park.

Extract 34: Vlottenburg Group 2

P8: No, the thing here, here in this place there is nothing going on.

P7: There is nothing here.

P5: Here is no sport,

P2: Here are no activities for the youth. That’s why we just...

P7: Here we must just drink.

P8: We just get drunk.

P7: What we did this morning, this morning I met him watching TV, and then he came with me to drink /.../

In Extracts 33 and 34 above, participants reflected on the lack of recreational facilities in their communities. Recreational spaces such as play parks for children were absent. Drinking was a way in which men spent their time, as activities like sport were not available in their communities.

Extract 35: Vlottenburg Group 7

P4: Like we don’t have any recreation facilities.

P7: In Vlottenburg there is nothing for us...nothing. /.../

P5: We used to play rugby.

P4: They took the field from us the ‘whites’...the farmers.

P3: Those are places where our community used to get together.

P4: All the sport facilities did they take away from us. The ‘whites’. Apartheid is still here

In this extract, the positioning of ‘the whites’ as those having the authority to ‘take’ the recreational spaces from ‘coloured’ communities suggests that white farm-owners still

³⁷ Here I refer to the ‘dop system’ under the Liquor Act of 1928. For further information refer to Chapter Two (page 117) of this dissertation.

assumed the position of superior and powerful even in a post-Apartheid society. These marginalised communities therefore, continue to represent the powerless majority that are restricted in the expression of their essential freedoms.

The thematic pattern of this sub-theme demonstrated the pervasiveness of excessive alcohol drinking in these communities. The ‘normalcy’ of binge drinking during weekends was shown to be part of a common culture. With this said, however, men’s talk motivated that the drinking behaviour in these communities at one level was a consequence of the bigger issue of social marginalisation. On another level, excessive alcohol drinking was also talked about as a cause of other social problems like violence. Jewkes et al. (2002) suggest that the use of alcohol reduces inhibitions, increases the likelihood of conflict and creates an environment for violence to occur.

6.3.2 Violence in marginalised spaces

Men’s conversations about substance abuse most often steered directly into discussions about violence. The link between alcohol and violence has been investigated by many scholars (Abrahams et al., 2006; Boonzaier, 2005; Heise & Garcia-Moreno, 2002; Jewkes, 2002; Martin et al., 1999; Simpson, 1992; Wade, 1994). For instance, Boonzaier (2005) found that men often deny culpability for intimate partner violence on the premise that they were intoxicated. Jewkes (2002) suggests that there is a strong association between alcohol use and physically abusive behaviour. More specifically, Mager (2010) proposes that alcohol drinking may influence the occurrence of domestic violence, specifically in ‘coloured’ communities arguing that amongst ‘coloured’ people, violence is a salient outcome associated with alcohol dependence.

6.3.2.1 Episodes of domestic violence

Men's narratives of violence showed that violence in the home was part of the context within which these men lived:

Extract 36: Vlottenburg Group 5

P3: Abuse,

Jacque: Abuse?

P1: Whether it is wife, yes abuse is also one of the biggest challenges here...

Jacque: What do you mean /.../?

P1: Ag no [inaudible] Vlottenburg is small but everything that happens in other cities also happens here.

Jacque: Like what give me an example cause now I have in my mind abuse, what kind of abuse?

P1: Man to women...

P2: Physical abuse/.../

Extract 37: Delft Group 6

P3: Men beat their women a lot. Men abuse their women.

Men were aware of the occurrence of domestic violence in their communities. As is shown in the above excerpts, men who 'beat their women' were a visible phenomenon. In men's talk it emerged that episodes of domestic violence were common-place occurrences:

Extract 38: Delft Group 7

P5: That's why there is so much concentration on domestic violence here.

P7: That's why there is so much information that the day-hospital gives how to handle that situation.

P2: Even sometimes men and women don't know how to handle that and then they go to alcohol and drugs. Those are things men and women used as a way out. Because they are not thinking right at that time

P3: Now they make all the wrong choices.

/.../

P3: Domestic violence happens a lot here in Delft. We can go over to the police station now. At the back of the police station there are containers [mobile units]. Domestic violence is a big concern. That's one of the main things. Any police will tell you most of the call-outs they get are for domestic violence. The men who hit the women.

/.../

P4: Delft is a 'red zone' for domestic violence.

In the discussion above, men depict their community as knowledgeable about domestic violence, and recognise the extent of the problem of domestic violence in their community. This discussion also shows how well-informed these men were about the processes of seeking help (i.e. the police and the social services available) when domestic violence was experienced. Community knowledge on domestic violence is encouraged by the accessibility

of information in their local contexts. Access to information on domestic violence, therefore, allows communities to have an opinion about the problem (Boonzaier, 2005).

South Africa has solid domestic violence legislation (see the *Domestic Violence Act* 116 of 1998), under which women are protected. The inception of this legislation made combatting domestic violence a key priority area for the South African police. Therefore, the police are now more likely to respond quickly to the scene of the violence and treat the incident more seriously than prior to 1998, when domestic violence was seen as a ‘family issue’. The inception of the act also provided a platform for government and non-governmental organisations to educate the public on domestic violence. These public campaigns have increased community awareness of domestic violence as a social problem, and have made women aware of the social and legal resources that are available. Referring to these available legal resources, in the extract above, men confirmed the extent of the problem in their community. As suggested by Rudman and Glick (2008) having legal resources that protect women against domestic violence is meant to decrease the prevalence of violence against women, however, this might not necessarily be the case in South Africa. Despite awareness of the problem and legal instruments that protect victims, domestic violence remains a huge challenge.

Extract 39: Delft Group 3

P3: I almost not so long ago in this year stabbed my wife to death in front of my children.
/.../...I just snapped /.../

Extract 40: Vlottenburg Group 1

P7: /.../ I don’t hit her in front of other people. I don’t hit her in front of the children. Hit when the two of us are alone. /.../

Even though men were not always forthcoming in sharing their accounts of their own perpetration of abuse, some stories of the perpetration of intimate partner violence did emerge as interwoven parts of their discussions of what it means to be a man. The severity of violence against intimate partners is clear in the above excerpts, as men narrate their violence

as normalised domestic episodes. It could be argued that the way in which these men talked about perpetrating violence against women might be disguised as justifications of violence. Although not clearly presented in the excerpts above, both these abusive episodes were constructed around blaming either intoxication (D3) or the general insubordination of women (V1), as motivations for reacting with violence. Men also constructed violence against women as a problem-solving method that men used to discipline women. Drawing on social rhetoric available in these communities, men spoke about common justifications for abusing their wives:

Extract 41: Delft Group 3

P1: Yes I have to give her a hiding to keep her in line some men does this.

P3: Really, yes.

P1: I have sat in the company of friends “can you see, can you see these things deserve a hiding, but you should just give them two, just to show them.

The extract above shows the influence community norms and traditional masculinity norms may have in society. Referring to the woman in the example as a ‘thing,’ the discussion drew on (masculine) conversational norms that encouraged the disparagement of women among men. Thus, it can be suggested that the conversations men have amongst each other may have an impact on how men behave toward women (Carey, et al, 2011; Ferguson & Ford, 2008; Romero–Sánchez et al., 2010). This conclusion validates the quantitative finding that hostile sexism is linked to the endorsement of traditional masculinity. This is to say that these men display hostile sexist attitudes that are maintained through gender stereotypes that uphold the superiority of men over women (Guttentag & Secord, 1983). It also indicates that violence against women may be a performance of masculinity for other men as well as for women.

Furthermore, as shown in the next extract, ‘being an abuser’ is normalised in talk about abuse between men:

Extract 42: Vlottenburg Group 5

P1: Yes that domestic, like the domestic violence side and so on.

Jacque: Does it happen here often?

P3: No, not often

P1: The timbering I will say happens often, I will say often over weekends, man that hits wife yes you still get that, yes the timbering. [Laughing]

P3: Not just man that hit wife, but wife that does not want to obey the man. The man gets home then he looks for his wife and she is sitting at the merchant-house then he must go fetch his wife.

P2: Then she must be beaten yes.

As an extension of the excerpts that have been presented thus far, this excerpt, further demonstrates the normalization or acceptance of violence against women as a way to reinforce discipline and masculinity. First the men claimed that domestic violence was not something that occurred often in their community. Then the ‘violence’ that did occur in this community was constructed as ‘timbering’. The use of the word ‘timbering’ suggested that men did not perceive hitting their wife as abuse. This word is a direct translation of the Afrikaans word the men used (*‘timmering’*), which also implies carpentry, tinkering or fixing. Using the word ‘timbering’ in the context of abuse reduced women to inanimate objects – even wood. Furthermore, the word suggests that men endorsed the idea that the use of violence in the domestic context was acceptable. According to the Oxford dictionary, timbering implies that something (usually wood) is constructed or moulded into something structural. The use of ‘timbering’ in this context may suggest that beating your wife was seen as a method used to ‘mould’ her to the husband’s ‘standards’ or to society’s idea of what a wife or woman should be.

What also emanated from the extract above is that fights between men and women were said to result from women’s retaliation or disobedience to their husbands. It should, however, be acknowledged that in instances where women become violent it is most often as a reaction to the threats of physical violence from their partners; women are less likely to be the initiators of physical violence (Downs, Rindels & Atkinson, 2007; Hester, 2012; Johnson, 2006; Miller & Meloy, 2006; Saunders, 2002). According to these men, women who did not do ‘what they were supposed to’ or disrespected the men, ‘deserved being beaten’. There is a wealth of research that report similar findings (Abrahams et al., 2006; Dobash & Dobash, 1979; Kim &

Motsei, 2002; Wood, Lambert & Jewkes, 2008). Dobash and Dobash (1979) in their representation of abusive husband-wife relationships show that this relationship can be experienced as a parent-child relationship. With inequality at the core, the husband represents a 'parent' who dominates and disciplines his wife (the 'child') by using violence (Dobash & Dobash, 1979). Similarly, Kim and Motsei (2002), in their study with nursing professionals, found that male participants referred to physical abuse as 'disciplining' or 'punishing' women, and that men justified abuse by maintaining "that when they [women] don't listen ... they get beaten" (Kim & Motsei, 2002, p. 1246).

Exploring men's narratives of intimate partner violence and its link to performances of masculinity amongst incarcerated men in the USA, Wood (2004) reported that men justified the use of violence against their partners as a measure to discipline women who disrespected them. Similarly, Abrahams, Jewkes, Laubscher and Hoffman (2006) showed that men became violent when their authority was challenged (e.g. when women partners consume alcohol). The authors highlight that men assumed that when a woman says and does "... those things that transgress her expected role" she deserves to be punished (p. 15). Studying partner violence amongst youth in the Eastern Cape, Wood, Lambert and Jewkes (2008), purport that the use of violence by men to discipline their women partners was said (by both male and female participants) to be an accepted measure of the level of commitment and love men placed on the relationship. With the research presented above, including the findings of the present study, it can be deduced that violence is an acceptable part of masculine performance (Walby, 1990), and often used as a means to enforce masculinity and to police women's conformity to an expected social standard of femininity.

Within this context, violence seems to have been a constant phenomenon in men's lives. Stories of violence shared above were experiences of adulthood, but narratives of violence

experienced by men in childhood were also relayed. Some childhood recollections were centred on stories of witnessing domestic violence:

Extract 43: Delft Group 5

P2: My mother and my father drank. Understand? They can also smoked marijuana or so. But now I start there. Mine drank both. Now you know what the circumstances, consequences of that, what follows. It's a fight.

P5: It's so.

P2: It's fighting. Now it goes on all night, you know how it goes on weekends. Non-stop. But you do not know which way you should be.

Reflecting on the above narrative, the participants agreed that the abuse of alcohol and drugs by parents in the home often result in episodes of domestic violence. The link between alcohol and violence continually emerged in men's talk about domestic violence. This is consistent with the finding that alcoholism and drug abuse are often suggested by perpetrators as causes of violent behaviour (Abrahams et al., 2006; Armstrong, 1998; Field, Caetano & Nelson, 2004; Jewkes, 2002; Klevens et al., 2007; Lisak & Beszterczey, 2007; Sawyer-Kurian et al., 2009; Strelbel et al., 2006). For example, men are often diagnosed as "temporarily abnormal" as a means to justify violence perpetrated when men were intoxicated during the violent episode (O'Neill, 1998, p. 464). This narrative shows that men even justified their fathers' abusive behaviours as violence propelled by alcohol use. This was, therefore, a 'common narrative' for justifying abusive behaviours for these men.

Furthermore, the perceived commonness of violence brought on by alcohol use was implicated when I was directly addressed in the discussion; "Now you know what the circumstances, consequences of that, what follows" and "you know how it goes on weekends". Here a sense of commonality in terms of what we, as 'coloured' people, experience on the weekend was assumed. Although his assumption is accurate for many working class communities³⁸, the normality of domestic violence and substance abuse as a

³⁸ These include my own experiences which I reflect on in the methods chapter (Chapter Four).

weekend experience in ‘coloured’ communities is disconcerting, and further contributes to the marginalisation of these communities.

In other narratives about domestic violence during childhood, some men shared that they retaliated against their fathers by using other forms of resistance as they were unable to defend their mothers physically. The following extracts show how men attempted retaliation:

Extract 44: Delft Group 3

P3: /.../ your hands is totally cut-off when your parents fight. Your hands are cut-off, you must just stand there and shout, go crazy whatever, you can’t do anything...you can fight back as much as you can with your dad, you will never be able to beat him to the ground /.../ I know how my mom felt; I know how my mom cried; I know what my mother looked like whatever when he was done with her or whatever.

Extract 45: Delft Group 1

P1: /.../ every night when he comes home he is drunk and when my mom found out afterwards hey but you you when you come home drunk every night and if he is drunk, and when he is drunk he wants to almost jump on my mother’s chest. I had care a lot about my mother. Now he has a bicycle and if he is my mom so if he is drunk he fights with my mom then I just take a nail or so then I punctured his wheels, you will not work tomorrow; you you go again and hit my mother.

The extracts above represent many of the men who mentioned that they anxiously anticipated domestic violence. Stories about fathers abusing alcohol and beating mothers were very common. In the narratives presented above, participants express their realisation that they were unable to physically ‘save’ their mothers. The first extract reflects the ‘powerlessness’ of both mother and child. On the other hand, and in his own way, the second participant deflated his father’s bicycle tyres as a way to take action against his mother’s perpetrator.

As shown thus far, men’s exposure to the abuse of women was prevalent, particularly in the fact that men (as children) witnessed the abuse of their mothers. In talking about the abuse of their mothers, men also drew on the idea of the intergenerational transmission of violence:

Extract 46: Delft Group 3

P3: Now just think with that mentality especially if you can do this. Yes, you as the child see what your dad is doing. Now everything that you have learnt in your family situation you will apply because you you don’t think outside the box,... You will check oh, my dad got this right with my mom. He hit my mom... Why can’t I do that? ... See the

environment in which you stay you get used to it because those ... seeds get planted in your spirit.

Extract 47: Vlottenburg Group 2

P7: Like okay, okay, you get older. Okay, get an understanding. Okay, you see okay, my dad do this [abuse mother] okay hmm, you think now according to that he is obviously a man. He is a big man.

In men's talk, the idea of intergenerational transfer is used uncritically in order to describe the inevitability of men becoming abusers. Abrahams et al., (2006) and others (Abrahams & Jewkes, 2005; Abrahams et al., 2006; Sawyer-Kurian et al., 2009; Lisak & Beszterczey, 2007) in their research examining intimate partner violence in Cape Town, found that men who reported that they witnessed their mothers being abused by their fathers, were more likely to become perpetrators of women abuse in adulthood. O'Neil (1998, p. 464) similarly argued that violent behaviour is like a "hereditary disease" inherited from generation to generation. Abrahams et al. (2006, p. 261) further suggested that in witnessing violence men learn "that violence is an appropriate tactic" to ensure men's superiority in the home.

Violence in the home, often also spilled over to the abuse of children. Participants relayed experiences of falling victim to their fathers' abuse themselves. In these narratives the abusers' violence was constructed differently to that in their narratives of domestic or intimate partner violence:

Extract 48: Vlottenburg Group 5

P5: I am what I am today because my parents disciplined me.

P3: Yes yes that's true

P5: They bend my branches when I didn't listen.

P3: Yes yes. That helped.

P1: How do they say; the old values and norms.

P3: No they usually say; that happened those days. That you can't come tell me now.

Jacque: What are the old values and norms that you want to see come back?

P1: Giving hidings!

P3: Giving hidings that helped for me a lot.

Here men attested that receiving physical punishment from their fathers was the method fathers used to teach them. The use of phrases like "They bend my branches when I didn't listen" symbolises that children were moulded, similarly to women as discussed previously,

to acceptable standards. This metaphor also gives the impression that corporal punishment as a means of discipline was an acceptable method. According to men, the use of an ‘acceptable measure of violence’ to enforce parental, or mainly the father’s superiority, was contextualised as a means to teach the child important life lessons. Men also suggested that an ‘acceptable measure of violence’ was a necessary means of achieving order in the home. This kind of rhetoric reproduces and perpetuates violence in the domestic arena as a means for men to ‘control’ and have power over women and children. Men agreed that those who deviated from the said societal norms should be physically punished. The call for corporal punishment to be reinstated in this excerpt was an effort to retain masculine control over women and children.

The environment in which men were raised fostered ambivalence regarding domestic violence. On the one hand, men reflected on their households as spaces which gave allowance to the use of violence by fathers to deal with disobedient mothers and children. On the other hand this was contrasted with their childhood stories of dreading episodes of domestic violence. The descriptions of violence as ‘normal’ were pervasive in the data for both of these communities. Men’s ambivalence around violence was challenged by a marginal voice suggesting that men were able to move away from using violence to enforce their superiority. This next excerpt reflects on the discussion about domestic violence.

Extract 49: Delft Group 3

P3: /.../ so as your life as a young man starts, you start your own family; you start your own thing, you must tell yourself that you can break the cycle. So if I’m married tomorrow I can teach my child that this is the way to go.

This extract represents a challenge to an assumed violent masculinity. Here it was shown that men have the agency to stop the cycle of violence, as they establish new homes. Here men portrayed awareness that they could resist the construction of violence as central to masculine performances of ‘husband-hood’ or ‘fatherhood’ as they challenged the inevitability of

intergenerational violence. Performing an alternative form of masculinity does not go without backlash (Sideris, 2004). For this reason Hoang, Quach and Tran (2013, p. 81) suggest that men should be empowered with the “relevant knowledge, skills, mentoring, and peer support” needed to encourage and sustain non-violent masculinities. This is also true for men who display public violence.

6.3.2.2 Narratives of neighbourhood violence

“And leaving a violent home is no assurance of peace” (Fine & Weis, 1998, p. 457).

As suggested by Fine and Weis (1998) above, those communities where violence is prevalent in the domestic sphere are often communities in which public or neighbourhood violence is also prevalent. Reed et al. (2009) suggest that efforts to curb violence in these spaces should take into account the social problems marginalised communities foster which cause these communities to disproportionately bear the brunt of violence. The patterns of violence in men’s talk also revealed that their neighbourhoods were prone to public violence. The excerpts that are presented in this section demonstrate the prevalence of neighbourhood violence:

Extract 50: Vlottenburg Group 5

P6: Like this guy who died now...Ferdo what is his name?

P1: Ferdo

P6: That is part of abuse, whatever they did in their house, but the outcome of that was that his stepfather stabbed his real father with a knife in his head,

P3: Yes that was Monday night,

P1: mmmhm Last Monday night,

P6: Then he died because of his wounds.

Here the group shared a violent incident which seemed to not be something out of the ordinary. Something that became evident during these discussions was that participants did not have to think too hard to recall incidents of violence that occurred in their communities. The incident that was described above happened just a week before the focus group

discussion. While the incident was not described with disrespect to the victim, it is talked about in a rather normalised way. It gives the impression that the community was often exposed to such episodes of violence. As said, participants could recall incidents of violence without effort, and many of them knew the people involved. Some men also shared stories about their own perpetration of public violence:

Extract 51: Vlottenburg Group 3

P5: /.../ okay I will say, a violent criminal hey, there are many times when he does something that forces him into a situation that he is in, where he just sees, that he is becoming a violent criminal. I spend a long time in prison. Through self-defence stabbed and killed a man, I was charged with murder. It was self-defence; I stabbed that man with a 'piksteel' [dagger]. I warned him and he didn't want to stop, so I stabbed him. Look then that also made of me a violent criminal. /.../ then I got eight years, and I learned from that /.../

Extract 52: Delft Group 1

P7: /.../ so I stood on the corner and he pulls a knife; I got a fright and I ran. /.../. So I put a towel around my arm and then I saw no this is wrong so I ran back /.../ when he stabbed I had him /.../ I stabbed him right through his neck. /.../

Extract 53: Delft Group 1

P1: /.../ he must just say *pê* [he must just retaliate] then I will stab you; *voetsek*³⁹ I'm not worried about you, but then I 'bumped my head' when I stabbed and killed someone and two more aggravated assaults, one in the wheelchair. When I open my eyes when I was inside prison and from prison there I lot of things have done so far and all /.../

The two excerpts above sketch the pervasiveness of violence in these communities often perpetrated by the participants themselves. These narratives of personal violence led to time spent in prison. What preceded these stories were men's renditions of motivations for their actions. In the first two quotes the motivations for committing violence were framed as a means of self-defence. This was a pervasive narrative, and the patterns of public violence as a performance of masculinity in these communities are fully discussed in the next chapter. In the third quote the man showed blatant disrespect to his victims or potential victims, while almost taunting his victim as he defended his 'space'. These quotes in essence summarised some of the meanings men may attach to violence. Rich and Grey (2005) suggest that black men often use public violence to regain respect. For example, Participant 5 says: "I warned

³⁹ 'Voetsek' when loosely translated, means 'get lost' or more crudely 'bugger off'

him and he didn't want to stop ...". In making it clear to his victim that a boundary was crossed, he felt justified when he chose to retaliate with violence to protect his image. Furthermore, men are faced with continuous exposure to violence, and often become victims of such violence, and thus "...may feel compelled to become aggressors..." as a way to save face on the streets (Rich & Grey, 2005 p. 818).

From men's talk, narratives of public or neighbourhood violence were highlighted as a common occurrence in their communities. Fear of walking their neighbourhood streets was commonly expressed as if they had restricted citizenship:

Extract 54: Delft Group 5

P6 Now what our men do? We fight with each other. Now we are like two dogs that fight. 'Why are you looking at me? Your mother's this; your mother's that' I will stab you with this knife.

Extract 55: Vlottenburg Group 6

P3: /.../ that's why things are 'deurmekaar'⁴⁰ here by us, the children fight /.../

From these excerpts men depicted their neighbourhoods as spaces where violence was always present or the potential for being part of violence was always a possibility. Other than the random violent episodes that happened on the streets, men's talk about neighbourhood violence revolved around gangsterism in the communities.

Extract 56: Delft Group 6

P3: Daily. We come into contact with gangsters daily. You still are going to the shop. You must be scared.

P8: We are involved with things like this daily.

P3: Let me give an example. My next door neighbour had a quarrel with his next door neighbour. He stays next to the shop, but now he is too scared to even go to the shop.

P2: You must be scared to go out your door.

Gang-related violence in Delft, specifically, is said to be part of the community's landscape. Fear of leaving one's house due to gangsterism and the imminent gang-related violence was a common narrative shared amongst these men. The extremity of the problem was shown in the

⁴⁰ Deurmekaar is an Afrikaans word which means 'confused' when it is directly translated. Here the participant seems to use the word to indicate 'chaos' within the community.

agreement amongst these men and the stories they shared about the fear of violence in their community. The above extract showed the omnipotence of the daily struggle these men experienced, as they were left to negotiate their safety in these communities. Seedat, van Niekerk, Jewkes, Suffla and Ratele (2009) suggest that interpersonal violence in the South African context should be considered a public health priority, as it accounts for almost half of the deaths caused by injury. The pervasiveness of gangsterism in these neighbourhoods added to the potential danger in the communities:

Extract 57: Vlottenburg Group 2

P5: Look miss, we can now talk about age like; okay, a boy of nine, ten years old; if he belongs to a gang then age does not count. Then I say to him here is a gun, shoot that man dead, shoot that man dead.

Extract 58: Delft Group 5

P8: Man there in my area then you walk, then you will see the young boys of 8 and 9 years old, then they 'sabela' [gangster talk] like guys who were in prison.

P5: That's the truth.

P8: Serious, you get that, the Dixie Boys, and then you get the Junior Dixie Boys.

P5: And they are worse than the big ones hey.

P8: Your car stands there, they will get into your car, and then they search the whole car. And when you come out [of the house] then he takes out a big gun, 'what are you gonna do?'

P5: Like, they.

P8: What helps us always survive is that all of them know us.

P5: Yes.

This excerpt showed that gangsterism was multi-generational and that the 'power' possessed by the gang member (young or old) was the same. When men were affiliated with a gang, they were taken seriously in their communities. Gangsters (young or old) then ruled their communities and inflicted their own superiority on members of rival gangs and the community at large. The only solace that many local residents had was that they were familiar to most of the gangs in their communities and thereby may feel some sense of safety in their neighbourhoods.

The spill-over of family violence into these neighbourhoods was suggested to be responsible for the community's burden of gangsterism. From men's talk it was clear that gang

membership amongst the youth was seen being caused by unstable home environments. This was also suggested by Abrahams and Jewkes (2005) who argue that when men observe violence against mothers during their childhood, they are more likely to become perpetrators of violence in the public sphere. It is, therefore, no surprise that vulnerable youth were targeted by gang members as protégés and given an opportunity to earn some form of financial and social power. School-age boys were most vulnerable to the influences of gangsters:

Extract 59: Delft Group 6

P1: Your mind is still ‘you are going to school’ then the gangsters pull you in. They give you shoes and clothes. Then they say to ‘*yak*’ [wear] this.

/.../

P5: He then feels cool because now he has a gun; and he has tattoos, he has got powers and people. ‘Nobody touch me...you don’t tell me – what are you looking at?’

Extract 60: Vlottenburg Group 6

P3: Then tomorrow then these children become gangsters because there is no job creation here for them.

For vulnerable youth gang initiation was said to substitute school attendance. In the excerpt above the easiness of gang initiation and recruitment was clear. Seasoned gangsters and not parents, in these communities, were given a sense of ‘power’ to decide the fate of the youth. On the streets youth could get a sense of brotherhood, respect and family which may have been lacking in their homes. Gang initiation, as reflected above, also provided gang members with a sense of power and authority – a sense of ‘good-enough-ness’ and access to material resources. The artificial sense of ‘power’ and acceptance that gang membership provides is also documented by other researchers as one of the reasons youth become involved in neighbourhood gangs (Cooper, 2009). Thus, from men’s talk the link between family violence and gangsterism amongst the youth emerged. These forms of violence therefore formed part of their daily life experiences in these communities. The narratives men of the current study provided ample reason for taking a serious look at the normalcy of violence in

the homes and neighbourhoods of marginalised communities. Even more so, the social problems that categorise these spaces as marginal should be improved.

6.3.2.3 Disparity and relative deprivation

From men's talk about the instability and 'chaos' in their communities, it emerged that these neighbourhoods lacked a sense of community. Reasons for this were that there was a lack of community support and community mobilisation in dealing with social issues which crippled their communities.

Extract 61: Delft Group 5

P4: The problem is hey, what I can say the problem is we stay next to each other in this place, but we don't know each other. There is no love between us.

P2: It is so.

P4: You understand? And, and; and the thing is this, we are scared of each other.

Extract 62: Vlottenburg Group 5

P1: /.../ but I think like what came out earlier, about every household everyone is for themselves, we don't have that sense of caring for each other /.../

In both the extracts men reported that communication amongst neighbours was minimal, "There is no love between us" and that neighbours did not care about each other. Making sense of the situation, men concluded that it was as a result of the shared reality of poverty, that neighbours did not have the luxury to share their basic resources with each other. The meagre basic resources available to them were barely enough for their own households. The issue of segregation within 'coloured' communities is discussed by Pinnock (1984, 1995, 1997) as a result of the policies of Apartheid. Forced removals meant that families were displaced and this uprooted existing social networks among 'coloured' families. In my view, the dislocation and trauma of the forced removals, combined with the shared reality of poverty, may have propelled people to be less courteous when it comes to sharing basic resources. Shared poverty in turn might have hindered their sense of community and social

growth, which may be to blame for experiencing their neighbours as insensitive to their ‘lack’.

Extract 63: Delft Group 1

P1: Here in Delft actually if you are a man and you don't have a job or something then you mean nothing in the day, you suffer. All of Delft suffers. If you don't work...

P3: ...then nobody will give you.

P1: And I ask you a piece, some sugar or that they will not give you. Answer that they have, they they even if you ask and they have, they will not give you. This is how Delft people act, because they suffer. If I have a piece I am too afraid to give you a piece because just now I won't have.

P5: Tomorrow I don't have...

P1: Now who is gonna give me again. So it's like that, the whole Delft is all of us suffer here in the whole Delft.

A man's responsibility to provide for his family was shown to be entangled with issues of poverty and unemployment. As stated above, unemployed men were seen as ‘worthless’ in these communities. For these men unemployment meant that they were less likely to receive help from their neighbours. Acknowledging that everyone in Delft struggled under poverty, men reckoned that when they asked for help with basic resources, neighbours were too scared to share their resources because they had no way of obtaining more for themselves. Men did not entirely blame their neighbours for not sharing their resources. Their understanding of the ‘lack’ experienced by everyone in their community was evident here. Men rationalised that their neighbours were not convinced that those who received help would or could provide the same courtesy to those who helped, as everyone suffered the effects of unemployment.

As discussed earlier, long-term unemployment has made the men's ‘responsibility’ to provide even more difficult. Here unemployment was coupled with the shortage of social support at both community and government levels. Focusing on social support in their communities, men said that the sense of segregation within their communities was because ‘coloured’ communities had a general lack of local leadership:

Extract 64: Vlottenburg Group 5

P1: But at the end of the day it is just the community upliftment itself, how would I be able to tell if the people don't unite...

/.../

P1: I think what we lack, and I am not pulling race. I think what we lack and what happens in many African communities, they have, almost I said clan community leaders and I mean those people are firm, it's almost like they don't...they don't discriminate...they are neutral. /.../ now that is what we lack, no-one is prepared many times to just strengthen their backs to say my fins are out; I am here for the community, because everyone is like it came out earlier everyone for himself.

P6: Don't even wait till it's Friday until you have received your envelope, when you received you brown envelope then you are just for yourself.

P3: That's true

Here men position 'coloured' communities as less political than black-African communities. Men did this by contrasting 'coloured' communities with black-African communities, where they believed community leadership and mobilisation was very common. In the discussion above, men remarked that community leaders in black-African communities were impartial, as leaders dealt promptly with community and personal issues. According to them, this kind of commitment to the community was non-existent in their communities. Drawing on community leadership dynamics, men seemed to recognise that leadership in the black-African communities provided the group with a sense of ethnic mobilisation, political consciousness and leadership, which they did not have access to in 'coloured' communities. Research has shown that a community is seen as "...a group that shares a sufficient communality of interests such as that its members are motivated to engage in collective action" (Brinkerhoff & Azfar, 2006, p. 6). Some attempts to mobilise the community were, however, alluded to during the discussions. Here men drew on recent examples of 'unity' and mobilisation in aid of wage increases for farm workers:

Extract 65: Vlottenburg Group 7

P6: The farmworkers strike for a wage increase. I don't know whether they are going to get it, but they deserve it. But they could maybe get that money, but the circumstances under which they live will not change. And that is what is putting us in the position we are in now. That we look upon each other.

/.../

P5: I blame us. *We must* put a stop to it. *We must* close the roads. *We must* strike, boycott, riot. The people that are not from this place we must vote out.

P3: How are we gonna do that? The problem is with the white man, they own this land. All the land in Vlottenburg belongs to the farmer.

Phrases like '*... we must ...*' could be considered as encouragement to take action against their 'oppressors'. Here the oppressor was said to be both workers from other areas, who

come to Vlottenburg and supply the farmers with cheaper labour, and the farmers themselves, who for generations owned the lands. In the discussion above, the older men in the group, however, located 'coloured' farm communities as those inevitably inferior to white farmers and unable to improve their living conditions on the farm. In saying that the land they had lived on all their lives belonged to the white farm owners, the man inhibited farm workers' right, responsibility or prerogative to fight against the 'status quo'.

Even though men used black-African communities as an admirable example of community leadership, black-Africans were also implicated as a 'racial threat'. With the fight to obtain a portion of the limited resources available to this marginalised group ('coloured'-working-class), semi-skilled labour available within these communities was seen to be under threat by black-Africans who, according to them, had become the preferred labour force because 'they run the country':

Extract 67: Delft Group 7

P7: We are now talking about employment, then we look at Black Empowerment, who gets the most work? They just look after their own people. Because my grandfather is the president.

P2: And there is a policy made out also. If I am not black enough then I cannot get the job.

Extract 68: Delft Group 6

P3: Even though you are doing all these things, it still comes down to nationality. In preference you must actually be painted very dark. Especially when it comes to cleaning of the roads. A person give your CV many times, but nothing comes of it. I am not shy to mention it, but racism is now more than it was.

P2: I have wanted to paint myself with black shoe nugget [polish] just to get something [laughter].

P7: Even if you look carefully, in the 90s the man on the NikNaks was a white man on the packet. Now it is a black man. /.../. That's why we can't get work easily.

Men saw themselves unable to obtain employment because they were not black-African. They shared this sentiment as reason that they had been cheated out of job opportunities. Men shared that their race prohibited them from getting job opportunities to which they felt entitled. Men located themselves between expressions of internalised oppression and horizontal racism. Men expressed internalised oppression as they experienced 'colouredness'

as the reason for their oppression. Men seem to have internalised the prejudiced perceptions about ‘colouredness’, and in doing so, they envisioned a bleak future for themselves as the perceptions of ‘others’ diminished their self-worth.

Men’s expressions showed that in making sense of their own disempowered position, men drew on racist discourses to persecute black-Africans. This was seen in their arbitrary reference to the NikNaks⁴¹ man whom, they argued, changed from a white man to a black man. According to the men, this racial transition of the NikNaks man was a reflection of the present black-African rule of the country. This reveals the extent to which men feel deprived as they react by oppressing those who are equally deprived (Bulhan, 1985). Here it became evident that, relative to black-Africans (also marginalised), these ‘coloured’ men experienced deprivation as a reality that was influenced by their race.

Their level of deprivation relative to black-Africans became more evident when men talked about the housing shortage in Cape Town. As another battle for resources between the ‘coloured’ and Xhosa communities in Cape Town, men said:

Extract 69: Delft Group 5

P5: Our people are tired of fighting and asking and pleading, we don’t even want to plead anymore.

P4: Look here most of the houses. Look with these houses. Those people there in Dark City across from Lavis. Look how they fought. Why, because their names were first on the list, there are some of them who have been on the waiting list for 15 years, in an instant all the Xhosa people get houses.

P2: Yes and the people did not [cross talk]

[Group cross talks]

P2: The people have houses, and then they sell their houses just to live in a bigger house.

P5: The people come from other provinces. Now they come squat here on any land. Now they go and squat on land where they know they should not be. It already has been said to them that they are not wanted there, but because they are there, now the government wants them out of there and they promise them that they will get houses. And truly they give these people houses the people come from the Eastern Province. Or out of the Northern Province.

P2: I don’t know why they were supposed to come out of the yards. [Inaudible] now all of them are sitting in Blikkiesdorp caught-up. And go see there, it is mostly ‘coloured’ people. It is or men.

P4: I mean if I, if I could get a chance today to debate with a president, ne. who says that he does something for our [cross talk]

⁴¹ NikNaks refers to maize snacks locally referred to as potato chips.

P5: a man's heart is sore don't know still [cross talk] it just looks like nobody cares for us.

The political situation in the country allowed men to draw on ideas of deprivation and persecution. Men also drew on current media reports of the housing shortage and the violence that went with it in and around Cape Town. Men stated that black-Africans (specifically referring to Xhosa people), who were originally from other provinces in the country, immigrated to the Cape; and had more access than 'coloured' people to opportunities and basic resources. In the discussion above, men delved into subjective emotions about feeling 'left' to fend for themselves. The group's expression of agreement about their disadvantaged position could be deduced from their desire to all have their say. The lack of government support and understanding, they said, conjured up emotions of heartache and hopelessness in the face of their everyday predicaments.

The theory of relative deprivation suggests that when a group evaluates themselves as socially deprived in relation of another group, inter-group conflict may arise, especially when the 'deprived' group considers that they are unable to mobilise themselves as a means to recover their set goals (Gurr, 1970). To my knowledge, there have been no recent instances where black-African and 'coloured' communities have mobilised against each other. However, with a history of the racial oppression of people of colour, recent violence as a means to defend social resources between deprived groups and foreign nationals has flared. Most of the reports of public mobilisation and public violence were due to a shortage of resources experienced by marginalised groups. Mobilisation is often as a result of common deprivation. These have become fairly common and include the xenophobic attacks (since 1998), the De Doorns strike (farmer workers destroyed vineyards during wage disputes), the housing riots of the people of Blikkiesdorp in Delft, and recent examples of protests against lack of adequate sanitation in Cape Town.

6.4 Conclusion

This chapter aimed to present patterns of marginalisation as men draw on pervasive discourses to construct their lived experiences in their communities. It was discovered that these men were aware about how ‘coloured’ men were perceived by ‘others’. Men showed that their safety, the availability of gainful employment, and their lived experiences in these communities were linked to stereotypes about ‘colouredness’. Thus, as presented in men’s narratives, being ill-perceived by others undermined their sense of personhood, and subjected these men and their communities to greater marginalisation. Consequent to chronic marginalisation, the men experienced negotiating personhood in these communities had resulted in private and public behaviours that kept these men on the periphery of society. As presented in this chapter, unemployment, substance abuse, different forms of violence and social exclusion rendered their performances of manhood and personhood at the periphery of their community and of their homes. What emerged was that discourses of violence in these communities were reasserted daily as a solution to social problems. It should be noted that men’s perceptions of marginalisation may seem remarkably un-gendered. For these men, the influences of race on their everyday lives may be a salient. Nevertheless, their discussions on drinking, unemployment and violence, illustrate that marginalisation is directly related to issues of masculinity. As such, the next chapter shows some basis for a masculinity in ‘crisis’ as it considers the context in which ‘coloured’ masculinities are performed and the masculine performances that are particular to men in these communities.

CHAPTER SEVEN

LOCAL PERFORMANCES OF MASCULINITIES

The aim of this thesis was to study the influences of masculinity roles on risk behaviours and gender role stress amongst marginalized ‘coloured’ men. The current chapter is the third result chapter. Findings from the quantitative results (Chapter Five) reports that most of these men value masculinity norms that relates to status and that men who endorse traditional masculinity are more likely to show sexist hostility toward women. The first qualitative chapter (Chapter Six) found that men’s context of marginalisation has an impact on how they perform their masculine roles. To facilitate a more in depth understanding of the common traditional masculinity roles amongst marginalized ‘coloured’ men and the influence of endorsing these norms on men’s behaviours, this chapter presents themes that explore men’s subjective ideas about masculinity roles and norms amongst marginalised ‘coloured’ men in their local communities. This chapter illuminates the structures, and practices around which ‘coloured’ masculine identity was lived.

Embedded in the Gender Role Strain Paradigm, this study aimed to explore the meanings men give to their experiences *as men*; how they enacted their manhood and how masculine power is maintained when challenged by women, other men and the context within which they live. Furthermore, this chapter delves into ideas about marginalised masculinities and how these men collectively challenge or affirm existing ideas of traditional masculinities and their views on how these traditional masculinities are maintained over time. In this chapter, I present recurrent thematic patterns men highlighted when constructing meaning of their subjective gendered roles. In addition, the analysis reveals how men positioned themselves as ‘men’ in their homes and communities.

The first theme focuses on the subjective and perceived meanings men attached to ‘manhood’ in their communities. For the purpose of this thesis, gender role expectations were defined as socially expected norms of what a man and a woman should ‘be’ and ‘do’. These meanings of masculinities and femininities were mostly guided by socially agreed upon gender role expectations. The second and third themes that emerged from men’s talk were centred on the interplay between male power and powerlessness. Here men discussed the attainment and maintenance of traditional masculinity and the thwarting men experienced when they were unable to attain this masculine ideal. Drawing on men’s marginalised social context described in Chapter Six, I further considered how masculine power was displayed and contested in these poverty-stricken environments.

7.1 Local performances of masculinities

West and Zimmerman (1987, 1992) argue that displaying our ‘gender’ is part of our everyday interactions. In ‘doing’⁴² our gender, the authors argue, humans perform socially established gendered roles for others to see. Hence, how one identifies oneself, “... is not only contextually variable and open to continuous redefinitions, but is also related to actions and behaviours as much as feelings and thoughts ...” (Van Dijk 2009, p. 266). Furthermore, ‘doing gender’ cements inequalities between men and women, which appear to justify discrimination (Van Dijk, 2009). The rhetoric these men drew from when discussing masculinity, showed that their constructions of gender were heavily informed by traditional notions of masculinity. What became evident was that, while these men were marginalised (in terms of race, class and economic status) they vehemently continued to aspire to these traditional ideals.

⁴² The source of data for this chapter is talk (language) from focus group discussions. My analysis and discussions around performances and ‘doing’ gender are therefore indicative of men’s talk around masculine performances. The idea of gender as a performance is something that emerges from a social constructionist theoretical framework; the concept of masculine performance is however, useful for my analysis of how men experience their marginalised status as men and attempt to live up to dominant ideals of manhood.

7.1.1 Employment: The provider masculinity

From the focus group discussions it became apparent that men's subjective descriptions of masculinity were based on performances and displays of masculinity, rather than particular masculine character types or traits (Connell, 2002; Luyt, 2007). Role performance or what men thought a man should *do* was imperative.

From men's talk a consensus emerged that the most important masculine role men should perform was that of the head of the household:

Extract 1: Delft Group 2

P6: Provide for the house./.../. Like to go work, provide for food (inaudible)

P7: Provide the money for food and clothes. /.../

Extract 2: Vlottenburg Group 3

P2: /.../ make sure that you are at work every day; that there is money.

Extract 3: Vlottenburg Group 4

P9: A man; you work for...for your family...for your wife and your children.

Extract 4: Delft Group 1

P1: /.../ You must be able to provide for them [wife and children]. You must make sure is there something to eat every day. The light must burn. Basically you, you are the head of everything, cause if you can't do that, you are not worth anything.

/.../

P3: I also agree with him.

P2: That is a man's that is actually a man's job. A man's job is if you have a family then you must, you must.

P3: You must provide.

P2: You must provide, must see and provide that everything is in the house.

Social consensus about men's role was clear in these excerpts. Performing the role as provider rendered men responsible for the economic welfare of their families. Having gainful employment and performing the breadwinner role was, therefore, an integral part of masculine expression for these men. In interpreting 'successful' manhood, men drew on socio-economic discourses to frame traditional manhood that was juxtaposed to their social location of relative poverty and chronic unemployment.

The masculine role as provider of a home is one that is both common in western and traditionalist cultures (Barker & Ricardo, 2005; Shefer & Foster, 2001). Being the head of the household required that a man *do* the things that are expected of him (Acker, 1992; Boonzaier, 2005; Craib, 1987; Haywood & Mac an Ghail, 2003; Sawyer-Kurian et al., 2009; Wyllie, et al., 2012). Hammond and Mattis (2005) and Hurtado and Sinha (2008) posit that both middle-class and working-class black men often construct their masculine duty as a commitment to their families. Likewise, Extracts 1 through 4 show how men collectively chose to position themselves as providers for their families when listing the duties men were to perform as household heads. The fact that men highlighted that they were responsible for food and electricity, (the most basic needs) showed the level of deprivation experienced by these men and their families.

Another notable consensus between these men was that as a man “*You must*” provide for your family. Pre-empting their definitions of head of household with this wording (“*You must*”) in a sense was not only to emphasise the importance of this masculine duty; the phrase also stressed the enormity of this responsibility and, as presented in Extract 4, a man who failed to fulfil this duty was “*not worth anything*”.

Talk about the head of household position evoked much discussion, as men drew on biblical discourses to substantiate their views about masculine ‘worthiness’.

Extract 5: Delft Group 1

P2: /.../the Bible says that God created man in his own image /.../ Then he named me, I am a man. Adam’s gender.

Extract 6: Delft Group 3

P3: I mean if I buy myself...a Mercedes Benz, if I want to understand Mercedes Benz then I should have its manual. You can’t use DVD player’s manual to drive a car. Now what is your manual? It is the Bible. And who made us? God, so? /.../

With scriptural emphasis men located themselves as the head of their households. Religion as informed by Christianity and Islam were the main sources from which men received instruction on how ‘traditional’ masculinity should be performed. Due to the heterogeneity of ‘colouredness’, it was anticipated that some men would draw on religious beliefs to explain their masculine identities. The use of religion as a means to locate ‘coloured’ masculine identity is said to be a common point of reference of ‘coloured’ men (Jensen, 2008).

The continued use of scriptural reference as a means to define masculinity bordered on the perpetuation of masculine power. This perpetuation is clear in the following excerpts:

Extract 7: Delft Group 3

P8: /.../ Because that is now what manhood means, understand? Especially a woman wants safety. She wants to feel safe /.../ That is very important.

Extract 8: Delft Group 2

P3: But in my view, my view is err...I cannot expect that the women should be the strong one, because it is so that the man has always been like the ‘roof’ and the women the floor. It doesn’t mean that I should step on her but at the end of the day the man must play his role, but he must also allow the women to play her role. As a mother and as a woman, spouse and as the mother of the children and so on, but the decisions, there can decisions can be made and each individual should decision, decisions should be...

P1: Respected

P3: Respected

Jacque: Uh.

P3: Respect the decisions that are made. According to me it is always the man there err... that is always the head. Okay sometimes some men...

P2: He allows his wife to be the head.

P4: He allows it yes.

P5: He allows the woman.

P3: But at the end of the day it is just so that it is expected of a man to be the one who /.../

As shown in Extracts 7 and 8, the role of provider was accepted as the core responsibility of men. There was a sense, however, that this responsibility was difficult to shoulder, but the power that men derived from being the provider, was most highlighted. The provider role afforded a man the respect of his wife and children that in turn elevated his masculine identity. The symbolic use of ‘men as the roof’ and ‘women the floor’ (Extract 8) of the household was evidence of the relationships between men and women in these communities. From men’s talk, the expected passivity of women was clear in the manner they describe

feminine duties. Women therefore were obliged to respect the decisions made by the head of the household.

Contrary to the view of women as submissive, a contestation emerged amongst men with some men asserting egalitarian discourses to readjust the position of women in the household:

Extract 9: Delft Group 2

P7: And you should not always make decisions by yourself together with your wife. He must make decision together with his wife.

/.../

P7: I want a report from the woman. So she must have that opportunity to also make decisions for herself.

P1: Oh yes!

P7: I can only affirm that no that's right or I can show her afterwards where she let something escape, but she must...she must decide for herself. You have to motivate her so that she can make decision for herself because at the end of the day you are the father here...

P2: Yes, precisely.

Here, the men's talk drew on an egalitarian discourse when discussing the roles of men and women. The agreement around the inclusion of women in decision making in the household was, however, short lived as men's talk on gender sensitive discourses swiftly turned into a discourse around preserving masculine dominance. On the surface men's talk encouraged women to participate in decision making in the home, while the underlying tone of their discussion continued to suggest the preservation of ultimate male power.

Men's views presented, thus far, were loaded with ambivalent sexism towards women. On the one, hand the discussion in Extract 9 provides evidence of benevolent sexism towards women, as they portrayed women as weak and in need of men's protection. On the other hand, men also showed hostility toward women as they articulated their disapproval toward women who disrespected or disregarded their decisions. The underlying ambivalent sexism directed toward women was clearly motivated by men's need to maintain masculine power. Using sexism to maintain masculine power was also suggested by other researchers (Gadd, 2002; Glick & Fiske, 1996; Glick et al., 2000; Glick et al., 2002; hooks, 1994; Messerschmidt, 1997; Sakalli, 2001). This conclusion is pertinent to this analysis, as the

quantitative findings of this study (Chapter Five) also showed that men who endorsed traditional masculinity norms (i.e. being the primary provider) were more likely to report hostile sexism toward women, as compared to men who reported low or non-endorsement of these traditional norms.

Based on the reality of familial structures in these contexts, silences about the commonness of single-mother headed households was clear in men talk. Many of these men themselves were products of this kind of familial set-up. This is not uncommon in the South African context. Population statistics show that 43.8% of South African households are female-headed (Statistics South Africa, 2011). It could, therefore, be suggested that even though these men held the masculine 'role' of being the head of the household in high esteem, the reality of their own life experiences showed that women were most often the household heads. This reality could possibly be a contributing factor that thwarted the achievement of the masculine role.

In sum, maintaining their roles as providers for these men was intertwined with the subordination of women. Men's talk also elucidated that men who achieved and maintained this provider 'role' were successful in this regard, and, therefore, had higher masculine 'status' amongst their peers. Kimmel (1996) argues that masculine performances are usually displayed by men for the approval of other men. Thus, the worth of a man is evaluated by his peers, whether they actively evaluate each other or, as portrayed in the following dialogue, it is assumed. To illustrate this point, I use an excerpt from a confrontation which occurred during a group in the Vlottenburg community:

Extract 10: Vlottenburg Group 1

P1: Yes, so here are many of the guys that have children and then they don't stand for them. They don't wanna get up and go work for their children. For their homes. They must provide, a man must provide.

Taking offence to the comments made by Participant 1, Participant 7 (who was unemployed) retaliated rather aggressively with the possible aim of reclaiming his honour:

Extract 11: Vlottenburg Group 1 (continued)

P7: So what you are trying to say. You are picking on me that is what you are trying to say. They are picking on me.

P1: No man, we are not talking about you. We are not talking about you, man.

P7: It's not all the time that you can work, but he is contestant number one, sitting on that side, contestant number one...But look here, work is not just like that, you can't pick-up work like that...Give me a job then I'll work.

The above discussion provides an illustration of how men evaluated each other's efforts and progress in becoming 'real' men. The fact that these men associate status with 'real' masculinity is also shown in the quantitative results (Chapter 5). However diverse the process of becoming men might be, being a man has always been associated with the ability to provide, which often provides these men higher masculine status (Allen & Laird, 1991; Kiselica, 2010). Others studies concur with this finding. For example, Lease et al. (2010, p. 196) argue that "... work accomplishments provide tangible measures of men's worthiness and status as "real men". Employment then, is not just about gaining an income, it goes "... toward satisfying ego needs ..." (Ratele, 2008, p. 529). Willott and Griffin (1996) suggest that unemployment undermines men's masculine identities in both familial and social contexts. This goes along with what Weis, Centrie, Valentine-Juarbe and Fine (2002) found in their study of Puerto Rican men in Buffalo and Jersey City in the USA. Weis and colleagues found that being unemployed meant that men were unable to fulfil their gender roles and thus "... to some extent ..." grew "... expendable to their women and to their families" (p. 300).

Being on the margins of the economy did not deter men from drawing on traditional ideas of masculinity (i.e. being the provider). This becomes clear when Participant 7, who was not working at the time, felt the backlash of non-conformity:

Extract 12: Vlottenburg Group 1 (continued)

Jacque: So what does it mean ... if a man does not have a job, is he not a man...?

P7: That's what they are trying to say.
P1: No that's not what we are saying.
P7: Give me a job then I'll work.
P5: A man should at least try to do something. For the house, even though he does not work, he must at least try.
P7: So I should go stand on the streets.
P5: No I'm not saying that you should go stand on the street, listen to this man ...
The time when I did not have a job, I felt ashamed.

Extract 12 shows how integral the provider aspect is to a successful masculine identity. Although marginalised, with an unemployment rate of 64%, these men still drew on dominant traditional ideas of manhood against which to measure themselves and other men. In justifying his unemployment, Participant 7 (Extract 12) transferred the responsibility of actively finding work to the group, but also possibly to an outside, imagined audience. He positioned himself as one waiting for work to be given to him when he said "Give me a job ...". In an effort to stop his protest he was reminded of the deviance of being unemployed. It was further implied that a man should feel ashamed if he was unable to work outside the home. The issue of 'shame' was again highlighted in men's identity discourses. Thus, to some degree, invoking 'shame' on Participant 7 might stand as a reminder to the group of their peripheral social position in the country, community and in their homes, which would be even greater, if they were unable to materially provide for their families. The 'shame' of unemployment may therefore, speak to men's marginalised social location (working-class) as they reminded each other of this position. Thus, condemning one man for not observing his 'duty' as the provider may call into question his masculine identity and by extension their own masculine identities.

7.1.2 Stoicism: A man should protect his family

From the discussion thus far the pervasive form of masculinity amongst these men was displayed through activities that men were expected to *do*. From men's talk, the masculine role and the source from which men should learn masculine performances was grounded in their religious beliefs. Nevertheless, closer scrutiny of men's talk evoked collective

constructions or masculinities that spoke to more reified meanings of male responsibilities.

Men positioned themselves as the protectors of their households:

Extract 13: Delft Group 3

P6: /.../ if anything comes then you as the man must, you must protect your family.

P3: You must be able to stand.

Drawing on discourses of violence men justified physical aggression by arguing that they should readily be able to fight when the need arose. The use of violence was shown to be an effort to maintain the safety of their families, but even more so, a means to protect their own honour:

Extract 14: Delft Group 1

P1: What would you do if another man slaps you? You will...basically you want to protect yourself. You should not be a 'faggot' in the shop. Here everyone is, he slaps me, and I can't stand still. Everyone will laugh at me /.../ you must be able to protect yourself on the street...

Men displayed violence and aggression, when they retaliated, as a means to deal with situations which they felt may threaten their masculinity or masculine identities. In these townships, violence is often used by men to either retain or maintain some kind of respectability and a way to actively discourage others from seeing them as 'un-masculine'. The fear of being associated with homosexuality, as mentioned in the above quote, compels a man to become violent. As discussed in the previous chapter, violence and aggression is often used to restore marginalised men's pride. Both J. Walker (2005) and J. Walker and Bright (2009) similarly purports that marginalised men's use of violence is often a tool to obtain power.

Displays of violent behaviour are not solely a characteristic of marginalised men. Some authors highlight that experiencing stress, as a result of the inability to attain and maintain normative masculine standards, may enflame violent reactions in men (Eisler, 1995; O'Neil & Nadeau, 1999; Pleck, 1995). Thus, it is a fact that some performances of masculinity are often "... achieved through repetitive acts of toughness and violence" (Phillis, 2005, p 226).

Notwithstanding this fact, male violence discourses highlight that poor men of colour who reside in marginalised neighbourhoods are often described as those most likely to perpetrate violence (Abrahams, et al., 1999; Dawes et al., 2004; Sawyer-Kurian, et al., 2009). Based on the participants' risk profile reported in Chapter 5, almost half (47%) of the men indicated that they approved of displays of physical strength and aggressive behaviour and most (61%) of the men reported to openly accept and agree with violent behaviours. With a demographic profile as described in Chapters Five and Six, participants of this study seem to be predisposed to 'normative' displays of violent masculinity in their social contexts. Rich (2009) posits that black men use "...violence to construct a respected identity...to keep [them] from vanishing into invisibility..." (p. 65 – 66). Further, Ratele (2010, p. 21) suggests that men in marginalised communities often express their masculinities by displaying fearlessness, which increases their "vulnerability to, or perpetration of violence". As has been observed in the literature, displays of fearlessness and bravery are a common strategy used to assert traditional masculinity amongst South African men (Ratele, 2013). However, violence amongst marginalised men can be indicative of the marginalised socio-economic reality left by the oppressive Apartheid system (Vogelman & Lewis, 1993).

In contrast to the commonness of violence as a masculine performance, refraining from violence was mentioned as an important measure of masculine maturity:

Extract 15: Delft Group 4

P2: You should be man enough to walk away from a situation [inaudible]. Then if you stand up you might seriously hurt the person, because you know if you do this you will land in big trouble.

Jacque: Okay.

/.../

P8: Yes, others might think you're not a man.

P5: Yes you must think of the consequences, don't just think about what is going to happen now.

P8: You must think long term also, understand. Today's men, most of them they think only for now and instant gratification does not always work, you must think long term, understand?

In resistance to what has become normative behaviour in this community, discourses of non-violence were highlighted in men's discourses. Here, a peripheral voice suggested that walking away from a fight was the best thing to *do*. Men contended that masculinity was proved when you were able consider the consequences of your actions before you acted. The pervasiveness of violence in these communities (as discussed in Chapter Six) again emerged. It is, therefore, not surprising that the use of violence as a masculine display emerged from men's narratives. From the above excerpt, it is clear however, that any contradiction to this norm was likely to receive ridicule from other men; except in cases where walking away from violence is described as asserting self-control which is itself a masculine norm.

The backlash of anti-violent masculinities has also been highlighted in masculinity research (see Connell, 1995; Levine, 1998; McFadden, 1992; Media Awareness Network, 2008; Moss-Racusin et al., 2010; Shefer & Ruiters, 1998; Sideris, 2004). Sideris (2004) researched rural men who contested common traditional notions of what it means to be a man. The seven male participants in Sideris' (2004) research lived in a Mpumalanga township in South Africa, where violence, poverty and unemployment was rife. These participants were known to reject violence against women and children openly in their community. Drawing on both human rights and Christian discourses these men were able to tentatively re-construct manhood. The author highlights that her participants' friends and colleagues "... consider them at best mad or bewitched, and at worst a threat" (Sideris, 2004, p. 46). Other men may see such resistance to male dominance as displays of deviance, and men who deviate might themselves be subjected to violence from their peers. Even though men spoke much about being responsible for their family's well-being in the present study, most of the 'masculine duties' mentioned speak to their own ego and protecting their own respectability and credibility on the streets and in their homes.

7.1.3 Sexual prowess: Give and receive sexual satisfaction

Shefer and Foster (2001) and Wood and Jewkes (2001) found that men who struggle with the prospects of unemployment often attempt to recover facets of their maleness by conforming to heterosexual notions of masculinity. From men's talk, the discourse of heterosexual prowess also emerged as an essential feature of men's constructions of manhood. In attempting to define masculinity collective constructions of how a man should give and receive sexual satisfaction surfaced:

Extract 16: Vlottenburg Group 2

P5: ... I mean, but there's a name that they are called, he is a player.

P8: A man stays a man at the end of the day. No matter what happens. He stays a player, he goes from this girl to that girl, understand?

Here manhood was described as being a 'player'⁴³. Framing masculine sexual performance in this way may imply that promiscuity is a hetero-normative masculine behaviour. The view that traditional masculinity can only be attained by way of displaying sexual prowess has been an essential construction of manhood in the literature (Hollway, 1989; Shefer & Foster, 2001; Shefer & Mankhayi, 2007; Shefer & Ruiters, 1998; Shefer, 1999; Strebel, 1993; Wood & Jewkes, 2001). Men's understanding of masculine performance is shown to be one of the strongest predictors of risk-taking behaviour (Barker & Ricardo, 2005; Courtney, 1998; Santana et al., 2006; Sisonke Gender Justice Project, 2010; Zungu, 2012). Discussing HIV and AIDS and gender constructions with a group of women, Strebel (1993) reports that women also construct masculine sexuality as an uncontrollable desire for multiple sexual partners. The women in Strebel's (1993) research ascribed the commonness of having multiple sexual partners amongst men, to cultural expectations which in turn gives men an elevated sense of self-esteem. Attributing sexual prowess to cultural normativity has kept the

⁴³ A 'player' refers to someone, usually a man, who dates multiple women at the same time and pretends to be emotionally invested.

prevalence of HIV and other STIs high in the South African context (Shisana et al., 2005; 2009).

In Extract 16 above, the discussion ended by determining whether I (as the outsider/woman) understood the importance of sexual prowess for men. This way of talk was used to clarify to me that men are what they are; that performing the ‘player masculinity’ was an accepted norm, as if men’s need to have more than one sexual partner was inevitable for all men. However, the extract above could also be an effort of the part of these men to contest the common notion of ‘player masculinity’ as the quote can also be read as an implicit criticism of such behaviour. This being said, sex prowess continually emerged as a male norm. Some men even positioned women as flirtatious, and themselves as victims of these women and their male ‘natures’:

Extract 17: Delft Group 2

P3: All of us are men that are sitting here. Temptations are sometimes so big that sometimes it is necessary you really want to say ‘no’.

P8: Uh.

P3: You really want to say ‘no’. You want to run away, but because temptation is so ‘huge’ and you are a man you want to feel, shoo, I can’t now, I can’t now; look your nature takes over.

P4: Are you now saying that a man is weaker than a woman?

P6: A man is much weaker than a woman. A man is very to be honest a man is much weaker than a woman because let me put it this way a woman, shouldn’t we switch that thing off [here the participants requested that I switch off the recorder].

The choice of wording is very significant at this point. In the justification for engaging with multiple sexual partners, given above, the participant aligned the entire group under a uniform masculine identity. Here it was implied that men had a natural sex drive and that this drive was outside the men’s control. The collective understanding of masculine sexuality here shows that fulfilling their innate desire for sex was natural and should be acknowledged by all men. The question posed to the group about the difference in sexual behaviours between men and women, disrupted common assumptions about what ought to be ‘natural’ for men. Their responses to this question reaffirmed the normative ‘fact’ that women were expected to

be more able to tame their sexual desires. Here the participants attempted an explanation of this 'fact', requesting that the audiotape recorder be switched off, thus in some sense, making a discussion of female sexuality a taboo. After the audiotape recorder was switched off the group agreed with participant 6 in Extract 17 who explained why women are more able to resist (and 'should be' more able to resist) sexual temptations than men.

Sexual prowess as a masculine performance has been prevalent in masculinity discourses for decades. Hollway's (1989) discourse on the sexual drive of men elicits an understanding that men experience an innate desire to be satisfied sexually. With the performance of their sexual role, men are able to construct a heroic social image/status by having multiple sex partners, as they create the illusion that they are not responsible for their actions. This was evident in the next quote:

Extract 18: Delft Group 1

P2: I was cool, I was cool man. No I felt like a hero, why – cause I could look around again, wait that is a shit chick, sorry, shit chick, I'm done there don't worry, leave that chick you can go shop again, things like that.

With the use of the words 'cool' and 'hero' the participant talked about himself as a role model and displayed a heroic image for the other men in the group. By invoking this status, he objectified the women with whom he got involved. He called those women with whom he was finished, 'shit chicks'; he left them and went to 'shop' for a new/better girl. Saying that he would 'shop' for a new sexual partner made the women he had intercourse with appear inanimate or like commodities. This objectifying of women showed his intention for no emotional commitment when engaging sexually with women. So, not only does the supposed inherent and naturalised need for sexual satisfaction encourage promiscuity, it also objectifies women.

Similarly findings examining heterosexual negotiation suggest that both males and females continue to construct men as the active subjects of heterosexual sex, with women as the

submissive objects of men's heterosexual desires (Harris et al., 1995; Kaminer, 1993; Shefer, 1999). Furthermore, Hollway (1984, 1989) posits that even though such views reflect the disempowerment of women, women often embrace their submissive gendered subjectivities and police other women on the basis of these subjectivities, thus, somewhat re-enforcing the objectification of women.

Drawing on biological or essentialist discourses to define masculinities, men also contrasted male and female genitalia to talk about their roles as men. In the following extract, men constructed 'the penis' as a symbol of masculinity:

Extract 19: Delft Group 3

Jacque: ...what is does it mean to be a man for you?

P6: To have the thing that is in your pants, that's to be a man.

Jacque: Okay. So what...you are saying is to have the thing in your pants, what thing?

P6: I mean the thing is actually uhm...Your penis.

P2: That can make you a man but, uhm in a different way.

Jacque: Tell me what you mean?

P6: Like, like I am a man ... And I don't wanna be personal, but me, when I do the thing then I will think yes I am a man... Now that proves your manhood.

From this discussion it is apparent that these men were unable to 'name' the penis ('the thing') and the sexual act ('doing the thing'). By the use of euphemisms to 'name' the penis (the object in which they placed so much power) men distanced themselves from both the phallus and the actual sexual act (Hollway, 1989). However, the pleasure received from the sexual act was clear. As reported, the pleasure predominantly came from proving one's manhood by your sexual performance. Men's talk, therefore, suggested that having a penis made you male, but being able to use your penis to satisfy a woman made you a 'man'. Here they moved away from a biological or emotive discourse to one that described their sexuality as a performance, a 'deed':

Extract 20: Delft Group 3 (continued)

P6: It's how you have sex. When you're done she must say jho, that was great then maybe you say I did the thing right. So I am a man.

P2: So when she tells you that it was not great it makes you...Now you have to doubt, now you have to doubt yourself.

Extract 21: Vlottenburg Group 7

P3: Oh! You must also know what to do in the bedroom. You must have your things in order.

P1: Let me summarise, if you are not on top of things with your body then you will pick up problems in the bedroom. You will not be able to perform like a man should perform.

P5: Look women will not admit it, but when the now get together and the drink cake and tea then the chats come out. "Last night my man 'thingy' me again". There are some women that will sit there and wonder at that time, "but why?" /.../ So if we are not on your post 24 hour a day; 7 days a week; 365 a year... then you will come last.

It was in performing the sexual *act* that their manhood was re-affirmed and described as a duty and a race. Here female sex partners were given the power and authority to evaluate and then affirm or denounce their manhood, based on whether he got the 'thing done'. This is similar to Shefer and Foster (2001), who found that men often felt that their sexual performances were scrutinised by their female sex partners. Men considered it a sense of reassurance and a boost to their manhood when they are able to fulfil their partner's sexual needs.

Shefer and Ruiters (1998), in their exploration of heterosexual masculinities, found similar discourses emerging from men's talk on heterosexuality. While men positioned women as the evaluators of men's sexual performances, men's talk about their own sexual performances still "... centre[d] around their need to prove their masculinity and sexual abilities in a competitive sense ..." (p. 42).

What was highlighted was that men also performed their sexuality as masculine displays to be seen by other men. The following quote culminates from a discussion around experiencing peer pressure to portray your heterosexuality. Again men positioned themselves as obliged to perform their masculine role as displays of 'real' manhood for their peers:

Extract 22: Delft Group 1

P3: Look here, have you ever seen, say we are a group of men hey, ...now sometimes your mind is not there to 'get a girl' you get to a party maybe you drink some beer and smoke cigarettes and party with your friends, now you don't come with that intention now 'the brothers' convince you saying 'hey that chick likes you'.

P4: That chick likes you, yes.

P7: umm yes.

Jacque: Okay.

P3: Now you check hey wait I don't like you, I like the one next to you, now to take both of them in one night. That happened to me /.../

In Extract 22 the narrator positioned himself at the mercy of his peers, by arguing that his friends often compelled him to engage sexually with random women. He mentioned that 'they' do not go with the intention to 'get a girl', but normalised the activity of getting a girl by generalising the activity. The generalisation, however, was not in vain as familiarity with this 'situation' was seen in verbal and nonverbal cues from the group. Although they may not have gone with the intention to find a sex partner, they frequently ended up having sex when the opportunity arose, often as a means to display their masculine identities.

Masculine performances as directed by socially normative discourses are often displays of manhood. These performances are displayed to reassure other men of your masculinity and, as mentioned by these men, proving your maleness to your peers often resulted from peer pressure (Kimmel, 1996). Maintaining their masculine personas among their peers, men are obliged to enact heterosexual norms. In the experience shared above, the narrator admits that this often lead to having sexual intercourse with women they were not 'really interested in'. This may increase men's vulnerability to sexually transmitted infections and unplanned fatherhood.

Mfecane et al. (2005), studying masculine practices in shebeens (drinking establishments) in Soweto, South Africa, found that peer pressure was salient in men's decisions about sex. Similar to the present study "... men admitted that they sometimes acted against their own will mainly because of fear of being chastised by peers" (Mfecane et al., 2005, p. 103). The construction of traditional masculinity encourages men to stay on par with the ideal form of masculine performance. This allows a certain kind of manpower over other men or helps him maintain his position as 'masculine' among his peers.

What is imperative to reflect on at this stage is that marginalised men often display their masculinities through sexuality (Morrell, 2001). Performing sexually is void of the pressures

of race and class with which men might otherwise be faced. The pervasiveness of masculine constructions that are based on sexual prowess affords men the status of manhood, as heterosexuality has been shown to be the bedrock of traditional masculinities (Donaldson, 1993; Kimmel, 1996; McFadden, 1992; Morrell, 1998; Nemoto, 2008; Phillips, 2005; Shefer & Mankayi, 2007; Thompson & Pleck, 1986).

7.1.4 Homophobia: Masculine performance void of femininity

Another less obvious masculine performance that emerged from the data was that some of the participants' expressions of masculinities were motivated by anti-femininity. A collective discourse highlighted by these men deemed it important for 'men' to refrain from any display of femininity or feminine expression that could compromise their heterosexuality:

Extract 23: Delft Group 4

Jacque: So I think we established that men should provide for their family, that is the first thing that you should do, okay? But now, say for instance there is a man, he wears nice clothes, he works, he works very hard for his money; he has a house; he looks after his family...uhm...and he is gay, is he still a man?

P2: Huh uh. He is then gay, he is then gay. He is not a man. That says it all, he's already not a man, he is gay.

P1: You can't be sexed and then you still sex a woman. Then you are not a man.

P8: He is not a man.

[Speaking simultaneously]

P1: Look he is bisexual already, he is not a man.

Jacque: What are you saying?

P4: What does the Bible say?

P2: Yes let's go back to the Bible yes.

When discussing the same topic with a different group, I received a more volatile response:

Extract 24: Vlottenburg Group 4

P1: Huh uh, that man must be 'burned' (beaten).

P3: I think he is not right.

P1: He is not a man then.

Jacque: Why not?

P7: He is a man and he wants to be a woman.

/.../

P1: And it states in the Bible even, "a man to a woman and a woman to a man".

P3: Yes, you can't be like that.

P8: No, but they are doing a sin.

P3: He behaves like a woman; he wants to be a 'bunny'⁴⁴.

P1: No, I don't like them...embarrass us men. They embarrass other men.

⁴⁴ 'Bunny' is a derogatory term that refers to homosexual men.

The two excerpts articulated here (Extract 23 and 24) show how men mobilised against homosexual identities. They basically said that men who acted like women should not be classified as a 'man'. However, the second group highlighted strong feelings of homophobia. Wells (2006) purports that heterosexual men feel that gay men betray the superior standard of masculinity. The feeling of betrayal is clear in this excerpt, as participants feel embarrassed by men who *choose* homosexuality. Wells (2006) further posits that heterosexual men feel that gays need to be punished (beaten) for threatening the masculine status quo. Msibi (2009) argues that homosexuality compels heterosexual men to fear a loss of power. Men thus often react with violence as a means to deal with the 'threat' they perceive homosexuality or effeminate men pose (Greig, 2006; Nel & Judge, 2008). Both groups drew on Biblical discourses of gender to justify their views, showing how the Biblical discourses are used strategically when they can provide the opportunity for men to position themselves in superior ways (i.e. as the head of the household and as superior to homosexual men).

7.1.5 Summary

At the foundation of the performances of masculinities lay sex role socialisation; the means through which humans are moulded into the parts they ought to play. With the help of West and Zimmerman's (1987, 1992) theory on 'doing gender', this theme can be understood as marginalised men's efforts towards the endorsement of existing traditional norms on 'doing masculinity'. This endorsement, men do by displaying organised expressions of gendered roles they perceive as socially appropriate (West & Zimmerman, 1987, 1992). After two decades of masculinity research, men appear still to draw on traditional notions of masculinity, and access power through their sexuality when economic power is perceived to be challenged by unemployment and marginalisation. Still the transition from boyhood to manhood amongst marginalised men is taught and bought into by local men.

7.2 Transition to manhood: What it means to be ‘this’ ‘coloured’ man

The achievement of traditional masculinity is not normally seen as a form of progression. However, as was discovered in men’s talk, the achievement of masculinity is a process that is to be worked at constantly, and difficult to actualise and maintain. In this theme I discuss the meanings of traditional masculinities in these marginalised contexts. The theme is, therefore, located within marginalised spaces which, as described in Chapter Six, foster little support for obtaining ‘successful’ traditional masculinities.

7.2.1 How boys become men

Black-African cultures are rich with symbolic rituals and celebrations that mark masculine transition and growth. For example, in the Xhosa tradition, the transition from ‘boy’ to ‘man’ is facilitated with a circumcision ritual. Here men of about 18 years of age attend a six-week initiation school, where they are circumcised and educated about traditional expectations of manhood (Field, 2001). This process signifies a “... rite of passage that placed young men on the path to marriage, homestead, headship and fatherhood ...” (Mager, 1998, p. 660). However, in ‘coloured’ culture, patterns of transition from ‘boy’ to ‘man’ are not as traditionally distinct. With this in mind, I partly came into the research with the preconception that there are no homogeneous cultural rites of passage amongst ‘coloured’ men. However, as elucidated from the men’s talk, articulated meanings based on how men experienced their realities were shared. One ritual mentioned in the groups, which signifies independence and initiation into *adulthood*, is when a person reached their 21st birthday:

Extract 26: Vlottenburg Group 1

P7: /.../Yes then you are a man, when you have your twenty first /.../

Extract 27: Delft Group 2

P8: Most of us now are over/.../ twenty one so you can say you are a man.

Extract 28: Delft Group 1

P1: like I experienced it now when we talk according to us 'coloureds' now just if you observe/.../ as we grow up you just think 'one of these days then I'm gonna be a man. /.../ when is that? when you turn twenty one.

Extract 29: Delft Group 3

P2: And what that does when you turn twenty-one, when you turn twenty-one then you get a type of a key

P4: Now that key unlocks your adulthood, you understand?

Jacque: uh

P2: Yes.

P7: You were a teenager, now you are twenty-one, now you are in the adult stage, understand? That's what make you want to experience different things, understand? Now at the end of the day uhm...that is why they say the key opens many doors. Understand, maybe the key opens the door to manhood.

The 21st birthday signifies the accomplishment of adulthood. Receiving a 21st key⁴⁵ symbolises this milestone. Brittijn (2013), in her exploration of meanings of manhood in Lavender Hill on the Cape Flats also found that men identified the 'twenty first birthday' as a transition point on their paths to manhood. Twenty-first birthday celebrations range from small-scale get-togethers with friends and family to extravagant parties. This symbolic ritual is shared by both men and women in 'coloured' communities. However, as shown in the following extract, when a girl had a child before this birthday, an elaborate celebration was considered to be inappropriate:

Extract 30: Vlottenburg Group 1

P1: Yes, I have two children. I had a big twenty-first; the whole Vlottenburg was invited to my twenty-first. Truly, I'm not lying. Here's my nephew, ask him. I had two children before my twenty-first birthday, the whole world was invited my brother. Truly, it's not about having children, my brother. You are a man that is what it's about.

P5: A woman when she's twenty-one and she has a child...They will talk about her ya. They will. I heard about it, ya. A woman talking afterwards.

P7: She's not a virgin anymore, but she still had a twenty-first birthday, filthiness. That's what I heard... But a man is okay.

For women, this milestone was to celebrate her virtue. Men, however, were not scrutinised for having an elaborate party even if they had already become a father. This scrutiny of women again emphasises the inferior position given to women in these communities. The double standards around heterosexuality have prescribed that women who engaged in

⁴⁵ This key is made of either gold or silver and is normally lodged on a wooden plate.

extramarital sexual relations would experience stigmatisation from their communities. Men who explored their heterosexuality before marriage, however, received accolades (Crawford & Popp, 2003). Katz and Farrow (2000) suggest that women often internalise these double standards to evaluate themselves and other women. As seen in the excerpt above, “they” who are implicated as those who gossip about these women are often other women. So in fact, even though men benefit from the inferiority of women, it is often women in these communities who themselves police each other and maintain the status quo. This encourages the maintenance of societal-based views of heterosexuality, and keeps feminine bodies subjected to the desires of the ‘male sex drive’ (Hollway, 1984; 1989).

Ambiguity about ‘when’ and ‘how’ exactly manhood is signalled was noticeable in the discussion as men negotiated meanings and opinions about this ‘process’ during the groups. The following discussion shows how participants attempt to make meaning of their masculine identities:

Extract 31: Vlottenburg Group 2

Jacque: /.../ what do you think a man must go through to be defined as a man?

P4: To stand on your own feet.

Jacque: What does that mean; to have a job?

P2: To leave your mother’s house, then you are a man yes, when you go out on your own.

P6: The time when you have a child. The time when you get a wife and the time when you get married then you realise. That’s when you are a man.

The absence of one unified ritual that symbolises manhood was clear from men’s talk in this excerpt. It can be said that these men drew on available understandings which helped them articulate their processes toward manhood. For these men, prominent symbols of masculinity were independence, fatherhood and marriage, all of which need some form of financial stability, which may make the achievement of manhood problematic (Barker & Ricardo, 2005; Brittijn, 2013; Clever, 2002). What was significant in this rhetoric was that these men chose to name their parental home “your mother’s house”. This excerpt provide some evidence that women (whether single mother or not) have a great influence in their

households and may even have a reasonable amount of influence on how boys ought to become men. What was evident in men's talk was that some of these men grew up in single parent (mother) households. Some men even directly attributed their tutoring on manhood to their mothers. What follows is men's talk about who taught them how to 'be a man'.

Extract 32: Delft Group 2

P4: /.../ I mostly learned from my mom. /.../

Extract 33: Delft Group 4

P8: /.../ I learned from my mother /.../

Extract 34: Vlottenburg Group 2

P7: My mom /.../My mom said that as soon as I can stand on my own feet, when I can be responsible, then I am a man.

These extracts show that masculinity for some men was taught by women, while little if any guidance about manhood was received from fathers. Some scholars may problematise this outcome by highlighting the possible detrimental outcomes for children. For instance, Brooks and Silverstein (1995) suggest that men may sometimes resort to dysfunctional behaviours like violence, because they do not have strong emotional ties to their fathers. In contrast however, Fergusson, Boden and Horwood (2007, p. 1094) posit that "the associations between single parenthood and later adverse outcomes largely reflected the social context within which single parenthood occurred, rather than the direct effect of single parenthood on individual functioning". Thus, in undermining the assumption that single parenthood may have detrimental effects on these men, the authors suggest that the social context in which men live may encourage detrimental life outcomes for these men.

7.2.2 Patterns of powerlessness

Traditional forms of masculinities are centered on patriarchal 'power' (Connell, 1995). The performances of marginalised masculinities as described above continue to be imagined as a position that is located "in power, with power and of power' (Cohen 2001, p. 31). A

discussion on power, therefore, emerged as a salient theme from men's talk about emasculation and disempowerment versus powerfulness. In this section, I show how structural and political dimensions intersect and leave men feeling powerless, as they are forced to interchange gender role performances with women in the domestic sphere.

7.2.2.1 Power and control over women

Shefer et al. (2008) found that men perceived that women were more protected by the laws and constitution of South Africa (giving them legal power), and that women were the ones most likely to be employed (equated with having economic power), leaving them powerless. In men's talk, women or femininity was constructed as a powerful identity. What emerged from men's talk was that 'manhood' in these communities was associated with being absent men and fathers, because of women's legal power. Men, therefore, problematised the local performances of fatherhood:

Extract 35: Delft Group 7

P3: /.../ but now for a certain time now I support my child. Now it is good; now I can see my child. But if you don't work anymore; or your contract ended, then there are problems and the woman come with her moods. She says yes, I am not good anymore; now she bans me; now I can't see my child anymore. Now I must stay away.

Extract 36: Delft Group 6

P8: Yes the fathers of the children are made to feel inadequate. Can't see their children; like in non-support.

/.../

P3: What was said earlier about children that are kept from their fathers. That causes that the children don't get the fatherly love and attention. The coaching from the father he doesn't get. Automatically the child is abused by the fact that it is his right to be taught by his father. That's not right.

From Extract 35 and 36, men who fathered children out of wedlock narrated experiences where the mothers of their children refused them access to the children. The narratives suggested that not having access to their children was mostly a result of their unemployment and inability to provide for their children. This was a common concern for these men. Men's talk suggested that children had to experience absent fathers because women held the legal 'power' that determined access to children. Portraying this as a prejudice against fathers may

be indicative as rationalisations of absent fatherhood. Furthermore, men may also be reflecting on the difference between what they are currently experiencing as fathers who want to be present in the lives of their children and the absent fathers of their childhood. As a result they attempted to make sense of absent fatherhood for themselves (Brittijn, 2013; Richter & Morrell, 2006; Shefer & Clowes, 2012; Swartz & Bhana, 2009). From further discussion about the ‘power’ women have over the relationships men develop with their children, men named the justice system as a structural restraint which protected women and, therefore, kept fathers from their children:

Extract 37: Delft Group 6

P8: The women have rights; you can't quarrel with her /.../

Extract 38: Delft Group 6

P4: What about us men /.../. Only women are being taken care of.

P8: Yes they have the first right, but they [government] don't look after the men.

/.../

P1: The man has forgotten that they have rights too. Because we must be submissive otherwise they [women] will go to the police.

/.../

Extract 39: Vlottenburg Group 5

P1: You have a lot of rights

P3: Ahah

P1: We talk but then the women says 'yes I'm telling you this'

P3: Yes, yes, yes

P1: And then at the end of the day then the child knows that daddy can actually do nothing /.../

In acknowledging the problem of violence against women in South Africa, policy-makers prioritised the empowerment of women. Strebel et al. (2006) in their study presented narratives that suggest that while men's traditional gender roles were perceived as being challenged, women were constructed as those gaining power. In the extract above, women were similarly constructed as having greater legal power, as compared to men. This view may also be a narrative affirming their personal feelings of emasculation.

The latter excerpt highlights that men were restrained by women as they could only perform their role as fathers when and how it was approved by the mothers of their children. Here,

men reiterated again that the indifference received from women was caused by men's inability to financially support their children. Unemployment or the inability to financially support their children was the main motivation for women's refusal to allow men access to their children. Salo (2006) contends that even post-Apartheid 'coloured' men are still experiencing emasculation as they fail to find gainful employment, especially because manhood continues to be constructed around notions of financial independence.

The following excerpt employed normative discourses to present men's struggle to maintain 'head' status when they were unemployed:

Extract 40: Vlottenburg Group 1

P3: The wife can also work for the house. The women can also work, but you should stay the head of the household. Cause you are the head. You wear the pants.

P6: Maybe you worked when she didn't, you see, but now she works. No, she must provide.

Jacque: Okay.

P6: You are still; you're still the head of the house. You are the head ... And don't let the wife sit on your head, cause you are the man.

P3: Yes, a woman should not sit on your head. If she sits, she must sit still. If she falls off, she must stay there. It's like that, yah?

P7: Yah, cause my wife, she sits on my head, but I told her, you can sit, but you should sit still, yah, cause if you fall off you will stay at the bottom. You will not get up again.

Jacque: What does that mean?

P3: That means that you have to behave, you who are the woman. What I say is law. You do not come and change laws.

Drawing on a normative discourse that entrenches traditional ideas about gender, men used rather symbolic phrases to show that the 'head of household' status should be theirs, and should not be dependent on their employment status. Using phrases like 'He wears the pants' showed male authority over the women – who should be wearing a 'dress'. The use of metaphors here to describe 'the woman's place' ('sit on your head, she should sit still') meant that women should know their place and should adhere to the rules set by their husbands. Retaining the 'head of household' status was a notable struggle for unemployed men in the groups. This led to the use of abusive methods to maintain their superiority. The following excerpt shows how unemployed men said they managed feelings of 'unworthiness' by using violence:

Extract 41: Delft Group 5

P4: If a man does not work, then he is looked down upon, to put it like that. Now many will say yes, it's a 'coloured' man that beats his wife mostly.

P1: It goes like that in the house. You don't get respect in your own home really.

P8: It's maybe she works; now you don't work.

(General agreement from the group)

P8: Now she forgets the time when you were working, now that, that respect is lost there.

P1: Later you start feeling that 'I am a nothing', so.

P8: That's it.

P1: She doesn't see you.

P4: Maybe there are many of the men that are aggressive maybe. You think you can tell me like that, you are a woman. And now he beats.

Although men agreed that unemployment consequently left them feeling powerless, they saw the importance of maintaining masculine power through forms of hyper-masculinities. As exemplified above, violence was used when men experienced a threat to their masculinities. Men collaboratively produced a motivation for using violence toward 'disrespectful' women. The introduction to this excerpt implicated 'coloured' men as those beating their women most often. Implicating 'coloured' men as women abusers draws on the discourse of unemployment and its negative repercussions as being important issues for 'coloured' men.

As the role of provider is fundamental to what it means to be man, the inability to do so call into question their masculine identity (Barker & Ricardo, 2005; Clever, 2002). Furthermore, the influences of "poverty is seen as a serious obstacle to being a good father..." (Clever, 2002, p. 9). Research has shown that financial, cultural and relational barriers decrease the chances of men successfully performing their role as fathers. For these men, access to children was determined by women, and men were measured based on the financial (and not the emotional) contributions they were able to make toward the well-being of their children (Ratele, Shefer & Clowes, 2012; Swartz et al., 2013).

Negotiating a way to recoup their power, men's talk suggested that using violence to regain power over women was the only way to maintain power in a relationship. Here men shrewdly constructed verbal abuse as a good way to maintain this power and keep women submissive. It is less likely that women would call the police when psychological or verbal abuse is used

by a partner (Boonzaier, 2005), due to the lack of physical evidence of abuse. This fact is known by men and some of the participants encouraged the use of non-physical forms of abuse as an assurance of lighter punishment, and as a means to maintain some masculine 'power':

Extract 43: Delft Group 2

P4: Not to lift your hands to your wife. There are other ways to hurt her.

P6: Yes. You see, to beat her...

Jacque: Like what?

P4: Then you will beat her with the tongue, beat her with the tongue.

Jacque: Okay.

/.../

P4: That's why I say don't beat [physically]...

Physical abuse was frowned upon, maybe not because it infringed upon women's rights, but more likely because men were aware of and therefore considered the harsh punishments for perpetrating such violence. Thus, men suggested the use of verbal abuse as a good replacement. Restricting women's freedoms was also a method men used to empower themselves:

Extract 44: Vlottenburg Group 1

P7: /.../ or her luxuries and stuff that she is used to get and the group that she use to sit with /.../ there is no more sitting with that group. The moment that I see you there, you know; then it burns. If I see you there then it burns.

It is clear here that men's awareness of 'other kinds' of women abuse still allowed them the same level of power over women, without dreading the repercussions for physical abuse as stipulated by the *Domestic Violence Act 116 of 1998*.

Extract 45: Delft Group 5

P8: We don't want to /.../ rule our women with power. But our women it's almost like, like they demand it from us.

In Extract 45, the use of violence was almost suggested as expected by women (and society) as part of a masculine role; a means of disciplining women. Men continue to revert to the use of violence as a retributive method for bruised masculinities. Furthermore, when women retaliate, it is expected of men to reprimand them. These men still appeared to conform to dominant discourses on masculinities that propel men to use violence when their

masculinities are threatened. Seedat and colleagues (2009) suggest that as long as "... patriarchal social norms sanction the use of violence by men to discipline and control female partners, and so long as boundaries of severity are not transgressed, violence is viewed as socially acceptable" in the South African context (p.1013). Studying gender and violence in Cape Town townships, Gibson, Dinan and McCall (2005) indicated that their female participants stressed that violence was most commonly "... perpetrated by and expected from men ..." both in and outside the home (p. 161). Violence, women argued "... was simply something that 'men do'" (p. 161). This essentialist and deterministic view contributes to the 'normalisation' of violence as part of masculine identity.

Ultimately it is to be understood by a woman that the man is in control, and that he will retaliate, particularly when his power is challenged. Walker (2005) concludes that men often use violence to deal with humiliating situations. Similar to what is suggested in the men's talk, Walker (2005) posits that in displaying violent behaviour men attempt to 'save face' or maintain their sense of masculinity in front of potential male spectators. The use of violence is seen by researchers to be more prominent among socially marginalised men. For example, Sawyer-Kurian et al. (2009), researching men in Cape Town, found that male perpetrators of violence against women were more likely to be 'coloured' as compared to black-African. Similarly, the present study participants maintained that violence was part of their environment and was commonly used by men to discipline women partners and cope with general feelings of disempowerment.

7.2.2.2 Fighting the odds: Interchanging domestic gender roles

Historically, 'coloured' women were the preferred workforce for the dominant industries in the Western Cape, namely the textile, canning and leather industries. Salo (2003) argues that 'coloured' men were not deemed 'the breadwinners' as they mostly held casual employment.

Of the 64% of unemployed participants at least half mentioned that they were financially dependent on women who were employed outside the home. Female breadwinners were either the mothers of unmarried men or the wives and partners of participants who were married or cohabiting. Stemming from a discussion on ‘wives earning more than their husbands’, the following excerpt shows the extent to which men re-negotiated their masculine identities to evade thwarting:

Extract 46: Delft Group 3

P5: Me personally I'm actually at home at the moment. I give, there is an income but my wife is the only one who works, understand? She get reasonable [salary] understand ... she has never made me feel like I'm worthless, understand. She knows why I'm at home; understand because of the recession and that. I have a job that I do with a monthly salary that's not much and hers is much more than mine understand, but we have an understanding understand, communication is there we talk and so on that my money covers this and her money the other things.

A different view reconciled the partnership between wife and husband by drawing on an egalitarian discourse. Here communication was constructed as a crucial part of a relationship. This was, however, followed by a sexist discourse (Glick & Fiske, 1996; Glick et al., 2000; Glick, Sakalli-Ugurlu, Ferreira & Aguiar de Souza, 2002; Sakalli, 2001), indicating that some women were not ‘ignorant’ to the employment situations with which men are faced. A more positive way of dealing with the stresses induced by unemployment saw men as receptive to traditionally feminine roles, as a means to be more productive in their homes:

Extract 47: Vlottenburg Group 1

P7: I'm not working /.../. I look after her [his child] during the day at home. No-one else watches her. Her dad look after her, in other words that's also a job, because where must she stay. I give her crèche at home till the day she has to go to school.

In Excerpt 47 a traditionally feminine role of nurturer was embodied a man who had no employment outside the home. Here a sense of manhood was maintained by asserting that not having formal employment did not mean that he could not help with other (traditionally feminine) duties around the house. More attitudes about unemployment and the ‘taking-on’ of feminine roles surfaced:

Extract 48: Delft Group 3

P1: Look what if a man does the washing in the home, what if the man must cook, is that a man?

P5: But I also do...Yes! I also do that.

P1: Does it make you a man when your friend tells you not to do that, your wife can do that, why did you get married? You got married so that your wife can do these things. That happens. Many men who have an ego will say no that's not my job.

P8: But if you really love your wife and you do things together, it should not be a problem, whatever people may say.

From this conversation (Extract 48) it was evident that men were aware that they were being watched and influenced by other men in their communities. Drawing on normative ideas of masculinity, men realised that they had the choice of being a 'real man' in the household (responsible husband and father) versus being seen as a 'real man' by other men (claiming the authority by enforcing their rule). The dynamics between these men speak of the encouragement of an alternative masculinity, an alternative masculinity, which values being a better husband and father above keeping 'the pose' for the benefit of male peers. In rejecting what the community regarded as common masculine behaviour, these men, in a sense, were redefining manhood. The tentative move toward more 'realistic' views and enactments of masculinity is also evident in the literature. For instance, Hoang, Quach and Tran (2013) suggest that the empowerment of men will encourage men to remove their socially created masculine 'masks' which expect them to use different forms of violence to perform traditional masculinities. A dilemma for these participants was the move toward an actual behaviour change. Alternative healthy/productive masculinity was what they ultimately struggled to achieve and maintain. Measureable behaviour change, coupled with the social expectations of masculine roles, weighed heavy and, as portrayed in the chapter, often motivated destructive behaviours.

7.2.3 Summary

What emerged from men's talk was that men performed multiple forms of masculinities in these communities. The lived experiences of these participants testify to the fluidity of

masculinities and gender in these communities. The fluidity was apparent in their role performances, as real life circumstances expect men to be versatile and as traditional male roles are often replaced by roles commonly deemed traditional female roles.

This theme also highlighted that in the face of unemployment men struggled to maintain their social roles and experience a 'loss of power' or emasculation as a result thereof (Frosh et al., 2002; Whitehead, 2002). Emasculation due to unemployment is not a recent reality for 'coloured' men in Cape Town (Salo, 2007). The theme showed that for these marginalised men, unemployment was the main culprit for men's *loss of power*. Financial security was said to ensure men's power as the head of their households. Men's talk suggested that having money was a catalyst for performing a 'good-father' role and gaining the respect from your family, other men and the community at large. What also emerged was that men who experienced thwarting used violence as an attempt to regain their sense of successful masculinity.

7.3 Consequences of 'performing traditional manhood'

This theme highlights the fluidity of the 'masculine' role as experienced in the everyday lives of these men. It becomes clear from men's talk, that men who were unable to attain a traditional form of masculinity, may experience thwarting. This gender role frustration may encourage the development of macho attitudes as a method to retain their sense of masculinity (Silberschmidt, 2005). From men's talk the idealisation of the dominant or traditional forms of masculinity emerged. However, men also lamented their inability to attain this sought after ideal. The following discussion shows how men de-constructed and then re-constructed their sense of 'being men' in the narratives of their everyday masculinities.

7.3.1 Thwarting masculinity: ‘The traditional masculine myth’

According to Fasteau (1975) and Connell (2005) traditional masculinity is vehemently sought after, but never attained. This idealised ‘way’ of being a man is often unattainable, especially for men who have little access to social resources (Bhana, 2005). Thus, traditional masculinity may in fact be an unattainable ideal; a masculine myth – if you will. Amongst others, Kimmel (1987) argues that when men are unable to attain the masculinity represented by the traditional ideal, a crisis in masculinity might occur (also see Dowsett, 2002; Frosh et al., 2002; Walker, 2005). It is argued that this crisis influences all spheres of their lives and is accompanied by an uncertainty ‘over social role and identity, sexuality, work and personal relationships’ (Frosh et al., 2002, p 1). Hammond and Mattis (2005) warn that men who are unable to meet this ideal could suffer harmful psychosocial outcomes. This is reiterated by Wyllie, et al. (2012), who posits that the strain society places on men to fulfill their ‘masculine role’ as provider has influenced men, particularly middle-aged men, to commit suicide.

Firstly, we have seen that the men in this study, although marginalised, continued to define masculinity by drawing on discourses enmeshed in traditional ideas of manhood. Secondly, based on their talk, men discovered that masculinity was more the socially prescribed role men are “ought to play” than masculine anatomy. Thirdly, men also talked about their inability to ‘successfully’ perform these prescribed roles and discussed methods of dealing with feeling thwarted in their masculine roles. As discussed in the previous chapter, these township communities where participants reside are synonymous with substance use, violence and poverty. This section should therefore be understood as masculine performances of ‘coloured’ men in a marginalised social context.

7.3.1.1 Realities of male spaces

From men's talk, three traditional performances of masculinity in these marginalised contexts emerged. These are substance abuse, risky sexual behaviour and gang-related activities. The first of these was that drinking alcohol was often used to deal with frustrations about their socio-economic situation:

Extract 49: Vlottenburg Group 5

P1: I drink my worries away; tomorrow the sun will shine again. /.../

Extract 50: Delft Group 3

P7: Look here; now hear this I didn't work. Now you must listen to the nagging on your head. And that is what makes you frustrated and because of that you find refuge in whatever substance is available.

Extract 50: Delft Group 3

P3: They go to the bottle, understand. I can't provide. Then comes the sorrows, like they say; to drink the sorrows away then I run to the bottle because I can't really provide for my family /.../

Extract 51: Delft Group 7

P5: There are many complications in my life /.../. At the end of the day I made wrong choices. I'm not shy to say it...I turned to drugs. To use that...I thought that was going to help me with everything.

Extract 52: Delft Group 2

P4: And jobs are scarce. Uhm the food gets more expensive now that can cause conflict in the house cause like he is the man, the wife earns more money, then the wife becomes bossy in the house because she feels "I'm on top and I take care of the things that you can't". Now the man feels worthless, you know what I'm saying?

Jacque: ...what do you think, how do you think men handle feeling worthless in their family?

P7: I think when they feel worthless then their self-esteem uh, maybe also decreased in a way then they go into the wrong direction [drugs], understand?

In the excerpts above, substance abuse was at the forefront of men's talk about dealing with their inability to fulfil their provider role. Thus men in this study suggested that men normally drank when they felt frustrated. Blaming women for their alcohol use was a pervasive explanation for excessive drinking. The "nagging on your head", make you "find refuge in whatever substance is available" to deal with thwarting as the breadwinner. The phrase, "They go to the bottle", as used in the third excerpt makes drinking alcohol as a means to

cope with frustrations, a normal method of coping. 'Going to the bottle', gives liquor a temporary sentient position, where 'liquor' can be consulted for help to deal with the individual's frustrations.

The inability to keep up with daily household expenses was also articulated by these men. Women who had financial power due to higher paying jobs became 'bossy', which translated into the conflict experienced in the home. Describing men as 'worthless' when they were unable to fulfil their role as provider possibly shows that they classed themselves as inferior to 'working women'. What was represented strongly in the last excerpt is that when men were unemployed they were seen as worthless and their self-esteem was impacted. Substance use as a coping method was a view shared during every group discussion, whether as a personal experience or talking about drinking as a common practice for men in general in their communities. Excessive alcohol drinking amongst 'coloured' men has been explored in the previous two analytic chapters. For this sample the level of alcohol consumption, as measured by the AUDIT scale in Chapter Five, show that almost 35% of these men reported being high-risk drinkers. Similar to other settings, researchers reported that alcohol drinking amongst men was a culturally entrenched behaviour that was often said to be used by men to deal with stressful emotions (Sreeraj, Prasad, Khess & Uvais, 2012).

Other than describing their use of substances as a coping method, it emerged that men also narrated their risky sexual practices as a method to deal with thwarted masculinities. It is possible that men choose to describe their risky behaviours in this way as a means of justifying or trying to explain their behaviours. Often men went to drinking establishments (shebeens) where they drank and socialised. In these settings, men were able to relax and forget about their personal problems. From men's talk it emerged that these shebeens were also places where men could easily get sexual partners. Risky sexual behaviour was then

possible, as men might get attention from women who may be willing to have sex with them.

The following quotes are representative of how participants talked about women who patronised shebeens:

Extract 53: Vlottenburg Group 1

P7: Really, because they are very ugly and you have the opportunity now... You just buy two beers. Yes, now you have two beers and then they are horny.

Extract 54: Vlottenburg Group 6

P3: /.../. Then now I come and I buy six buy beers, cause you are bragging, now my mind is not on the beers. I'm testing her. /.../ I want to see if I can get a 'thing'. You know what I mean.

Extract 55: Delft Group 2

P1: Women like 'tik' and oh! And they will get into any car for any twenty cent.

P4: They are not going to ask men about, whether they have condoms (speaking simultaneously)

P2: And you are willing all the time. (Laughs)

When risky sexual behaviours are combined with frequent and or excessive alcohol use, the vulnerability of both men and women increases. Many research studies associate alcohol use, multiple sexual partners and aggressive behaviour with men's endorsement of masculine ideals (Kalichman et al., 2007; Morojele et al., 2006; Simbayi et al., 2006). Kalichman, et al., (2007) show that men who reported perpetrating sexual assault were more likely to have consumed alcohol. This body of research further illustrates that risky sexual practices (e.g. lack of condom use and multiple sex partners) and substance use in sexual contexts was attributed to more self-reported perpetration of sexual assaults. Thus, conforming to traditional masculine practices or attempts to recoup masculinity (as true for these men) may provide ample opportunities and justifications for men to display and justify gender-based violence and hostility towards women as a means to maintain their gendered superiority (Mthembu et al., 2014).

Another negative alternative that was suggested as a form of traditional masculinity in these communities was gang membership. This was coupled with easy access to drugs, but more salient for these men, was that drug dealers were able to provide for their families with the

money made from drug dealing. A resounding disdain toward men who participated in this activity was expressed by most of the participants. However, it was drug dealers whom participants enviously admitted performed a form of traditional masculinity accepted in their communities. Drug dealers drove expensive cars and provided for their families:

Extract 56: Delft Group 4

P6: But the thing is to help himself, understand? Look what [name of drug dealer] did, he gave money to the people.

P2: Look actually he sold his stuff to people who were able to afford them and for those who could not afford he gave.

P6: Yes okay but at the end of the day it was not a cool thing to do, you know you should not do this but if it's your only way out, if I put myself in his shoes, I get this deal right, I have to do something like that, quickly make a few millions then I will do it yes. Just for now, I know, I know myself. After then I can get out. Just to get out of this deal then I move on yes.

Ultimately these participants needed to fulfil their social role as provider, and in the above discussion men came to the consensus that although drug dealing was illegal and drug use destroyed lives, it was a way to make easy money over a short period of time. Leggett, Louw and Parry (2011) suggest that drug dealing is comparable to other businesses, as prices vary based on dynamics of supply and demand and, therefore, proves to be a lucrative business. The commercial value of drug dealing makes it less likely for dealers to discontinue. So similar to other business, the drug business expands and prominent drug dealers now employ 'staff' to develop the business. The owners of drug business often target those they know who are struggling with poverty. Many men are then caught in this web and will never be able to get out. This is evident in the following excerpt, as men discussed the pressure felt to fulfil their gender role as providers:

Extract 57: Delft Group 3

P8: /.../ when you are in such a situation, and you don't work, you are being nagged; now he comes, a dealer, he's a big drug dealer whatever. He might come to me and say uhm "look here I see that you don't work, I have a way out for you" obviously I will have to do business for him. Now I tell him okay give me a day or two to think. This will work I will make money quickly, lots of money. Not that it is the way out, okay but I don't work. So if I can make the money then there will be no more nagging on my head then I can buy whatever is asked of me and fill the (financial) holes. So it's not the way out, but it's a way /.../

P3: When you start you will never stop. It will be a lifetime thing. You will never stop. It will be difficult. /.../. It is a process but you are deeper in the thing, understand. You will start to enjoy it afterward.

Some of the men who participated in drug dealing reported that they spent time in prison for dealing in drugs. In the narrative above it is clear that although men participated in drug dealing as a means to provide for their family, the fact that they did negatively influenced their personal relationships. Dealing drugs was represented as a 'job' that they 'get into' and 'start to enjoy'. The motive for participating in drug dealing (the financial security of the family) therefore, starts to diminish as the instant gratification of easy money becomes a reality.

7.3.2 Summary

Experiencing frustration with fulfilling the prescribed male role, men focused on alternative ways to attain and maintain masculine power. As discussed in this section, alcohol abuse was one of the common ways men reported to have dealt with the frustrations of their lives. To 'relax' they would spend time at shebeens with friends where they sometimes find other sexual partners. This lead to potential risky sexual behaviour which meant that men exposed themselves to possible sexually transmitted infections, including HIV (Kalichman et al, 2007; Morojele et al, 2006; Simbayi et al, 2006). For these participants, the performance of traditional masculinity was attached to employment. As the present study established in the results chapters, unemployment was rife amongst these men, and this further marginalised these communities. Men were, therefore, tempted to look for alternative ways to earn money, sometimes illegally, to achieve the coveted role as provider. Many authors agree that unemployment seriously challenges men's role as provider (Giddens, 2001; Walker, 2005; Willott & Griffin, 1996).

In sum, this chapter focused on men's subjective perceptions of how masculinity was achieved and maintained in their community. In the previous chapter men located themselves in a context of marginalisation. This is where marginalised 'coloured' masculinities are

performed. With disproportionately lower chances of achieving traditional masculinities men still drew on traditional ideas of what it meant to be a man. Subjective perceptions of what a man should 'be' and what he should 'do' were grounded in religious discourses. Men drew on Biblical texts to describe and support their views on the superiority of the masculine role. Biblical texts were also used when discussing the feminine role. The importance of being the provider for a family was at the head of men's responsibilities. Maintaining this 'role' was a challenge, as stable employment was a predicament men faced daily. Nevertheless, the family, especially their intimate partners, still expected men to fulfil the responsibility of providing. Men reported that performing the role as provider was their main challenge. Stable employment was the only way they felt they could earn the respect of their family and neighbours.

Aspirations of being a good father were evident during these discussions. The context, in which the role of fatherhood was performed, however, decreased men's chances of being successful in this role. Men, therefore, reported being seen as disposable to their families, as their women were more successful in performing the role of provider. Thus, based on men's narratives, having the respect of your children and wife (as a father) was predicated upon being employed. Many sexist attitudes towards women were justified by using scriptural references. Justifications for men's sexist attitudes towards women encouraged the use of violence to discipline women and 'keep them in their place'. As discussed earlier, when men are structurally marginalised they are more likely to assert violence towards women, as a consequence of supposed feelings of inferiority. The concluding chapter will summarise and further discuss the study findings.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSIONS

In this thesis, I aimed to examine the endorsement of traditional masculinity norms and how these norms are understood, amongst two groups of marginalised ‘coloured’ men. The first research question asked about men’s conformity to traditional masculine norms, and was answered with the use of a revised version of Luyt’s (2007) MANI-III, (the Male Attitude Norms Inventory-III-R38). Men’s reported levels of endorsement were also correlated with common risk behaviours and attitudes that have shown to be exacerbated by the endorsement of traditional masculinity norms to address the subsidiary question of how the endorsement of traditional masculinity influences men’s reported gender role stress and risk behaviours.

The second research question in this research asked about the contexts in which marginalised ‘coloured’ masculinities occur and how these shape men’s subjective ideas about ‘what it means to be a man’. The analysis showed how men understood what it meant to be successfully masculine and whether they felt they could attain these ideals. It also presented men’s descriptions of their social environments, and how their everyday life experiences influenced the extent to which they felt they could attain successful masculinity. In this, concluding chapter of the thesis, I summarise the significant findings that emerged, and explore the broader significance of these. Finally, I suggest recommendations for further research, and highlight some policy implications.

8.1 Study summary

From the perspectives of ‘coloured’ men, I attempted to understand the subjective descriptions of traditional masculinities and how traditional masculinity is practised in their communities. The focus on ‘coloured’ men specifically was not coincidental. Literature on

performances of traditional ‘coloured’ masculinity seems to be lacking, and existing literature that includes ‘coloured’ men mostly emphasises that these men are more likely to commit gender-based violence (Sawyer-Kurian, et al., 2009), and display risky sexual behaviours (Abrahams et al., 2006), compared to other men. This is, to my knowledge, the first study to explore ‘coloured’ men’s understandings of masculine roles and how their attainment of successful masculinity is shaped by the deprived contexts in which they find themselves, contexts that include high levels of violence and social upheaval.

This research showed that traditional masculinity is an ideal hoped to be attained by ‘all’ men, regardless of their life situations and trajectories. Men of colour (even though disenfranchised) still endorse traditional notions of masculinity (Mthembu et al., 2014; Ratele, 2008; 2013). The endorsement of these norms often influences their performances of masculinity, that show hostility toward women (Glick & Fiske, 1996; Glick et al., 2000) and participating in risky drinking and sexual behaviours (Morojele et al., 2006; Shefer et al., 2008; Strebel et al., 2006) based on traditional norms or due to thwarted masculinities (Lisco et al., 2012).

8.1.1 Quantitative summary: Endorsement of traditional masculinity, risk behaviours and gender role stress

The quantitative part of the study focused on measuring men’s endorsement of traditional masculinity norms. The study hypothesised that men who report high endorsement of traditional masculinity norms will equally report risky behavioural practices, including risky sexual behaviour, alcohol misuse, sensation seeking, the acceptance of violent behaviours and hostile sexism. Furthermore, it was also hypothesised that men who endorse traditional masculinity norms are more likely to experience gender role stress.

The findings, reflect that the majority of men in this study, reported mild endorsement of masculinity norms; with most men being supportive of masculine status as an imperative element of successful masculinity. The importance of status as a masculine construct has emerged as important in masculinity literature for decades (see Levant et al., 1992; Luyt, 2007; Mahalik et al., 2003; Thompson & Pleck, 1986). For these men, this outcome may also be reflective of the literature on 'coloured' men. 'Coloured' men are showed to have a lower education and economic status as compared to other men (Peltzer, Davids & Njuho, 2011) and to hold an intermediary status based on racialised politics (Adhikari, 2005). It may therefore be proposed that for these men subjective perceptions of themselves and possibly their perceptions of how they are viewed by others have an effect on their masculine status which is of paramount importance to their masculine identities.

The findings further showed that the Linear Regression Model was not a good fit as most of the study's hypotheses were not supported by the data. The study found no predictive associations between the endorsement of traditional masculinity norms and hazardous alcohol use, sensation seeking, or risky sexual behaviours, on both univariate and multivariate levels of analysis. Therefore, it could be suggested that, for these men, the endorsement of traditional masculinity norms was not a propellant for risky drinking, risky sexual or sensation seeking behaviours. Findings that emerged from a univariate level of analysis suggested that men who endorsed traditional masculinity norms were more likely to report an education level of less than grade 9; more likely to report stress associated with gender role performance failure, machismo, acceptance of violence and hostile sexism. These findings may also be linked to masculine status or the inability to obtain masculine status in their communities. One outcome of thwarted masculine status may be that men may experience failure to perform masculine expectations and may therefore use violence to recoup some sense of masculinity.

At a multivariate level of analysis, higher hostile sexism was the only outcome variable associated with conformity to masculinity. Hostile sexism therefore emerged as a salient predictor of conformity to traditional masculine norms amongst this sample of men. Thus, for this sample of 'coloured' men from the two Cape Town communities, the endorsement of traditional masculinity encompasses the expression of hostile sexist attitudes toward women. The expression of hostile attitudes meant men were more likely to agree that, 1) when women talk and act sexy, they are inviting trouble; that 2) it is just part of human nature for men to force women to have sex; that 3) women who go to shebeens should not complain if they are raped there; that 4) women who go out and drink alcohol expect to have sex and that 5) hitting a woman is sometimes necessary to keep her in line.

Given what we know about men's violence toward women, it is not unreasonable to suggest that hostile sexist attitudes towards women could act as a propellant for violence against women. The association between hostile sexism and intimate partner violence is evident in the literature too. Recently Mthembu et al. (2014) showed that men who report high levels of hostile sexism are also more likely to report the recent perpetration of intimate partner violence, compared to men who report lower levels of hostile sexism. In this regard, men's violence toward women acts as a mechanism to enforce masculine authority and to keep traditional gender relations intact (Gadd, 2002; Messerschmidt, 1997; Sawyer-Kurian et al., 2009). Along these lines, Glick et al. (2002) and Sakalli (2001) suggest that hostile sexism is the strongest predictor of attitudes that legitimatise violence against women. Therefore, although this study found that these participants reported less risky and violent behaviours, their endorsement of hostile sexism towards women could be indicative of attitudes that have the propensity to cultivate environments for committing violence against women as a performance of traditional masculinity.

8.1.2 Qualitative summary: Marginalised contexts and men's subjective understandings of masculinity

The second question the study aimed to address asked: In what contexts are marginalised 'coloured' masculinities performed and how do these shape 'coloured' men's subjective ideas about 'what it means to be a man'. This study revealed that men's subjective understandings of masculinity could not be understood outside of their social contexts, shaped by marginalisation and deprivation. 'Coloured' masculinity could, therefore, not be explored without taking account of the social context in which 'coloured' men live. Men appeared to be aware of their low positions on the social hierarchy and understood their experiences of marginalisation to be shaped by ideas and stereotypes about 'colouredness', drawing on historical and Apartheid notions about the constructed 'racial' category. Being perceived as criminals by others was a common stereotype about 'colouredness' that emerged from men's talk.

Men also argued that the reality of unemployment amongst 'coloured' men further contributed to their marginalisation and identified the consequences of marginalisation as high levels of substance abuse, violence and further social exclusion. Findings suggested that the two communities were similar in terms of demographic characteristics. However, these communities were very different in terms of unemployment and gangsterism. Evidence of these differences is reflected in both the qualitative and the quantitative findings. Regarding employment rates and gang membership, most men in the Vlottenburg area reported being employed and also reported less participation in gangsterism as compared to men in Delft. Delft participants mostly reported unemployment and also reported almost three times more lifetime participation in gangsterism relative to Vlottenburg men. This may be suggestive of a greater problem of marginalisation, influenced by unemployment and gangsterism, in the Delft community.

At the backdrop of this understanding of these marginalised contexts, I explored men's subjective perceptions of masculinity. With three broad themes (which included local performance of masculinities; transition to manhood and consequences of performing traditional manhood) the data elucidated that men perceived that traditional masculinity was about performing the role as primary wage earner in the home. Having gainful employment meant that men could secure their positions as head of the household. This position represented a powerful locus that guaranteed men the respect of their wives, children, other men and their communities at large. Employment also assured a more stable masculine identity and status. In reality, however, unemployment was normal amongst these men, as men narrated their stories of how they negotiated some sense of 'successful' masculinity despite living in a context of poverty. Men were conscious of their marginalisation, as they recognised that their marginalised position was a fragment of existing social identities. Marginalisation therefore played an enormous part in the negotiation of 'coloured' masculine identities. It was in this marginalised setting (historically and present) where violence, poverty and 'lack' were ingrained as performances of traditional masculinity.

For these participants, displaying or performing their masculine roles was part of their everyday interactions. In 'doing' their gender role, these men performed socially established gendered roles for others (both other men and women) to see. A common perspective used to ratify the dominance of men over women was that of religion by which they argued that men were given the role as household head by God, and that women and children were to be protected and provided for, by the man.

I am not completely critical of this view of men performing the role of household head. This performance of masculinity has been a masculine duty for decades. However, the level of power endowed upon men has shown to have great disadvantages for social cohesion. Firstly, this 'patriarchy' may encourage masculine power over women and children (Connell 1995;

2005; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). When men in marginalised societies view themselves as having ultimate power in their households, they may feel compelled to use violence (when this power is challenged) to maintain superiority and this may exacerbate domestic and inter-personal violence (Boonzaier 2005; Boonzaier & de la Rey, 2003: hooks, 1994).

For these men specifically, masculine power may have been challenged by poverty due to unemployment. In the face of unemployment, men continued to struggle to maintain their socially prescribed gender role as head of the household, and experienced a 'loss of power' or emasculation as a result (Frosh et al., 2002; Whitehead, 2002). Research suggests that when men are unable to attain the masculinity represented by the traditional ideal, a crisis in masculinity may occur (Dowsett, 2002; Frosh et al. 2002; Kimmel, 1987; Walker, 2005b), and men may respond negatively to this crisis. Violence and hostile sexist attitudes towards women was paramount to masculine performances amongst these men. I therefore suggest that these performances of masculinity have become a method men used to negotiate their masculinities.

In the main, the research findings suggest that men's dominant position is contrasted with the suppression of women. It was clear that men's attitudes about women encouraged hostility toward women. This finding was at the core of this research as it was confirmed by both the quantitative and qualitative study data. Although it cannot be deduced from this current research, it may suggest that marginalised men are more likely to hold attitudes that suppress women. These attitudes may then translate into behaviours that may provide the support for and encourage violence against women. In addition, as has been shown in the literature the performances of traditional masculinity were shown to increase masculine gender role stress. Even though men reported mild levels of gender role stress, at some level men had anxieties about performance failure. The focus group discussions revealed that when men are unable to

‘successfully’ perform the roles of household head they commonly attempt to recover masculine power by participating in risky drinking and sexual behaviours. I therefore suggest that the pressure placed on men to be solely responsible for their households is detrimental to the social cohesion of marginalised communities.

Furthermore, the study results also suggests that men may have had little productive support, guidance or encouragement from elders in their communities as preparation for adulthood or specifically, manhood. Successful masculinity may appear only to be available through participation in violence and other risk behaviours. Men’s vulnerabilities were, therefore, exposed as their constructions of masculinity centred on the displays of violence and toughness as a means to attain and maintain a sense of masculinity. The commonness of violence in ‘coloured’ homes and communities could therefore be indicative of the hyper-masculine performances men are encouraged to display. In a related way, the attainment of successful masculinity may be “contrasted with the powerlessness men reportedly experienced as a result of social marginalization (poverty, unemployment etc.)” (Boonzaier, 2005, p. 197).

The study results contribute to the field of masculinity in that it broadens our thinking about the effects of the social context on how men define, and enact manhood. The study discusses ‘coloured’ masculinity in terms of how these men attempt to accomplish forms of masculinities in a marginalised context. This dissertation also expands the research knowledge on marginalised masculinities by studying a group of men that have not received much attention previously showing how their impoverished context and its historical location shape understandings of masculinity. Furthermore, the study elucidates the salience of taking into account contextual factors, such as unemployment, when studying masculinity. These factors may influence the enactment of masculinity as men of the same racial category may experience and understand their masculinities differently, as a result of these influencing

factors. The thesis also makes a relevant contribution to existing knowledge as it presents a range of findings that add to research on masculinities, risk-taking behaviour, race, gender-based violence and marginalisation. The study also showed the continued relevance of the Sex Role Paradigm to understanding masculinity roles and norms; a phenomenon that has recently mostly been understood from a Social Constructionist perspective.

8.1.3 Methodological contributions

A secondary outcome for this study is captured in the use of the first multidimensional, culturally representative measure of masculinity. The 48-item Male Attitude Norms Inventory-III (MANI-III) Afrikaans (Luyt, 2007) was developed for the use of measuring dominant masculinity norms in the South African context. To my knowledge the MANI-III Afrikaans was the most recent and socio-culturally relevant South African masculinity scale, at the time of data collection. For the purpose of this study, a revised version of Luyt's (2007) MANI-III Afrikaans was used. The analytic processes, from which the MANI-III-R38 evolved, identified three (different from the MANI-III) dimensions. These were *Status*, *Superiority* and *Alternative Masculinity*. The MANI-III-R38 should be considered a valuable addition to Luyt's masculinity inventories (2001; 2005; 2007) as an endeavour to measure the endorsement of context specific traditional masculinity norms amongst marginalised men. Thus, this study contributed to the existing knowledge on masculinity measurements as it used the first local masculinity scale and provided a revised version of a psychometrically sound masculinity tool for use amongst marginalised men.

Another methodological contribution made by this research was the use of mixed methods to enhance the study's validity by deepening the understanding of how these marginalised men enact their masculinities. Employing mixed methodology allowed the study to measure attitudes and behavioural practices that are identified as common risky behaviours amongst

men who endorse traditional masculinity. In-depth focus group discussions were conducted with a large number of men (n= 108) to understand their subjective experiences as poor and working-class 'coloured' men. The combination of quantitative and qualitative methods has been contested in the literature (Webb et al., 1966). Nevertheless, as has been discovered in this thesis, mixed methods ensured a holistic understanding of marginalised 'coloured' masculinities. Employing a mixed methodology enriched and solidified the study findings.

Luyt (2011, p. 20) purports that:

Quantitative data are considered before qualitative data. Yet qualitative data are not considered merely supplementary.... This lends some support for the notion that equal status designs are possible in terms of the sum of their individual contributions.

While men's agreement with traditional notions of masculinity on a scale tells us one part of the story of masculine identification and roles, the inclusion of a qualitative understanding of men's perceptions of masculinity and the contexts by which it is shaped, is important for providing a fuller account of masculinity and masculine roles in these two Cape Town communities. Without the in-depth perceptions gathered from these men, I might have simply concluded (like Glick et al., 2000) that men in marginalised communities are more likely to report higher levels of hostile sexism as compared to more privileged men, and this finding would have been justified. However, this study with its theoretical foundation in the Gender Role Strain paradigm and utilising mixed methodology highlighted that the masculine performances of these socially marginalised men are embedded in historical deprivation and current poverty and unemployment, which might have decreased their chances of attaining the expectations of traditional masculine roles.

8.1.4 Concluding remarks

The overarching aim of this thesis was to study masculinity roles and associated risk behaviours amongst a group of marginalised 'coloured' men from two deprived communities, one urban and one rural, in Cape Town, South Africa. To achieve this aim, the research

examined two broad questions. The first question asked: What levels of conformity to masculinity norms are expressed amongst a sample of 'coloured' men from two communities in Cape Town and how are these related to their reported levels of gender role stress and risk-taking behaviours? The second question the study aimed to address asked: In what contexts are marginalised 'coloured' masculinities performed and how do these shape 'coloured' men's subjective ideas about 'what it means to be a man'. Previous research has illustrated that South African men hold negative attitudes about women and that these, in turn, may promote sexual violence and the acceptance of rape myths (Glick, et al., 2000; Jewkes, et al., 2001; Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002). While all men are potentially identified as exhibiting the possibility of perpetrating violence against women, research has also illustrated that 'coloured' men are amongst the most likely to do so (Abrahams, Jewkes, Laubscher & Hoffman, 2006; Choi & Ting, 2008; Jewkes, Sikweyiya, Morrell & Dunkle, 2009; Sawyer-Kurian, Wechsberg & Luseno, 2009). They are also most likely to be over-represented in the prison population (Stats SA, 2011). The current study provided some understanding of why it is that these men are more likely to use violence against women and highlighted the possible link between violence and hostile sexism amongst these men. This study is therefore, different to other studies involving 'coloured' men as it correlates the reality of men's social context with the perceived gender expectations associated with 'coloured' masculinity. In so doing, the study elucidates an understanding of risk behaviours which commonly surface amongst marginalised 'coloured' men.

The study provides evidence that a range of traditional ideals exist, even in a marginalised context. What these communities deemed successful manhood was men who have good employment, and who in turn are able to protect and provide for their families. Further, this study revealed the predicament that marginalised men, specifically 'coloured' men, experienced due to unemployment. It is true that the unemployment of these men is

influenced by the current economic state in South Africa. However, as observed from the demographic statistics in Chapter 5, the level of education of these men was very low. It may therefore be suggested that being under-educated may be a major influencing factor for employment amongst these men.

Similar to other research, this study showed that experiences of thwarting due to the inability to attain the male gendered role, encouraged behaviours which lead to alcohol abuse and risky sexual encounters. In these communities, as common in 'coloured' townships, criminal activities were also mentioned as outlets for men who may lack the ability to achieve successful masculinity. High levels of hostility towards women encouraged physical violence as men reportedly witnessed as well as perpetrated violence against women.

Future research should examine the link between hostile sexism and traditional masculinities more closely. Also as suggested by Mahalik et al., (2003), masculinity is diverse and should therefore, be measured based on different masculine norms. Thus, although the MANI-III-R38 total scale yielded excellent psychometric properties, and correlated with the three subscales it produced; future research should use the three constructs of the MANI-III-R38 separately to examine their relationships to risk behaviour amongst marginalised men.

In addition, future research should also consider the environment in which masculinities are performed, as marginalised men are shown to experience restraint at structural, representational and political levels. This restraint may be experienced by men as thwarting which may in turn encourage performances of hyper-masculinity such as violence, that are potentially detrimental to men, women and their communities. Thus, future research should unpack marginalised men's vulnerability in terms of social norms.

8.2 Recommendations and limitations

This study discovered that marginalised men should be studied by considering the influences of unemployment and poverty on their communities. Universal masculine performances such as being the protector and provider of families were found to be a salient performance of marginalised ‘coloured’ masculinities. Further, men who endorsed traditional masculinity norms were more likely to report hostile sexism toward women. Even though the quantitative study results did not suggest a link between the conformity to traditional masculinity and risky sexual and drinking behaviours, men’s talk suggested that risky sexual and drinking behaviours are associated with local traditional masculine performances. ‘Doing’ masculinities by way of risky behaviours was suggested as a means to deal with thwarted masculine identities caused by unemployment and poverty.

To the social problems the study highlights, an initial recommendation emerged that is suggestive of a policy implementation at a government level to decrease the unemployment rate amongst marginalised men. However, recognising the structural obstacles that the South African economy is faced with, decreasing the burden of unemployment should be a long-term strategy. Therefore, the study suggests that structural changes to address the lack of education, poverty and unemployment in marginalised communities should be implemented. Furthermore, alcoholism amongst ‘coloured’ people has been a prevailing problem and the progress made by government and non-government organisations to curb alcohol related problems, should be recognised. The National Department of Health recently deliberated on legislation to ban alcohol advertising. Specific liquor laws were also put into place in Cape Town, with clear guidelines about when alcohol can legally be sold. Enforcing and monitoring such policies in the local shebeens will allow bold strides toward curbing risk drinking and other alcohol-related social problems, in marginalised communities.

This study is not void of limitations. As mentioned previously, power relations between the researcher and the participants, or how the participants perceive the researcher, may have influenced the participants' opinions on masculine roles during the data collection process. I am also reflexive about my choice of research question and my personal investment in marginalised 'coloured' communities. I therefore acknowledge that the results of the study should be received as an effort to provide baseline information about traditional masculine performances in these communities.

The biggest limitation of the study, however, is the lack of significant predictive findings between the endorsement of traditional masculinities and risk behaviours on a linear regression level, other than hostile sexism. The reasons for this are not entirely clear as some level of association was found on bivariate correlational and univariate regression levels. As suggested earlier, the quantitative findings may have been influenced by the participants' literacy and comprehension levels. In addition to possible social desirability bias and dialect barriers, the participants might simply have been unfamiliar with completing scalar survey measures; hence the importance of the qualitative part of the study.

The study results were however strengthened by the use of mixed methodologies and I suggest that if one of these methods was used exclusively, the outcome data would have been thin and interpretation would have been limited. The use of mixed methods strengthened the study outcomes, as both the qualitative and quantitative results zoned in on hostile sexism as integral and debilitating issue for these men.

This research may be seen as reflecting little novelty, as marginalised men in general report masculine performances which display violence to maintain their masculine dignity, and risky behaviours to redirect thwarting due to 'identity crises' (Bourgois, 1996; Jefferson, 2002; Messerschmidt, 1997). However, what emerged as salient from this study is that

marginalised men may be affected by the same social issues (such as poverty), but they do not react to these issues in the same way. This study therefore, encourages future research endeavours to develop context specific interventions that speak to the interconnectedness of men's hostile sexist attitudes toward women as a propellant for the use of violence against women, and as a performance of marginalised masculinity.

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APPENDIX A: Participant Consent Form (Quantitative data collection)

Researcher: Jacqueline Mthembu
Institution: University of Cape Town
Telephone: 021-466 8062/ 076-165 1725
Email: jmatthews@hsrc.ac.za

You are requested to participate in a session that may last approximately 1 to 1 and a half hours. In this session you will be asked to complete a questionnaire about masculinity.

You are encouraged to ask any questions at any time about the nature of the study and the methods that I am using. If you have any further questions or comments, please contact me at the address/phone number listed above.

1. The purpose of this research is:

To fulfill the requirements of my PhD degree at the University of Cape Town, and
To explore marginalised masculinities in your community

2. I guarantee that the following conditions will be met:

Your real name will not be used in any source of the research; instead, you will be given a participant number through which you will be identified. Any other names or identifying details will also be omitted or changed in order to guarantee your anonymity.

The information that you will share, will be kept strictly confidential unless you inform me of your intention to harm yourself or someone else.

I will take extra care to store all my research data in a safe and secure place, to which only I have access.

Your participation in this project is entirely voluntary and you have the right to withdraw from the study at any time and for any reason, and the information already collected will be returned to you or destroyed. Your refusal to participate in this study will in no way negatively affect you.

The results of the study will be written in the form of an academic thesis and may also be published in an academic journal – while ensuring you of complete anonymity.

3. Benefits of the project:

Participants will be given an opportunity to provide input into the research, which may assist others working in the areas of masculinity.

The researcher will be available and accessible to the participants throughout the study period in order to address issues of concern.

An incentive will be given to you to thank you for participating in this study.

I agree to and understand the terms set out above.

.....
PARTICIPANT

.....
DATE

.....
RESEARCHER

.....
DATE

APPENDIX B: English questionnaire

A. Please mark your answer to each question below. Either write a number or tick in a box.

A1. What is your date of birth?

Day / Month / Year

A2. Are you currently employed?

YES

NO

A3. Do you have any children?

YES

NO

A4. Are you currently employed?

YES

NO

A5. What is the highest year of education that you have completed? (Please circle one):

<5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15+

A6. Are you currently married?

Yes-Married

Living Together

Not-Married

B. How do you personally feel about these behaviours? Please tick a box.

<i>How do you feel about . . .</i>	strongly disapprove	disapprove	approve	strongly approve
B1. Having more than one sex partner				
B2. Having sex with a condom				
B3. Having sex when drunk				
B4. Meeting sex partners in shebeens				
B5. Hitting a spouse or partner				

C. Below are several things a person may do in their sexual relationships. Please tell us how many times you have done each in the PAST 30 DAYS....

In the past 30 days	Yes	No
C1. I reminded myself to use a condom.		
C2. I told a sex partner that we need to use a condom.		
C3. I used a condom.		
C4. I told myself that sex with a condom is as good as sex without a condom.		
C5. I got free condoms from a clinic, shebeen, or other public place.		
C6. I got tested for HIV-AIDS.		
C7. I made sure that I had condoms with me before sex.		
C8. I met a sex partner at a Shebeen, Tavern, or Bottle Store?		
C9. I had sex with someone at a Shebeen, Tavern, or Bottle Store?		
C10. I avoided drinking or using drugs before sex.		

C11. I used a condom the last time I had sex.		
C12. I have tried to drink less alcohol.		

D. Read each statement and fill in the box that describes you best.







	Not at all like me	Slightly like me	Mainly like me	Very much like me
D1. I get bored and restless if I have nothing to do.				
D2. I sometimes like to do things that are a little frightening.				
D3. I enjoy the feeling of riding on the outside of a moving train.				
D4. I have been known by my friends as a 'risk taker'.				
D5. I would like to try jumping off a high cliff into a river below.				

D6. I would like to try jumping from high places.				
D7. I find it exciting to jump on and off a moving train as it pulls in and out of the station.				

E. Please indicate how much you agree with the following statements

	Strongly Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Strongly Agree
E1. It is essential for a man to get respect for mothers.				
E2. A man always deserves the respect of his wife and children.				
E3. I admire a man who is very confident.				
E4. A man will lose respect if he talks about his problems.				
E5. A young man should be physically tough, even if he is not big.				
E6. It bothers me when a man acts like a girl.				
E7. I don't think a husband should have to do housework.				
E8. When women talk and act sexy, they are inviting trouble.				

E9. It is just part of human nature for men to force women to have sex.				
E10. Women who go to shebeens should not complain if they are raped there.				
E11. Women who go out and drink alcohol expect to have sex.				
E12. Hitting a woman is sometimes necessary to keep her in line.				

	<i>A single tot of spirits</i>		<i>1 nip of Brandy</i>		<i>1 bottle of Cider</i>
	<i>1 can or glass of ordinary beer</i>		<i>1 nip or glass of wine</i>		<i>Carton of ordinary sorghum beer</i>

F. Use the examples below to help you understand what we mean by one drink:

F1. How often did you have a drink containing alcohol in the past year?

Never	Monthly or less	2-4 times a month	2-3 times a week	More than 4 times a week
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If you marked **NEVER** above, please skip the rest of the questions on this page and continue on the next page.

If you ever drank alcohol in the past 1 year please answer the following questions.

IN THE PAST YEAR:

F2. How many drinks containing alcohol do you have on a typical day when you are drinking?

1 or 2	3 or 4	5 or 6	7 to 9	10 or more
--------	--------	--------	--------	------------

F3. How often do you have five or more standard drinks?

Never	Less than Monthly	Monthly	Weekly	Daily or almost Daily
-------	-------------------	---------	--------	-----------------------

F4. How often during the last year have you not been able to stop drinking once you started?

Never	Less than Monthly	Monthly	Weekly	Daily or almost Daily
-------	-------------------	---------	--------	-----------------------

F5. How often during the last year have you failed to do what you are normally expected to do because you were drinking?

Never	Less than Monthly	Monthly	Weekly	Daily or almost Daily
-------	-------------------	---------	--------	-----------------------

F6. How often during the last year have you needed a drink first thing in the morning to get yourself going?

Never	Less than Monthly	Monthly	Weekly	Daily or almost Daily
-------	-------------------	---------	--------	-----------------------

F7. How often during the last year have you had a feeling of guilt or shame after drinking?

Never	Less than Monthly	Monthly	Weekly	Daily or almost Daily
-------	-------------------	---------	--------	-----------------------

F8. How often during the last year have you been unable to remember what happened the night before because you had been drinking?

No	Yes, but not in the last year	Yes, in the last year
----	-------------------------------	-----------------------

F9. Have you or someone else been injured as a result of your drinking?

No	Yes, but not in the last year	Yes, in the last year
----	-------------------------------	-----------------------

F10. Has a relative or friend or health worker been concerned about your drinking and suggested that you cut down?

No	Yes, but not in the last year	Yes, in the last year
----	-------------------------------	-----------------------

G. IN THE PAST 30 DAYS, HOW MANY TIMES HAVE YOU USED.....

G1. Marijuana (Dagga)	1	2	3	4	5+
G2. Tik (also called Meth or Tina)	1	2	3	4	5+
G3. Cocaine	1	2	3	4	5+
G4. Any other drug	1	2	3	4	5+

H. Instructions: Thank you for agreeing to take part in this study. The statements listed below describe interesting situations involving men. There are no right, or wrong answers, only opinions. You are asked to express your feelings about each statement by indicating whether you – (A) Strongly Disagree, (B) Disagree, (C) have No Opinion, (D) Agree, or (E) Strongly Agree – by placing a cross in the appropriate box.

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	No opinion	Agree	Strongly agree
H1. A man should prefer sports to needlework.					
H2. If a man hurts himself he should try not to let others see he is in pain.					
H3. 'A man should be able to provide for his family.					
H4. . It is not important for a man to know a lot about sex.					
H5. To be a man you need to be physically tough.					
H6. Being called a 'faggot' is one of the worst insults to a man.					
H7. A man should take a break from his responsibility to be with his friends.					
H8. A father should not be embarrassed if he finds out that his son is gay					
H9. Men should appear confident in difficult situations.					
H10. A true friend is someone who would fight by a man's side no matter what.					
H11. Winning should not be important for men.					
H12. Men should not be allowed to sleep intimately in the same bed together.					
H13. Men should do work that earns them respect.					
H14. A successful man should be able to live a comfortable life.					
H15. A man deserves the respect of his family.					
H16. Men who have small penises should not be self-conscious.					
H17. Men should accept that their work responsibilities might lead to ill health.					

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	No opinion	Agree	Strongly agree
H18. Men who cry out-loud in public are weak.					
H19. Men who stay at home to clean and look after the children should be proud of what they do.					
H20. Men should feel embarrassed if they are unable to get an erection with a new sexual partner.					
H21. A real man should not look for others to blame when things do not work out.					
H22. If a man is frightened he should try and not to let others see it.					
H23. It is not acceptable for a man to use physical force to get himself out of an unpleasant situation.					
H24. It is wrong for a man to be seen in a gay bar.					
H25. A man should take the lead when something needs to be done.					
H26. A man need not plan well in advance for the future.					
H27. It is not always a man's task to protect his family.					
H28. It is important for men to be good in bed.					
H29. Men should be determined to do well.					
H30. It is important for a man to be successful in his work.					
H31. A man should not feel embarrassed that his best friend is gay					
H32. A man should make all the final decisions in the family.					
H33. A man's success is not measured by what he owns.					
H34. Gay men should be beaten up.					
H35. Men should be able to remain focused even in difficult situations.					
H36. A man should back his friends up no matter what.					

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	No opinion	Agree	Strongly agree
H37. Men should be able to kiss each other passionately without feeling ashamed					
H38. A man's decision should not be questioned.					
H39. A man's decision should not be questioned.					
H40. Men should not feel embarrassed if they ejaculate before being able to make love.					
H41. Men should aim to have the respect and admiration of others.					
H42. If something goes wrong at work a man should be prepared to take the blame.					
H43. It is wrong for men to call anyone a chick.					
H44. It is okay for men to lose their cool in frustrating situations.					
H45. Men should be careful not to take unnecessary risks.					
H46. It is not necessary for a man to love his sexual partner.					
H47. Gay men are not suited to many jobs.					
H48. A man should tell others when he is feeling depressed.					

I. Everyone has ideas about what is right and wrong and what they would do in difficult situations. Below are some statements about various situations and what you would do or what you think is right and wrong. There are no correct or incorrect answers or trick questions; it is your view that is important. Simply tick the box to show whether the statement is true or false – for you.

		True	False
1	It is shameful to walk away from a fight.		
2	I tend to just react physically without thinking.		
3	When you are pushed to your limit, there is nothing you can do except fight.		
4	You can never face people again if you show you are frightened.		
5	Most people won't learn unless you physically hurt them.		
6	I enjoy watching violence on TV or in films.		
7	It is OK to hit someone who threatens to make you look stupid.		
8	It is OK to hit your partner if they behave unacceptably.		
9	I expect real men to be violent.		
10	If you don't stick up for yourself physically you will get trodden on.		
11	Being violent shows you are a man.		
12	I am totally against violence.		
13	Sometimes you have to use violence to get what you want.		
14	It is OK (or normal) to hit someone if they hit you first.		
15	You won't survive if you run away from fights and arguments.		
16	If I am provoked, I can't help but hit the person who provoked me.		
17	Fighting can make you feel alive and 'fired up'.		
18	It is OK to hit someone who threatens your family.		
19	If I felt threatened by someone, I would stop them by attacking them first.		
20	Physical violence is a necessary sign of strength and power.		

		True	False
21	Violence is second nature to me.		
22	People who irritate you deserve to be hit.		
23	If I get angry, hitting out makes me feel better.		
24	I just seem to attract violence.		
25	Fighting can help to sort out most disagreements.		
26	Men who are gentle get walked on.		
27	It is OK to have violence on TV.		
28	Sometimes you have to be violent to show that you are a man.		
29	I hate violence.		
30	If someone attacked me verbally, I would attack them physically.		
31	When I can't think of what to say, it's easier to react with my fists.		
32	If someone cuts you up in traffic, it's OK to swear at them.		
33	It is OK (or normal) to hit women if you need to teach them a lesson.		
34	I enjoy watching violent sports (e.g. boxing).		
35	If I don't show that I'm tough and strong, people will think I'm weak and pathetic.		
36	It is OK to hit someone who upsets you.		
37	I wouldn't feel bad about hitting someone if they really deserved it.		
38	When I have hurt people, I feel bad or even hate myself for it afterwards.		
39	It is OK to hit someone if they make you look stupid.		
40	It is OK to have violence in films at the cinema.		
41	Some people only understand when you show them through physical		
42	I enjoy fighting.		
43	Fear is a sign of weakness.		

		True	False
44	It is OK to be violent if someone threatens to damage your property.		
45	I believe that if someone annoys you, you have a right to get them back, by whatever means necessary.		
46	If I were in a potentially violent situation, I would automatically confront the person threatening me.		
47	I would rather lose a fight and get beaten up than embarrass myself by walking away.		
48	Being violent shows you are strong.is.		
49	It is OK to hit someone who threatens your partner.		
50	Being violent shows that you can assert yourself.		
51	It is normal for men to want to fight.		
52	Because anyone can suffer hurt and pain, you should not hit other people.		
53	I see myself as a violent person.		
54	Real men' are not afraid of fighting.		
55	If you are not willing to fight it means you are weak and pathetic.		
56	If trouble starts, I wouldn't think about it - I would just get stuck in and fight.		

J. Please rate the following items according to how stressful the situation would be for you. Give each item your own rating on a scale from 0 (*not stressful*) to 5 (*extremely stressful*).

NOT STRESSFUL		EXTREMELY STRESSFUL			
0	1	2	3	4	5
1	Feeling that you are not in good physical condition				
2	Telling your spouse that you love her/him				
3	Being outperformed at work by a woman				
4	Having to ask for directions when you are lost				
5	Being unemployed				
6	Not being able to find a sexual partner				
7	Having a female boss				
8	Having your lover say that s/he is not satisfied				
9	Letting a woman take control of the situation				
10	Not making enough money				
11	Being perceived by someone as <i>gay</i> or <i>lesbian</i>				
12	Telling someone that you feel hurt by what they said				
13	Being married to someone who makes more money than you				
14	Working with people who seem more ambitious than you				
15	Finding you lack the occupational skills to succeed				
16	Losing in a sports competition				
17	Admitting that you are afraid of something				
18	Being with a woman who is more successful than you				
19	Talking with a <i>feminist</i>				
20	Being unable to perform sexually				
21	Being perceived as having feminine traits				

NOT STRESSFUL		EXTREMELY STRESSFUL			
0	1	2	3	4	5
22	Having your children see you cry				
23	Being outperformed in a game by a woman				
24	Having people say that you are indecisive				
25	Being too tired for sex when your lover initiates it				
26	Appearing less athletic than a friend				
27	Talking with a woman who is crying				
28	Needing your spouse to work to help support the family				
29	Having others say that you are too emotional				
30	Being unable to become sexually aroused when you want				
31	Being compared unfavorably to men				
32	Comforting a male friend who is upset				
33	Admitting to your friends that you do housework				
34	Working with people who are brighter than yourself				
35	Getting passed over for a promotion				
36	Knowing you cannot hold your liquor as well as others				
37	Having a man put his arm around your shoulder				
38	Being with a woman who is much taller than you				
39	Staying home during the day with a sick child				
40	Getting fired from your job				

APPENDIX C: Participant Consent Form (Qualitative data collection)

Researcher: Jacqueline Mthembu
Institution: University of Cape Town
Telephone: 021-466 8062/ 076-165 1725
Email: jmatthews@hsrc.ac.za

You are requested to participate in a session that may last approximately 1 to 1 and a half hours. During this focus group discussion you will be asked to talk about your understanding of masculinity. You are encouraged to ask any questions at any time about the nature of the study and the methods that I am using. If you have any further questions or comments, please contact me at the address/phone number listed above.

1. The purpose of this research is:

- a) To fulfill the requirements of my PhD degree at the University of Cape Town, and
- b) To explore marginalised masculinities in your community

2. I guarantee that the following conditions will be met:

- a) Your real name will not be used in any source of the research; instead, you will be given a pseudonym through which you will be identified. Any other names or identifying details will also be omitted or changed in order to guarantee your anonymity.
- b) With your permission I will tape record the interview to ensure that the information is recorded accurately. If you grant permission for audio-taping, no tapes will be used for any other purpose than that to which we have agreed. During the interview, you may request to switch off the tape recorder at any time or to delete any information from the tapes.
- c) The information that you will share, will be kept strictly confidential unless you inform me of your intention to harm yourself or someone else.
- d) I will take extra care to store all my research data in a safe and secure place, to which only I have access.
- e) Your participation in this project is entirely voluntary and you have the right to withdraw from the study at any time and for any reason and the information already collected will be returned to you or destroyed. Your refusal to participate in this study will in no way negatively affect you.
- f) The results of the study will be written in the form of an academic thesis and may also be published in an academic journal – while ensuring you of complete anonymity.

3. Benefits of the project:

- a) Participants will be given an opportunity to provide input into the research, which may assist others working in the areas of masculinity.
- b) The researcher will be available and accessible to the participants throughout the study period in order to address issues of concern.
- c) An incentive will be given to you to thank you for participating in this study.

I agree to and understand the terms set out above.

.....
PARTICIPANT

.....
DATE

.....
RESEARCHER

.....
DATE

APPENDIX D: FOCUS GROUP GUIDE

1 Definitions of masculinity

- How would you define masculinity?
- What are the things a successful man needs to have or do to become a 'man'?
- How can this man maintain this status?
- Who are responsible for setting these masculine role expectations?

2 Unsuccessful and inadequate in attaining masculinity

- Who measures whether a man is a successful or unsuccessful man?
- How do unsuccessful men deal with that status?
- If men are unable to achieve successful manhood the 'normal' way, how else do men in your community enact manhood?

3 Community environments

- Are there challenges men in your community experience?
- Are there common practices that men in this community participate in?
- How did you come to know which practices are accepted of you as a man?
- What happens when a man does not act like 'a man'?

4 Masculinity versus femininity

- What is the role of women in your community?
- How do men in your community treat women?
- How do women in your community treat men?

APPENDIX E: TRANSCRIBING CONVENTIONS

...	Ellipses indicate a pause of less than 4 seconds
/.../	Indicates talk omitted from the extract
(text)	Additional or replaced word/s to make the excerpt read better or to make grammatical sense
wanna	Modified spelling is used to suggest pronunciation variants
gonna	

APPENDIX F: CODING SCHEME FOR CHAPTER 6

Chapter 6

	Themes	Codes	Example Extracts
1	Consciousness of marginalisation	Being 'coloured'	Extract 1: Delft Group 5 "You did not do anything, but just because you look like this. They look at your face...We get put-down...That is their way to get rid of us 'coloureds'".
2	Marginalisation as unemployment	The 'big problem'	Extract 15: Vlottenburg Group 7 "Unemployment is a big problem. He causes all the small problems".
3	Consequences of marginalisation	Woza weekend – binge drinking as recreation	Extract 31: Delft Group 5 "... they get used to it because it's a trend. They drink 'hey this is normal; to be like this is normal to go to the merchant buy whatever; is normal to drink your ass drunk..."
		Violence in marginalised spaces	Extract 40: Vlottenburg Group 1 "I don't hit her in front of other people. I don't hit her in front of the children. Hit when the two of us are alone".

APPENDIX G: CODING SCHEME FOR CHAPTER SEVEN

Chapter 7

	Themes	Codes	Example Extracts
1	Local masculinities	The provider	Extract 4: Delft Group 1 “You must be able to provide for them...”
		The protector	Extract 13: Delft Group 3 “You must protect your family...”
		Sexual prowess	Extract 20: Delft Group 3 (continued) “It’s how you have sex. When you’re done she must say jho, that was great then maybe you say I did the thing right. So I am a man”.
		Homophobia	Extract 24: Vlottenburg Group 4 “No, I don’t like them...embarrass us men. They embarrass other men”.
2	Transition to manhood	The transition	Extract 31: Vlottenburg Group 2 “To leave your mother’s house, then you are a man yes, when you go out on your own”.
		Masculine power	Extract 40: Vlottenburg Group 1 “The women can also work, but you should stay the head of the household. Cause you are the head. You wear the pants”.
		Thwarted-masculinities	Extract 51: Delft Group 7 “There are many complications in my life...I’m not shy to say it...I turned to drugs. To use that...I thought that was going to help me with everything”.