The badge, the blazer and those who came before us:

a sociological study on hazing

in former model C all-boys schools

in the Eastern Cape.

By

Bapiwe Gobodo

Thesis presented in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Masters in Sociology

at Stellenbosch University

Supervisor: Professor Dennis Francis

[April 2022]

DECLARATION

ii

By submitting this thesis electronically, I declare that the entirety of the work contained therein is my own, original work, that I am the sole author thereof (save to the extent explicitly otherwise stated), that reproduction and publication thereof by Stellenbosch University will not infringe any third party rights and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it for obtaining any qualification.

April 2022

DEDICATION

To my wonderful mother, Corlina Sakawuli, who took my sister and I in after the passing of both our parents when we were kids. Thank you for your love and support, the amount of growth I have gained over the past 11 years would not be possible without your guidance. I hope I continue to make you proud.

ABSTRACT

This study seeks to explore how seven black men, 18-25 years of age, who have attended all-boys ex-model C schools talk about their understanding and experiences of hazing and what their understanding and experiences reveal about masculinities and cultural heteronormativity in South Africa. This study aims to understand the institutional culture of boys' high schools and the factors that inform, produce, and reproduce heteronormative culture. This study used a retrospective ethnographic method of inquiry to explore participants' memories of their experiences and perceptions about the initiation/hazing they were subjected to during their school years. As points of entry into the extensive and broad theoretical discussions, I discuss hazing in sports, the institutional culture of the schools, heteronormative ideals that have shaped the narratives around hazing in boys schools, dynamics of schools, as well as the racial issues that exist within these institutions. This demonstrates how the issue of hazing is a systematic issue that relies heavily on the reproduction of systems based on values and ideals passed down in the schooling system. Thematic analysis was used to analyse the interviews. The findings highlight the ambivalent feelings many participants felt towards their respective institutions and how they spoke about these environments and their experiences while attending them. It was clear that while the participants had viewed some of their experiences as positive, they remained critical of the abuse and marginalisation experienced. The ambivalent responses helped the participants become cognisant of the deeper underlying issues within some of their experiences. The danger inherent in these hazing practices is that they often go unquestioned – participants seemed to pass on the tradition without reflecting on why they participated in such practices and their effects. This study concludes by arguing that a combination of hegemonic masculinity ideals and attending a single-sex school with unchallenged traditions make young men who are new members of these schools more susceptible to the pressures of taking part in hazing practices. This study also contends that such practices are toxic to educational settings and detrimental to social cohesion and social justice. They create an environment of fear and hostility, in addition to fostering unbalanced scales of peer-to-peer "authority" and control.

Opsomming:

Hierdie studie poog om te verken hoe sewe swart mans, 18-25 jaar oud, wat al-seuns oud-model C skole bygewoon het, praat oor hul begrip en ervarings van waas en wat hul begrip en ervarings openbaar oor manlikheid en kulturele heteronormatiwiteit in Suid. Afrika. Hierdie studie het ten doel om die institusionele kultuur van hoërskole vir seuns te verstaan en die faktore wat heteronormatiewe kultuur inlig, produseer en weergee. Hierdie studie het 'n retrospektiewe etnografiese metode van ondersoek gebruik om deelnemers se herinneringe van hul ervarings en persepsies oor die ontgroening/hazing waaraan hulle gedurende hul skooljare onderwerp is, te verken. As toegangspunte tot die uitgebreide en breë teoretiese besprekings bespreek ek waasvorming in sport, die institusionele kultuur van die skole, heteronormatiewe ideale wat die narratiewe rondom waasvorming in seunskole gevorm het, dinamika van skole, asook die rassekwessies wat bestaan binne hierdie instellings. Dit demonstreer hoe die kwessie van waas 'n sistematiese kwessie is wat sterk staatmaak op die reproduksie van stelsels gebaseer op waardes en ideale wat in die skoolstelsel oorgedra is. Tematiese analise is gebruik om die onderhoude te ontleed. Die bevindinge beklemtoon die ambivalente gevoelens wat baie deelnemers teenoor hul onderskeie instellings gevoel het en hoe hulle oor hierdie omgewings en hul ervarings gepraat het terwyl hulle dit bygewoon het. Dit was duidelik dat hoewel die deelnemers sommige van hul ervarings as positief beskou het, hulle krities gebly het oor die mishandeling en marginalisering wat ervaar is. Die ambivalente response het die deelnemers gehelp om bewus te word van die dieper onderliggende kwessies binne sommige van hul ervarings. Die gevaar inherent aan hierdie verduisteringspraktyke is dat dit dikwels onbetwisbaar bly – dit het gelyk of deelnemers die tradisie oorgedra het sonder om na te dink oor hoekom hulle aan sulke praktyke en die uitwerking daarvan deelgeneem het. Hierdie studie sluit af deur te argumenteer dat 'n kombinasie van hegemoniese manlikheidsideale en die bywoning van 'n enkelgeslagskool met onbetwiste tradisies jong mans wat nuwe lede van hierdie skole is, meer vatbaar maak vir die druk van deelname aan waaspraktyke. Hierdie studie voer ook aan dat sulke praktyke giftig is vir opvoedkundige omgewings en nadelig vir sosiale kohesie en sosiale geregtigheid. Hulle skep 'n omgewing van vrees en vyandigheid, benewens die bevordering van ongebalanseerde skale van eweknie-"gesag" en beheer.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to convey my sincere appreciation and thanks to the following people and institutions without whom this study would not be possible:

The participants of this study, without you this whole study would not be possible. I thank you for your openness and for sharing these experiences with me. I hope that the work I have done with your contributions can create better experiences for the younger generation of black boys who will attend all-boys schools in the future.

My supervisor Professor Francis, thank you for your support throughout this journey. Your dedication to this study helped push me in times when I had started losing motivation. Thank you for believing in this study and for believing in my abilities as a scholar.

The Mellon Foundation, without whom this study might not have been possible. Thank you for funding my research and allowing me the opportunity to achieve my goal of finishing my Masters.

To my family and friends who have supported me throughout this whole journey, thank you for your love and support throughout this difficult journey. Many of you gave me so much advice that helped push me in directions that I had not yet thought of. I pray that God fills your cups so that you never grow tired.

To my partner Siba, thank you for your undying love. These past two years have been so challenging and you have remained the same throughout. Thank you for giving me the peace that I needed so I could focus on my work, I'll be in your corner next year doing everything I can to make sure that you finish your Masters too.

And last but definitely not least. Thank you to my aunt, Professor Pumla Gobodo-Madikizela, I remember in 2017 as I was finishing my second year of undergrad you motivated me to push myself so I could make it to post-grad. In that conversation you told me to "focus on what I can control" and that advice has stuck with me through the years. It is those words, and many other perils of wisdom that I have received from you that have kept me motivated. I hope that they may keep me motivated until I am a scholar that is as great as you are one day.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

This study focuses primarily on the experiences of young black men between the ages of 18 to 25 who had attended former Model C all-boys schools in the Eastern Cape. In so doing, this research seeks to contribute to an understanding of the link between the traditions and practices that exist within these institutions. Furthermore, it contributes to the contention that these practices constitute an integral part of a socialisation tool used by these schools for the purpose of producing a certain type of hegemonic masculinity. This study uses the practice of hazing or initiation as a starting point to better understand the circumstances that cause young learners whose young age (often early teens) leaves them highly susceptible to being taken advantage of and to suffer abuse during these practices. The term hazing will be used as a definitive concept in this study's exploration. It is borrowed from the seminal work explored by Carolyn Ann Huysamer and Eleanor Lemmer (2013) in their article, 'Hazing in orientation programmes in boys-only secondary schools'. This study, conducted in South Africa in two boys' schools, looks at the use of hazing in orientation programmes that are intended to introduce learners into the school systems. The researchers describe hazing as a concept "associated with initiation, [that] aims at taking newcomers from novice status to a status of functional and acknowledged members of a new group" (Huysamer & Lemmer, 2013:1).

Furthermore, they state that hazing, as performed in all-boys schools, is often expressed in violent ways (Ibid.: 3). This violence is attached to the stereotypical male ideals often perpetuated through masculinity. These practices, which cause physical or emotional harm through harassment or embarrassment, are part of the ingrained cultures of many SA schools (Morrell, 1998, De Wet, 2012). This study seeks a better understanding of these hazing practices and to explore what these practices say about cultural heteronormativity and whether and how they contribute to the production of certain kinds of masculinities in all-boys' schools. The study adopts Ratele's (2008) concept of group-informed masculinity as a framework through which to develop this understanding. I have elected to take this approach due to the fact that young boys, in many instances, partly agree to participate in these hazing practices because they want to be accepted as part of the group, and the idea that they cannot be full members of the school or teams unless they undergo these practices.

This study proposes that the backbone of such practices and traditions is the historical value accorded to them by these institutions. Ratele (2013), in his work on masculinities without traditions in South Africa, argues that tradition is often the masking tool used to pass down societal beliefs and values. He further contends that in this way, traditions are validated and passed down without question as they are seen as an important part of the society people live in. This is evident in the experiences relayed by the participants in this study, some of whom have stated that teachers, and some parents that are active members of these schools, are often aware of these practices and that a few parents even identify these schools as good schools because they too enforce discipline and behavioural changes through their "traditional" approach. These traditions exist within almost every

aspect of the school, from the treatment of new boys to the induction of new members of rugby teams and even the peer-teaching traditions, where students are seen as part of a hierarchy with the new boys placed at the bottom and Grade 12's and Matrics occupying the top spot. Such tradition and school culture assist a school in creating and implementing its 'code of conduct' and other school rules, and the values which in turn underpin and validate the cultures and traditions within the school. In their article on the effects of masculine identity and gender role stress on aggression in men from the United States, Cohn and Zeichner (2010) argue that traditions based on rites of passage serve to entrench the hierarchical power structure of the team by validating that the veterans of the team are superior to the younger members of the team or the rookies.

This study aims to understand the institutional culture of boys high schools and the factors that inform, produce and reproduce this culture. As points of entry into the extensive and broad theoretical discussions, I will discuss hazing in sports, the institutional culture of the schools, heteronormative ideals that have shaped the narratives around hazing in boys schools dynamics of schools, as well as the racial issues which exist within these institutions. This is to show how the issue of hazing is a systematic issue and one that relies heavily on the reproduction of said systems based on values and ideals passed down in the schooling system. I will also define and interrogate the vocabulary and concepts prevalent within this literature. Drawing on existing theories and literature not only positions this work within a scholarly repertoire but further allows for this study to create a well-structured understanding of masculinity and hazing specifically within discourses around boys' high schools. Such an effort is important for the sake of interrogating the vast range of masculinities that are present within the context of South Africa and the factors that contribute to the shaping of the different experiences of manhood. One of the most highlighted views of hazing includes the idea that hazing creates team cohesion. Team cohesion is a dynamic process that is necessary for a team to be united in goal achievement and to maintain the satisfaction of its members. However, Cohn and Zeichner (2010) note that athletes who experienced more hazing tended to perceive less team cohesion. This is attributed to various factors, but the authors go on to argue that hazing is seen as a deterrent to team cohesion because it embodies several unhealthy and abusive tools. These tools discreetly force new members to conform. In this study, I argue that social issues such as racial division, class oppression and homophobia all contribute to the negative consequences that result from hazing. Factors such as race, class and sexuality, can also be seen as an underlying heritage of the division and "othering" of individuals based on the historical value of apartheid. Race is thus an important component of this study, as ex-Model C schools are viewed as historically "all-white" schools and are usually located in former white-dominated areas. Consequently, the racial inclination of these schools reflects those of apartheid and therefore, their cultures and traditions should also be understood as such. In his article titled "Queering the (ab) normalisation of gender, (hetero)sexuality and schooling in SA, Francis (2021) argues that the representation of the "us" and "them" binary remains pervasive and is an inescapable legacy of apartheid. The underlying assumption is that the hegemonic or "host" culture (whites) is viewed as the norm and the incoming

"other" (blacks) is inextricably linked with deviance and the need for civilising and change. The participants of my study attested to this as they detailed how they were marginalised in various ways within the schools' system, to a point where even after they were done with the hazing process, they continued to feel like outsiders who constantly had to fight and prove their worth to the organisation.

Thus, this study seeks to gain an understanding of hazing through the experiences of my participants and some of my own, to highlight some of the underlying issues which I believe are crucial to understanding the issues related to hazing and other violent acts which have become a norm in South African all-boys schools and are seen as tools for properly socialising black young men into these institutions.

CHAPTER 1

Understanding hazing in all-boys High Schools in the Eastern Cape

1.1 Research problem and rationale

Following my previous research on school initiation processes in all male schools (Gobodo, 2019), which aimed to better understand different initiation processes in order to explore how these experiences contribute to the production of certain kinds of masculinities in all boys' schools. It is clear from the research that I have done in this study and literature supporting this research that the hazing practices that are done at boys' high schools are linked to a culture that is produced within the schools. It is this systematic influence which allows these practices to be seen as acceptable by students. The hazing practices seem to be a way for young men to be groomed to be what is seen as the type of man the institution wishes to produce. This study also found that the psychological effects which are maintained after one has undergone hazing seems to be long lasting as it affects how participants viewed the world. The unity and brotherhood which is produced within these institutions are what also hold together these practices and the inclination to continue to behave in the manner students were taught at their former high schools. It is this systematic influence which allows these practices to be seen as acceptable by students.

Thus, this new study embarks on an investigation of black males understanding and experiences of hazing, amidst other socio-structural challenges, at all-boys high schools in South Africa. Examples of socio-structural challenges include poverty; men's socialisation, and pressure to project strength, dominance, and aggression (Mincy, 2006; Western, 2007); interpersonal and institutional racism, and the way racism shapes discriminatory education, employment, and incarceration policies (Williams, 2003; Williams, Neighbors, & Jackson, 2008 as cited by Teti et al.,2012:525). This study seeks to examine the experiences of hazing as a tool used to socialise young men into schools' institutional cultures regardless of their willingness to participate. Speaking from my personal experience as a learner from middle-class family placed into an educational system shaped by a historically white dominated high school, I can recall the cultural shock of the very first day in high school, witnessing a student group that was stripped of their own identity and collectively referred to as 'skunks'. Only later did I come to understand that this was partly done to create group unity and was also used as a means of group formation. It is within this concept of group formation that this study seeks to gain an understanding of how hazing is used to socialise students and, through this socialisation, produce a hegemonic masculine presenting male.

4

Following the work of Michelle Teti, Ashley E. Martin et. al (2012), who conduct their study on black male youth in America, I seek to understand how black males have navigated their experiences amidst sociocultural challenges. This constitutes an important aspect of educational research due to the vestiges of South Africa's apartheid past and how this has affected so many facets of South African life and, specifically, schooling. The proposed study will therefore focus on ex-Model C Schools in the vicinity of East London. The term 'Model C' is derived from the Class Models that were implemented by the National Party during Apartheid, as a means of desegregating South Africa. Tshikila (2020) argues that "the implementation of the Clase Models allowed white schools to choose between three different models, Model A, Model B and Model C (Christie & McKinney, 2017; Soudien, 2007). These models gave substantial power to the parents and the governing bodies of white schools to prescribe the parameters of who would and would not be permitted in their schools (Christie & McKinney, 2017; Soudien, 2007). Thus, the system of Clase Models essentially enabled the perpetuation of the hegemony of white control alongside the desegregation of schools." (19). My study thus argues that the self-same teachers and supporting school staff who were central to perpetuating and enforcing the Clase Models system, are the ones who have been central in allowing hazing practices and other traditions to continue within schools.

The practice of hazing is rationalised through various cultures, which form part of the schooling system. This could be in the area of sports or the general schooling culture. Even though the act of hazing is largely related to sports and initiation into various sports teams, it is also a practice that is common within schools as a form of orientation into the schools' culture. Hazing is done by senior members of a team or seniors at a school to junior members who are "often faced with the "transition" of joining the team as a player, as well as being "accepted" on the team as a viable member." (Crow and Macintosh; 2009,436). This indicates a power dynamic that is formulated around a hierarchy. Cultures are often passed on through generations and it is the presence of a hierarchy is what ensures the continuity of a culture s (Van Gennep, 1960). The act of hazing reflects the presence of power. Juniors are coerced to complete tasks and are victimised through physical punishment. This is done so that juniors know their position in the system, and anyone who deviates from the given instructions or refuses to do what the other members are doing, becomes an outcast. Literature suggests that one of the main difficulties in recognising hazing practices is that they often vary across different schools and sporting codes (see Crow and Macintosh,2009; Huysammer and Lemmer; 2013; Edelman, 2005).

Hazing practices in boys only schools are also an extension of patriarchy, as it develops ideals of domination and hierarchy to which the boys must submit. Hazing is likely to occur to a greater extent in boys-only schools than in co-educational schools. "This is linked to the stereotype that the male gender is strong, able to cope with physical hardships and can bear emotional pressure with no apparent signs of difficulty" (Huysamer and Lemmer, 2013:3). These stereotypes are based on the traditional idea of men and the expectations placed on their character and ability.. Heteronormativity

is defined in this study as the belief that heterosexuality is the "normal" or preferred mode of sexual orientation. Accordingly, heteronormativity is as significant to this study as it is within the heteronormative stance, whereby teachers and other staff members view their students as "boys just being boys" while obviously overlooking the harm and abuse that these young boys endure. De Wet (2012:254) in her work on letters to the editor and popular discourse on hazing in South African schools and hostels, states that there are multiple popular discourses regarding hazing. De Wet writes that the emphasis is put on the "proud tradition of elitist schools". This tradition is what reproduces the hazing culture which is seen as part of the institutional culture. De Wet argues that this discourse "feeds into solidarity with the group revoking all humiliation and abuse. Those who cannot handle the hazing, or break the code of silence surrounding this tradition, are deemed not worthy to become part of the elitist, dominant group." (254). The link between hegemonic masculinities and hazing is also evident within ideals of manhood. Ratele (2008) argues in support of this when he states, "when one believes he is a man it implies that one has gone through a process of self-definition which has had behavioural consequences" (4).

In the process of analysing the manifestation of different types of masculinities, I employ Ratele's idea of masculinity. Writing within the SA context, Ratele's work is particularly important in that it situates the perpetuation of toxic masculinist ideals as group enforced and thus deeply embedded in social norms. Indeed, Ratele (2008) argues that since gender is performative, men define their masculinities through the groups they identify with, and they tend to perform their masculinity according to these groups. This relates to the idea that "the general orienting perspective" which we often use is that a person's 'identity is, in fact, multiple and potentially fluid and is constructed through experience and linguistically coded. In developing their personal identities, people draw on culturally available resources in their immediate social networks and in society as a whole" (Frosh, Phoenix & Pattman, 2002: 4). This implies that one's masculinity is attached to socially produced identity scripts that may have multiple points of departure in relation to how performances of masculinity are perpetuated and passed on through sociocultural practices like hazing. Therefore, this study expands on the idea that the environment of the boys school directly shapes young boys' performances of masculinities according to inherited/passed-down modes of how a man ought to behave. Hence, cultural heteronormativity is a central theme of this proposed study.

Hazing presents itself in boys schools as both a cultural and a power phenomenon. Recognising it as such points to a more nuanced understanding of the practice. Hazing emerges as a complex, deep-rooted practice that is difficult to pin down to specific geographical locations, schools, or set of problematic behaviour. To simply identify the violent acts would therefore not be enough, as there are many forms of violence that are often not easy to identify. The wide range of practices included and/or excluded from the definition of hazing, points to the difficulty of pinning down what it is exactly. Hazing is also so deeply entangled with passed-down traditions and school culture that it is difficult for those who perpetuate it, either as perpetrators or victims, to problematise it. However,

Messerschmidt (2000) argues that boys who are taught, in school or at home, to practice masculinity through nonviolence are more likely to avoid self-and other destructive reactions to masculinity challenges. Therefore, the learned reactions and agency of a boy are elements that exist within the production of his masculinity. While it is valid to consider experiences as aspects that contribute to a boy's masculinity, the most important factor is his willingness to subject himself to these masculine ideals. This does not imply that taking part in hazing processes is a matter of choice, but rather that its impact on boys differs from one to another. It is this precisely difference that my study attempts to problematise.

The role of teachers and other staff members in turning a blind eye, and sometimes even encouraging hazing practices, reflects the role played by heteronormativity in perpetuating the silence which often underpins the abuse newcomers are subjected to in these institutions. I base this argument on the characteristics which are often labelled as "stereotypical male ideals". These ideals propagate the notion that males need to be "toughened up" and other harmful heterosexual assumptions. The experiences of a former student of Voortrekker High School in Pietermaritzburg provides a clear example of these ideals. News24 reported, on this former student's claims that he was assaulted over a three-month period and subsequently branded with a steam iron which left him with third degree burns (Wicks, 2014). The culture of silence regarding hazing is evinced in a similar case, also reported on News24, regarding a recent incident at Parktown Boys' High (Ngqakamba, 2020). These are but two of many such incidents that have occurred in numerous SA all-boys schools,and are now being shared in the public domain. The revelation of these practices is nothing new. It is the gruesome nature of these occurrences that has shocked many South Africans.

This study aims to contribute to a greater understanding of the historical value of these practices and how they have been adopted and redressed over the years. To understand hazing, it is important to recognise both the school and the societal context within which hazing takes place and the values inherent in its practice. These values (both inherent and inculcated through sports) include winning at all costs, using power and dominance to control others, and employing a hierarchical structure of authority (Cohn and Zeichner, 2010). Given these values, it is of little surprise that initiation rites and rituals in the form of hazing may be considered important. Rituals compel rookies to conform to the value system of sport and the appropriate behaviours. Often, players engage in behaviours and display attitudes that uphold this value system without critically considering its potential negative consequences. It is within this view that this study seeks to gain an understanding of the socialisation into these ex-Model C Schools that turn students into victims of hazing, and ultimately into perpetrators of the same violent practices and tradition they once suffered themselves.

1.2 Conceptual framework

This study will apply Connell's (2005, 1995) theories on masculinities and Ratele's (2008) conception of group-informed masculinity as a framework through which to develop the understanding it seeks.

This approach was selected because young boys often agree to participate in hazing practices as a result of their desire to be accepted as part of the group and the idea that they cannot be full members of the school or teams unless they undergo these practices.

Masculinities are constructed through social pressure, cultural norms, and institutional formation of the perceptions of masculinity and "what it means to be a man." Therefore, there exist dominant traits that are idealised and believed to be indicative of the ideal male. These masculinities are often referred to as "hegemonic masculinities" (Connell, 1995). Raewyn Connell (1995:77) states that "Hegemonic masculinity can be defined as the configuration of gender practice which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of the legitimacy of patriarchy which guarantees (or is taken to guarantee) the dominant position of men and the subordination of women". There is a common theme of domination in Connell's (2005: 832) argument, and she argues that hegemonic masculinity "is a pattern of practice … that allow[s] men's dominance over women to continue". Thus, I contend that 'hazing' practices are a good place to study how this domination shapes the experiences and perceptions of masculinities of young men due to the fact that in the school setting, hazing traditions and practices have become one of the expressions of this hegemonic masculinities. Hazing is more likely to occur to a greater extent in boys-only schools than in co-educational schools. "This is linked to the stereotype that the male gender is strong, able to cope with physical hardships and can bear emotional pressure with no apparent signs of difficulty" (Huysamer & Lemmer, 2013:3). The link between "hegemonic masculinities" and hazing is also evident within ideals of manhood. For example, Ratele makes an argument in support of this when he states, "When one believes he is a man it implies that one has gone through a process of self-definition which has had behavioural consequences" (Ratele, 2008:4). This process of "self-definition" is what practices of hazing essentially seek to enshrine and develop.

Institutional culture is significant when dealing with issues of hazing and it could be part of the reason why it has taken so long for schools to acknowledge and change these practices. Holman (2004:58 as cited by Crow & Macintosh, 2006: 436), writing in an American context, asserts that athletic leaders, the majority of whom are male, are reluctant to encourage change because they are ''products of a system that subjected them to hazing and had them haze others''. Therefore, the systematic induction of new members of a school through the process of hazing can be strongly related to the history of the school. If hazing forms part of the culture, then it may be difficult to change and, as a result, may even be hard to fully understand since the traditions often change as they are passed down through generations. It happens that culture is maintained without being questioned, and when that culture is investigated, the significance has been lost. This is especially the case for schools whose hazing processes form part of an orientation to the school. Traditions that no longer have any relevance continue to be passed down, and there are no control measures in place as these are usually left entirely in the hands of students. This allows for the possibility of hazing being an expression of power, as well as a reflection of abuse of said power. I will apply

gender theory to determine the impact of hazing in male gender stereotyping and in shaping male students' perception of their masculinities.

The concept of heteronormativity, as defined by DePalma and Atkinson (2007: 66), is the "process by which the heterosexual becomes constructed as the norm, and everything else becomes constructed as deviant…These performances themselves are socially defined (having to do with social definitions of "boy things" and "girl things" rather than gender identity) so that a boy who carries a pink lunch box not only transgresses socially constructed gender norms but transgresses heteronormativity as well. This study applies this understanding of heteronormativity. It highlights how gender comes into being through socially constructed performances that are acceptable within a given structure, setting or community.

In summary, scholars of masculinity, discussed above, have included aspects that should be considered in attempting to understand the construction of masculinity. Furthermore, these must be taken into account in a study of hazing. Masculinities are constructed through social pressure, cultural norms, and institutional formation of the perceptions of masculinity and what it means to be a man. Using gender theory, this study undertakes to determine the impact of hazing in male gender stereotyping and in shaping male students' perception of their masculinities. This relates to the aforementioned idea of a person's "identity" as multiple, potentially fluid, and constructed through experience and linguistically coded. The plurality of masculinity is a major point of focus for many scholars on masculinities, as there are many determinants that are to be considered within the context of masculinity, especially in the context of South Africa and institutions that were established during and even prior to the era of apartheid. The role of institutional power and the perceived control and power it has over young boys is of interest; therefore, the question that must also be addressed is, to what extent does the institutional culture of a school contribute to the experiences of the learners in relation to hazing?

1.3 Key research questions

Therefore, this proposed study embarks on an investigation into how black men who attended South African boys' schools understand and experience hazing.

Main Research Question: How do black men who attended an all-boys ex model C school understand and talk about their experiences of hazing and what does this understanding tell us about cultural heteronormativity and masculinities in SA?

Research sub-questions:

1. Beyond hazing, what else can black men say about their experiences of attending an all-boys school?
2. On reflection, how do black men attending an all-boys school make sense of their understanding and experiences?

3. How are their understanding and experiences of hazing connected to broader understandings of cultural heteronormativity and masculinity?

CHAPTER 2

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

2.1 Sampling and Recruitment

The scope of my research focuses on black males between the ages of 18-25 who previously attended all boys ex-model C schools in and around the vicinity of East London in the Eastern Cape. To recruit participants, I posted an advertisement on various social media platforms (Facebook, Instagram and Twitter) through existing Old Boys' Associations. I created social media pages where I was able to place an advertisement for my study. The use of Social Media platforms allowed me to screen respondents. Systematic random sampling was used to select participants from the responses received. This did not only assist in obtaining a wide variety of data, but it also allowed for data that is representative and applies to different contexts. These platforms enabled me to reach a wide variety of possible participants. Once potential participants had responded to the advertisement, they were asked for contact details. At this point, details regarding in-depth interviews were organised. This study was conducted on seven male participants. Although this was not the ideal number of participants, the researcher felt that seven participants were sufficient as they provided a large amount of data that was used for this study. For the sake of the research, an understanding of the dominant masculine ideals adopted at the schools attended by the participants was key. This was necessitated by the need for an understanding of the masculine ideals that the participants had previously identified with and the masculine ideals they went on to learn at the schools they attended (if they differed). The process mentioned is key to the validation of my argument on hazing and the role it plays in the systematic process of initiating boys into an ideal kind of masculinity, which is the basis of those schools and the societies they are located in.

It is important to note that while, in numerous cases, hazing starts when boys enter grade 8, my study reflects on the boys' experiences throughout high school. Consequently, I have not conducted interviews with current Grade 8s.

2.2 Data Collection

Data was collected through in-depth interviews. This study used a retrospective ethnographic method of inquiry to explore participants' memories of their experiences and perceptions about the initiation/hazing they were subjected to during their school years. Individual memories will be important for the context of each hazing process as Van Gennep (1960: 12) states that "in addition to their overall goal…all these ceremonies have their individual purpose". Therefore, even if boys

11

attended the same school, the hazing will have shaped their masculinities differently; hence it is important to get a detailed account of their individual experience. The scope and breadth of the questions asked were specifically designed to hone in on the experiences of young males during the enactment of hazing practices shared as a group. The study also assesses young men's decision-making processes in undergoing hazing, questioning why they did or did not proceed with the hazing. Additionally, it questions the choices that result in young males re-enacting hazing practices upon entering their senior years of schooling.

Seidman (2006:9) argues that "at the root of in-depth interviewing is an interest in understanding the lived experience of other people and the meaning they make of that experience". In line with this view, this proposed study seeks to make use of in-depth interviews. The use of in-depth interviews will be coupled with phenomenological research analysis to gain a better understanding of the participant's perceptions, feelings and lived experiences that which will be paramount to the objectives of this study. The aim of this study is to complete face to face in-depth interviews. However, should Covid19 lockdown regulations interfere, the interviews will be conducted through video call sessions which will be recorded. Video calls will only be used as an alternative should the need arise. Nevertheless, in-person interviews are the best research tool for this research project as they focuss on the experiences of participants.

2.3 Analysis

Following Frosh, Phoenix and Pattman (2002:76), this study analyses "the ideologies of masculinities prevalent in their schools and classrooms, the social structures in which they lived and their own social positions". These are all indicators of how the participants view themselves and their masculinity. Therefore, the study applies thematic analysis, as this form of analysis is best suited to the stated aim, which is to gain a deep understanding of the participants' experiences and what their experiences reveal about cultural heteronormativity and masculinities. Thematic analysis moves beyond simplistically counting explicit words or phrases and focuses on identifying and describing both implicit and explicit ideas/themes within the data. "Codes are typically developed to represent the identified themes and applied or linked to raw data as summary markers for later analysis" (Guest, MacQueen & Namey, 2012: 10). Thematic analysis is best suited to this proposed study as it seeks to gain insight into the experiences of a group that is often marginalised in spaces such as traditional all boys schools in South Africa. Using gender theory, the study attempted to determine the impact of hazing in male gender stereotyping and shaping male students' perception of their masculinities. This relates to the idea that the general orienting perspective which we adapt is that a person's "identity" is, in fact, something multiple and potentially fluid, constructed through experience and linguistically coded. I used gender theory to determine the impact of hazing in male gender stereotyping and shaping male students' perception of their masculinities. In analysing the manifestation of different kinds of masculinities, I used Ratele's idea of masculinity. His work is

particularly important in that it situates the perpetuation of toxic masculinist ideals as group enforced and thus deeply socially embedded. Indeed, Ratele (2008) argues that since gender is performative, men define their masculinities through the groups they identify with, and they tend to perform their masculinity according to these groups. This relates to the idea that "the general orienting perspective which we adapt is that a person's 'identity' is, in fact, something multiple and potentially fluid, constructed through experience and linguistically coded. In developing their identities, people draw on culturally available resources in their immediate social networks and in society as a whole" (Frosh, Phoenix and Pattman, 2002: 4). This then suggests that one's masculinity is attached to socially produced identity scripts that then may have multiple points of departure in relation to how performances of masculinity are perpetuated and passed on through sociocultural practices like hazing. Therefore, this study expanded on the provocation that the environment of the boys' school directly shapes young boys' performances of masculinities according to inherited/passed-down modes of how a man ought to behave.

2.4 Ethics

One of the main ethical issues identified is that of possibly triggering negative memories and trauma in the participants because the study relies on the memories and feelings invoked by my questions. Broadly speaking, the study addresses potentially negative experiences experienced by the participants. Given the possibility of multiple underlying traumatic experiences, the questions may trigger negative emotions in the participants. Consequently, "social researchers should consider carefully the possibility that the research experience may be a disturbing one and should attempt, where necessary, to find ways to minimise or alleviate any distress caused to those participating in research" (British Sociological Association, 2017: 4). This ethical issue arises from the fact that high school hazing processes are often traumatic for those that undergo them, especially so in boys high schools where boys often try to "toughen" each other up with aggressive behaviour, which frequently results in humiliation and separation from one's peers if one refuses to participate.

Due to the potentially traumatic nature of these experiences, it is important that the study and the manner in which it is conducted is sensitive to the participants and allows for them to reflect without negatively triggering them. The researcher's options for avoiding triggering participants are limited, but the questions that will be asked in this study will be thoroughly analysed, to ensure that they are applied with as much sensitivity as possible. Participants will also be given details of support groups in the East London vicinity and helpline numbers that they can call on should they feel it necessary. One such agency is the South African Depression and Anxiety group.

The dignity of participants will also be protected by using pseudonyms to avoid any possible revelation of experiences that participants might deem embarrassing or confidential. There is also a consent form that informs participants of their right to stop the interview or refuse to answer questions should the need arise.

Another ethical quandary revolves around the dilemma of whether to reveal the names of the schools attended by the participants. As stated before, the initiation processes used in these boys high schools are often negative experiences for the boys who undergo them, and the exposure of these initiation processes may bring the schools' names into disrepute. While this may not directly affect the study itself, it could be met with a huge backlash from the school management, who often claim to have no knowledge of these initiation processes. As a result, this study will anonymise the names of the schools, the buildings and other recognisable features that might identify the school.

Once the data has been transcribed, I plan to send copies to the participants and will make myself available to answer any questions relating to the study. This will hopefully alleviate any misunderstanding regarding the project and will enable participants to see how their information has been used.

Through a thorough and rigorous consultative process, ethical issues that may arise have been identified and accounted for accordingly. All such issues while working with the participants will be dealt with justly according to the ethical guidelines that have been set by the American Sociological Association (American Sociological Association, 2018) and the University of Stellenbosch. The research has benefits for the participants, as it affords them an opportunity to speak about their experiences at all boys schools in South Africa and hazing. At the same time, this proposed study also has the potential of highlighting and understanding school violence with the intention of suggesting school reform. Thus, the data collected from the participants will contribute to the broadening of the literature on gender, hazing in South African schools, and inequality within learning institutions.

2.5 Reflexivity

In qualitative research, the researcher is central to the construction of knowledge; therefore, they have a responsibility to critically reflect on how their subjectivity impacts the meaning, construction, and other facets of the research process. J Smith (2010), writing in a South African context, argues in her work that reflexivity is about understanding how notions of self and others shape the analytic exercise, and therefore, rigour is tied to the analyst's reflexive engagement in the study. Essentially, to be reflexive is to be thoughtful and self-aware of the inter-subjective dynamics between the researcher and the researched. Designing and conducting research that foregrounds the participant's subjective experiences and recognises participants as active subjects who construct and mediate their own understanding of their experiences was one of the main aims of the research. This helped me, as the researcher, to see participants not merely as subjects of my study but as people who were willing to share their experiences and trauma with me. This afforded me the opportunity to reflect and relate to their experiences and to relive and go back to my own schooling experiences. Therefore, I recognise that I have impacted the research process, and I acknowledge the need to examine how I have impacted this process and to be transparent about this process.

I am a black Xhosa man who attended an all-boys school in the Eastern Cape. Therefore, the experiences shared by the participants of my study are not foreign to me. In fact, I have had experiences that are quite similar to some of those mentioned by my study participants. I believe that our common identities were important to how the participants and I built rapport. These commonalities played a role in encouraging some participants to be open and speak freely during our interviews. However, I must admit that on learning that I had attended the same school as a few of them, some participants were hesitant about sharing their stories; others were conscious that I might be familiar with some of the people they referred to in the interviews. This is where I feel the consent forms and brief assurance before the interviews were vital, as I was able to assure participants that these interviews were, and would remain, confidential and that my primary interest was in their experiences.

I had to guard against projecting my own views and experiences onto those of the participants during data collection to ensure that I did not assume a knowledge of what the participants were saying. Consequently, I positioned myself as a bystander, or outsider, by consciously choosing to set aside my own experiences and views. I constantly asked for clarity in the situations where they shared experiences in language that would only be familiar to those that had attended all-boys schools. I did likewise when the participants were speaking in isiXhosa because they assumed by virtue of my being Xhosa too, that I knew and could translate what they were talking about. At times during the interview, we used certain colloquial Xhosa terms that are not used in the study, as they have no clear meaning. I did so to ensure that I could convey the experiences of the participants as thoroughly as they had been shared.

My experiences and views about the traditions and culture at all-boys schools may differ from those of my participants, but in this chapter, I wish to demonstrate how the participants' experiences are consistent with mine. I do so in an attempt to reveal that, following the argument made by B Stoudt (2006), who writes about school violence, peer discipline, and the (re) production of hegemonic masculinity in New York, America, schools are not a neutral space. Instead, schools are institutions that reproduce, implement, and reinforce masculine ideals. Stoudt argues that one of the main means by which this is done is peer learning, whereby peers pass down and reinforce these teachings through "traditions".

In line with Everitt-Penhale and Ratele's (2015) work on traditional masculinity in an American and South African context, I find it necessary to state that the conversation around tradition at all-boy schools is not directly linked to the production of traditional masculinity. There is no direct link between the Institutional cultures and traditions of all-boys schools and the production of traditional masculinities at the school, even though these traditions may date back as far as the early 1900s (when some of the schools were founded). The separation between traditions and traditional masculinity within this chapter also speaks to the plurality of masculinity (see Campbell et al.,1995, Hammer and Good, 2009), which is a key theme within this study.

15

In my experience, one of the main concepts we were taught at school was the idea of unity and tradition. It was constantly preached to us that we were not special, as the seniors who came before us had all gone through the hazing practices we had gone through. As hostel boys, we were repeatedly taught to respect our seniors and reminded that they had already proven their worth within the hostel system. The term "skunks" was given to new boys at the school. The term seemed to be one that was well known as old boys who came to the school would speak of their experiences and use it in their stories. These stories generated a sense of pressure to conform, an idea of "if so and so could do it, then I can do it too". Cohn and Zeichner (2006) write from the United States on the effects of masculine identity and gender role stress. They argue that men feel a compelling pressure to uphold hetero norms and expectations, which results in cognitive distress and emotional conflict. This is referred to as gender role stress (180). Many of my fellow new boys (or skunks) clearly showed signs of this stress as, whenever we had unsupervised moments together, we would complain amongst ourselves about the duties and tasks which we would have to complete. These included sleepless nights studying or hours spent doing hard physical exercises.

R.W Connell (1989), writing on the interplay of masculinity and education, argued that the person's project is simply to become compliant in the functioning of an institutional system and the privileges it delivers (297). This was the case in my experience as we, as the new boys, found ourselves compliant in carrying out orders and tasks that all seemed to be "tests" of how much we had wanted to be part of the hostel. These tests included physical fights, speaking to girls from our sister school and breaking school rules. In as much as we would sometimes get into trouble for some of these actions as they broke school rules, we felt protected under the guise of tradition. Teachers appeared to understand that the infractions were all part of our experience as new boys or just generally "boys being boys" (See Connell 1996;220). We were often sent to prefects or seniors (Matrics) for incidents where we had broken minor school rules. This is in line with B Stoudt's assertion that peer disciplining among boys is a type of masculine performance that artificially imposes rigged boundaries on a largely ambiguous and socially constructed identity developing in a culture of privilege, misogyny, and homophobia (279). The prefects, or seniors, would usually punish boys by taking them to the Amphitheatre, where they would have to sing school hymns during breaks or get lashes with either a hockey stick or cricket bat. This all amounted to a form of humiliation in which boys would be called out as "sissies" or "cry-babies" should they show any form of weakness during these punishments. New boys were expected to accept their duties and punishments with a smile as part of a tradition in which new boys were directly the responsibility of their seniors. I believe this form of "peer learning" was more of a "big brother" ideology, whereby schools saw fit to pass down the responsibility of instilling the culture and traditions of the school to senior boys. This does not imply that the boys teaching boys model was all bad but rather that it lent itself to an abuse of power and directly flouted the schools' stated code of conduct which included "zero tolerance to bullying". Hazing as a whole is a direct result of this system of peer learning and the subtle (not so subtle) control whereby young boys are seen to be disciplined by their peers. It is part of a long-established tradition that is

considered a good system whereby "big brothers" take responsibility for and show their younger counterparts how to become fully-fledged members of their respective teams or institutions.

In her article titled Gender Trouble (2003), Judith Butler postulates that men and women constantly perform certain gender roles and participate in behaviours required by the cultural norms of masculinity and femininity (28). This is in line with the theory that gender is socially constructed. Thus, public identity is performed for an audience, and the private self knows that such performances are essential to identity and the maintenance of respect and trust in routine social interactions. This raises the possibility that although some literature argues that an individual can be institutionalised into a system such as an all-boys school, they may exhibit two distinct identities. As Langa (2001) argued, the public identity may be the one that they choose to reveal to fellow students within the school. This implies that there are social aspects that one must consider beyond the idea of successful initiation into an institutional culture. It is within these social 'spaces' that the performance takes place. The question that arises is, do the ideals taught to grade 8 new boys become part of the whole individual beyond their masculine performances? Langa suggests that boys often shift from one position to another in an attempt to manage the expectations of being a "real man". The suggestion is that masculinity is not stable but is constantly experienced as under threat and characterised by internal tensions and contradictions.

When considering the instability of gender and, in particular, masculinity, my research has revealed that hazing practices and institutional culture at all-boys schools are subject to change. This was evident even in my personal experience of hazing, as our seniors would share what seemed at the time to be exaggerated stories of their experiences of hazing while they were new boys. It would appear that over time the severity of hazing has decreased. Several of my participants shared this perception. It seems that although the abuse remains, the practices have become less harsh, and schools have become stricter in punishing seniors who are seen to be abusing power and responsibilities given to them. This points to the possibility of an end (or change) in some of these traditions.

CHAPTER 3

LITERATURE REVIEW

3.1 Introduction

This chapter serves as an introduction and break down to the main themes of my study. The literature focuses on issues surrounding violence in schools, masculinity, and racial inequality, with particular emphasis on hazing. My study follows the work of C Huysammer and EM Lemmer, who look at Hazing in orientation programmes in boys-only secondary schools in South Africa. They argue that hazing may be a result of an unauthorised component of institutionally coordinated orientation programmes which are commonly organized for new students at educational institutions at the start of the academic year. Their study focuses on the occurrence of hazing elements in orientation programmes (OP) for Grade 8 boys, primarily run by Grade 12 learners in boys-only secondary schools in South Africa. Findings indicate that respondents are generally in agreement about the structure, aims, and behaviours common to orientation programmes. Respondents strongly disagreed about the occurrence of physical and sexual abuse and activities aimed at discomfort in the OP. However, they showed ambivalence about the occurrence of certain activities, which may deteriorate into hazing. Hazing and violence within all-boys schools in South Africa are seen as correlating, as violence is perceived as an issue that is often associated with accepted ideals that shape notions of what is viewed as masculine by black and white men within SA Society (Morrell, Jwekes & Lindegger, 2012;20). Hazing is largely associated with initiation into sports teams and although this study focuses on the whole schooling system, it seeks to scrutinise the role of hazing within the whole boys school culture. As Bantjies and Newuroundt (2014) who write on the performance of gender in SA boys schools argue, masculinity is sometimes performed by exhibiting loyalty to the male hierarchy through conforming to rituals, policies and practices which reflect gender roles and relations (380). This study also looks at assimilation as "essentially assimilation is defined by a process where the subordinate group takes on the identities and values of the dominant group, at the expense of their own in an attempt to survive or to succeed within an environment" (Garcia, 2017). While the research subjects will be black men who attended all-boys schools in the Eastern Cape, the literature used for this research includes authors from all over South Africa, and some international authors, for the purpose of arriving at a broad understanding of the topics which the study seeks to unpack.

18

3.2 Hazing and Masculinities

Hazing, as defined by Huysamer and Lemmer (2013) who write on hazing in orientation programmes in boys only secondary schools in South Africa, is "associated with initiation, aims at taking newcomers from novice status to a status of functional and acknowledged members of a new group" (1). The practice of hazing is rationalised through various cultures which form part of the schooling system. This could be in the area of sports or the general schooling culture. Even though the act of hazing is largely related to sports and initiation into various sports teams, it is also a practice that is common within schools as a form of orientation into the schools' culture. Crow and Macintosh who wrote a conceptualisation of hazing in European sports, state that hazing is initiated by senior members of a team or seniors at a school on junior members. They explain that these new boys are "often faced with the "transition" of joining the team as a player, as well as being "accepted" on the team as a viable member." (Crow & Macintosh, 2009: 436). Hazing practices in boys only schools are also an extension of patriarchy, as these practices develop ideals of domination and hierarchy to which the boys must submit. Hazing is likely to occur to a greater extent in boys-only schools than in co-educational schools. "This is linked to the stereotype that the masculine gender is strong, able to cope with physical hardships, and can bear emotional pressure with no apparent signs of difficulty" (Huysamer & Lemmer, 2013:3). This stereotype arises from the cultural heteronormative idea of men and the expectations placed on their character and ability. The link between hegemonic masculinities and hazing is also evident within ideals of manhood.

Morrell, who writes on masculinity and gender in South Africa, argues that hazing presents itself in boys schools as both a cultural and power phenomenon (Morrell, 1998). Recognising it as such points to a more nuanced understanding of the practice. The wide range of practices included in and/or excluded from the definition of hazing points to the difficulty of pinning down what it is exactly. The fact that it is also so deeply entangled with passed-down traditions and school culture means that it is difficult for those who perpetuate it, as perpetrator or victim, to problematise it. Therefore, the learnt reactions and agency of a boy are elements that exist within the production of his masculinity. The experiences exist and are valid to consider as aspects that contribute to his masculinity, but the most important factor is the boy's willingness to subject himself to these masculine ideals. That is not to say that taking part in hazing processes is a matter of choice, but that the impact it has on boys differs. It is this difference that my study attempts to problematise. As subtly implied by the term hazing, processes of initiation at all-male high schools are directly associated with embarrassment, harassment or ridicule, and risk emotional and/or physical harm to members of a group or team. These are all in line with ideals of "hegemonic masculinities" which is a set of gender practices valorising men over women and reinforcing patriarchal legitimacy. This was noted by the students who had participated in my previous study, which looked at hazing as a tool that was used in an attempt to shape masculinities within South African all boys schools (see Gobodo, 2019), noting that there was a significant difference, even in the respect accorded to male

and female teachers. Hazing and masculinity are linked through the idea that "hazing activities in male groups test the masculine traits that the dominant heterosexual male wishes to pass down through the implementation of 'ordeals' designed to achieve an acceptable level of 'manliness' with the group" (Huysamer & Lemmer, 2013:4). These masculine traits can be explained using findings that suggest that, "there is a dominant form of masculinity that influences boys' and men's understanding of how they have to act in order to be 'acceptably' male, and that this dominant mode is associated with heterosexuality, toughness, power and authenticity, competitiveness and the subordination of gay men" (Frosh, Phoenix & Pattman, 2002:76), leading to common place acts of violence like physical beatings, cruel acts of service such as buying one food with your own money or carrying their school bags. Masculinities are constructed through social pressure, cultural norms, and institutional formation of the perceptions of masculinity and what it means to be a man. There are varying arguments based on the idea of how masculinity is achieved and how different societies and cultures differentiate between masculine tasks. For example, Fakier and Cock (2009), based on research conducted on African working-class households arguing that they are the sites of a crisis of social reproduction in contemporary South Africa, write that "the qualities seen as constituting a masculine self can vary historically and culturally. The practices that are interpreted as signs of a masculine self can also vary depending on other features of the actor (age, race, ethnicity, and class), the audience, and the situation (280).

Ratele (2008:6), in a study titled 'Analysing males in Africa' where they examine why and how African males have been analysed, writes that "masculinities are about fluid, practices of power that constitute relations males, specifically, (but also, to an extent, females) have in and to the world". The idea of masculinity exists within different contexts and even though certain ideal types of masculine traits dominate these masculinities which are created, it is still contested by other masculine ideals. The hegemonic ideal pervades the culture and sets a standard against which all manhood acts are evaluated. It is impossible, however, for all men to meet the hegemonic expectation. Therefore, changes must be made, not only individually but also sub-culturally (Fakier & Cock, 2009: 286). The experiences of these boys and how and/or if they adjust their masculinity to fit within the school's culture are of interest, as it is often the case that the cultures presented in all-boys schools differ from the cultural contexts in which the boys grew up. Ratele (2008:5) supports the argument made by Fakier and Cock when he states that "masculinity is thus at once a position which individuals inhabit but also constantly try to rearrange and work to contour to their lives so as to understand the world, including themselves and others". This giving is deep-rooted in the performative nature of masculinity, especially within the context of young boys, as they might be more willing to conform to pressures due to wanting to be accepted by their peers.

Heteronorms equally govern discernment when distinguishing and deciding between appropriate and inappropriate behaviour in spaces like the school. Heteronormativity negates the fluidity of gender, and indeed of masculinities, to produce a certain type of man. Violence is considered a key

part of maintaining heteronormativity and the socialisation of boys and men. Hence the difficulty in untangling it from the institutional ethos of boys school. For this reason, this proposed study focuses on hazing in relation to the production and maintenance of heteronormativity and specifically hegemonic masculinities in schools. It is the connection between heteronormativity, violence, and socialisation that I believe is important in developing a clearer understanding of masculinities and schooling and the post-school lives of the students that attended them.

Close attention will be given to the focus on situational specificity of masculinities (and cultural heteronormativity). As Connell, who writes on masculinities, change, and conflict, in a global society (2003: 6) puts it, men make situationally specific choices from a cultural repertoire of masculine behaviour. This then points to the disconnect which could be present in many of the boys high schools in South Africa where, due to the changing socio-cultural context and class realities in South Africa, there are different realities at play. The process of hazing could then affect the boys and how they perform masculinities differently. Through this, the conceptualisation of gender can be grasped at a more holistic point that recognises the agency of subordinated groups. This is important for the conceptualisation of power dynamics such as race, social class, perceived masculine status (through things like physical traits, sports played etc.) within a school system.

3.3 Hazing, Masculinities and South African Schools

Regarding the experiences that shape manhood, social reproduction plays an important role in how men view masculinity and manhood. This is in line with the fact that masculinity is formed by social and cultural factors. As a result, hazing alone cannot be taken as a defining factor. Factors such as race and class should also be considered. It is important to note that although hazing is seen as a unifying process that builds a bond of brotherhood, there are certain aspects that affect how these students perceive each other, especially in the context of South Africa's history of apartheid These perceptions undoubtedly influence the process of hazing and the general institutional culture of the school. I believe that there is a link between the impact factors such as race and class have on the pressure black students' feel to assimilate. This is argued by Fakier and Cock (2009: 286) about the desire to assimilate into a privileged group which I believe is a factor in hazing. Tshikila (2019) writing on the experiences of black rugby players at ex-model C schools in Cape Town, argues that cultural assimilation is defined as the subordinate group taking on the cultural patterns of the dominant group (52). In order to identify the factors that either facilitate or constrain the inclusion of subordinate groups within their schooling environments, it is important to understand that situated discursive practices determine how men position themselves at any time, and hence the extent to which they consider themselves, or are described by others, as achieving the masculine ideal (Luyt,2012; 5). In other words, assimilating into these groups is a form of cultural capital and must be factored in when considering that boys do this to avoid facing rejection.

McArthur (2015: 54), in his article on Homophobic violence in a Northern Cape school, states that, "It is important to note that school-based violence is not experienced uniformly. Race, class, sexuality, age and gender are key markers that influence one's propensity to either be a recipient or an offender of such violence, particularly in the school context". For this reason, this study looks at the experiences of black males in all-boys schools. The study views the maintenance of cultural heteronormativity as key to how black males experience these institutions, which can be seen as predominantly middle-class white spaces.

At the very core of institutional cultures at ex-model C schools lies a racialised space that is reflected in many practices and teachings of these schools. The dynamics of fitting into these spaces pose a challenge to young black boys who may find these cultures foreign. Consequently, they might find themselves feeling unwelcome or fighting to find their position in what may appear to be a hostile environment. In a society where people are divided by race through legislation (under Apartheid) or through material inequality (post-apartheid), race becomes a material reality, and this is often reflected within the education system. It is not solely about the school itself, but rather the school as a reflection of the divided nature of South Africa as a whole. Writing on the performance of gender in South Africa, Bantjties and Nieurwoundt (2014) argue that schools shape gender through a variety of mechanisms. These include historically reproduced rules, routines, expectations, relationships, and rewards; the deployment of artefacts, resources, and space; the structure and composition of school administration; the style of leadership and the way authority is exercised; the division of labour among teachers along gender lines; the content of the curriculum and the range of subjects offered; sport; the way teachers address pupils; and discipline practices. These mechanisms create the culture of a school, actively shaping what happens within it, influencing all its inhabitants, and profoundly impacting how gender is performed.

In the context of South Africa and institutions that were established during and prior to the era of Apartheid, the role of institutional power and the perceived control and power it exerts over young boys is of interest. "Power is better understood in terms of interacting processes between people in the organisation, trying to reduce the scope for action of others not only through influencing overt behaviour, but also by ideological, symbolic and disciplinary means." Alvesson and Due Billing, who write in a European and North American context about understanding Gender and Organisations, state that the power structure may be seen in terms of the often ambiguous and unstable relations between organisational actors and groups and is a temporary 'result' of complex processes, which may or may not reproduce the status quo" (Alvesson and Due Billing, 2009: 66). The question that arises is, to what extent does the institutional culture of a school contribute to the experiences of the learners in relation to hazing? And furthermore, do the schools know about these practices? These questions are significant as the schools are held responsible for any physical harm caused to the learners. But just how accountable are schools for the psychological damage which might occur to learners?

22

Ex-model C schools or "white schools" as Jonathan Jansen refers to them in his book *Knowledge in the blood*, are a reflection of the white domination that persists within South Africa as these are spaces that still do not reflect the demographics of South Africa. Additionally, their practices are deeply rooted in beliefs entrenched during the Apartheid era. These practices are also a reflection of how whites have tried to hold on desperately to this last political space in which to defend race, culture, and language (Jansen, 2009;87). This explains why hazing is such a focus for this study, as it is ultimately the determining factor for a student's acceptance into or alienation from a group. This poses an even greater challenge for the young black boy who is already seen as an outsider purely by virtue of his race. This challenge exists even in former Model C schools where the demographics favour young black males because even though there is a high number of other black boys, the system still favours a deep-rooted white culture. This is not a question of headcounts but a question of cultural domination. Naidoo, who writes on racial integration in public schools in South Africa, says, integration 'requires fundamental changes in…personal attributes, behaviour and patterns among learners and teachers of minority and majority groups' (1996:11). It is through this cultural domination that hazing must be scrutinised as its practice is used as an integration tool for inducting the new black grade 8's into the institutional culture of all-boys schools. This is to show how the issue of hazing is a systemic issue and one that relies heavily on the reproduction of said systems' values and ideals, passed down in the schooling system.

Wong, Shi, Chen (2018) look at institutionalised gender segregation in single-sex schooling in Hong Kong, arguing that gendered schools hold to the idea that grouping learners according to their gender provides them the opportunity to be taught in an environment which best caters to their specific needs. This is based on the traditional notion that boys and girls are different and thus should be taught differently. "Ideas about masculinity are important to boys as they try to identify an image of manhood to which they might aspire" (Gilbert and Gilbert, 2017: 35). Schools are entrusted to play a role in this development, which they do through the culture and general standard they set for themselves as a school and the boys as the learners. It is through the creation of an institutional culture that a foundation is laid for learners to be taught how to behave and what is expected of them. This is done through systems such as the curriculum, the sports and after mural activities with teachers and facilitators playing a major role. This goes beyond the ideas set by the school and applies to the general norms of that society. In this way, ideas of masculinity and manhood are produced, especially in the context of all boys' schools.

There are varying arguments based on the idea of how masculinity is achieved and how different societies and cultures differentiate between masculine tasks. For example, Fakier and Cock (2009) state that "the qualities seen as constituting a masculine self can vary historically and culturally. The practices that are interpreted as signs of a masculine self can also vary depending on other features pertaining to the actor (age, race, ethnicity, and class), the audience, and the situation" (Fakier and Cock, 2009: 280). Furthermore, Kopano Ratele takes a position that can be seen as supporting the

argument made by Fakier and Cock, where he states that "masculinities are about fluid practices of power that constitute relations males, specifically, (but also, to an extent, females) have in and to the world" (Ratele, 2008: 6).

The idea of masculinity exists within diverse contexts, and even though the masculinities that are created are dominated by certain ideal types of masculine traits, they are still contested by the other masculine ideals. "The hegemonic ideal pervades the culture and sets a standard against which all manhood acts are measured. Given that it is impossible for all men to meet the hegemonic ideal, adjustments must be made, not only individually, but also sub-culturally" (Fakier and Cock, 2009: 286). The boys' experiences and whether and how they adjusted their masculinity to conform to the culture of the school is of interest, as there is often a disconnect between the culture presented in the school and the ones the boys grew up knowing. Ratele supports the argument made by Fakier and Cock when he states that "masculinity is thus at once a position which individuals inhabit but also constantly try to rearrange and work to contour to their lives so as to understand the world, including themselves and others" (Ratele, 2008:5). This points to the performative nature of masculinity, especially within the context of young boys as they might be more willing to conform to pressures due to wanting to be accepted by their peers.

Alvesson and Due Billing (2009) argue that socialisation, however, limits the work of negotiation in the (un)making and (re)making of oneself. Socialisation as the process of internalising the norms and ideologies of society encompasses both learning and teaching and is thus the means by which social and cultural continuity is attained. It is through this process of socialisation that gender norms are learnt, and gender roles are produced. (Alvesson and Due Billing, 2009: 26) "Gender socialisation in the home was and likely still is, affected by the variables of adolescent age and sex, number and sex of siblings, age of parents, ethnic identity, social class, employment of mother and authoritarian or democratic relationship in the home" (Peters, 1994: 917). Gender norms and roles are important in producing ideas of femininity and masculinity, as they are taught and assigned using various tools such as toys, chores and responsibilities according to how it is believed that men and women should behave in these societies. It is also through these ideals that men and women are conditioned to act in a certain manner. Socialisation is thus an important role player and can never be separated from ideas of gender. Equally, norms govern discernment when distinguishing and deciding between appropriate and inappropriate behaviour in spaces like the school. This perspective on masculinity negates the fluidity of gender, and indeed of masculinities, to produce a certain kind of man. Violence is considered a great part of the making of this man, hence the difficulty in untangling it from the institutional ethos of boys' school. For this reason, this study focuses on hazing in relation to the production of masculinities. It is the connection between violence and socialisation that I believe is important in developing a clearer understanding of masculinities in these institutions and the later lives of the students that attended them.

Furthermore, group membership, like socialisation and institutions, protect and propagate hegemonic masculinity. By posing various questions, I will attempt to understand the importance of adjusting one's masculine positioning to develop an identity within the group. I will also try to understand their perception of group membership and how much value they attach to it. This is important to consider, because based on the theory that gender is socially constructed, experiences that affect a male's role within a social setting such as a boys' high school have a significant role to play. There are certain social determinants that play a part in how a male perceives himself and his masculinity which may factor into the rejection of the masculinity produced in the boys' high school he attends. For example, if a young black boy moves to a school where the culture alienates him on the basis of his race, and if he feels that the social setting rejects him solely on the basis of his race, he may not feel the pressure to conform to masculine ideals produced in the school. This may be important to consider because the assumption that arises from the idea of hegemonic masculinity is that there is a certain masculinity idealised by all men, which might not be true in this example. The issue of the situational specificity of masculinities (and perhaps gendered practice in general) needs close attention. "Discursive studies suggest that men make situationally specific choices from a cultural repertoire of masculine behaviour" (Connell, 2003: 6). This then points to the disconnect which could be present in many of the boy's high schools in South Africa where, due to the changing socio-cultural context of South Africa, there are disparate realities at play, and the process of hazing could affect the boys and their masculinities differently. Consequently, the conceptualisation of gender can be grasped at a more holistic point that recognises the agency of subordinated groups. This is important for the conceptualisation of power dynamics within a school system. Although one might dispute the ideals of group formation, there is also a sense of agency that plays a role in the need for acceptance which is at play when one conforms. It cannot be assumed that all boys who undergo the process of hazing do so unwillingly or with resistance.

3.4 The difference between hazing and bullying

Although this study focuses on hazing, I feel it is important to elaborate and explain the differences between hazing and bullying. As stated earlier in this study, the term 'hazing' is borrowed from the seminal work explored by Huysamer and Lemmer (2013), in their article, 'Hazing in orientation programmes in boys-only secondary schools'. There is a thin line between these two acts and that line is mostly distinguished by the intention of these practices. Bullying and hazing are often seen as being synonymous with each other but there are some clear distinctions which help identify the differences between these practices. They describe hazing as a concept "associated with initiation, [that] aims at taking newcomers from novice status to a status of functional and acknowledged members of a new group" (Huysamer & Lemmer, 2013:1). From this definition, it is evident that bullying differs from other forms of antisocial behaviour in that it is wilful, and mostly repetitive and serves no clear purpose. Furthermore, there is always a power differential between those who engage in bullying behaviour and those who are on the receiving end. Mikell (2014) argues that very few differences exist between hazing and bullying acts. In her view the only true difference is the purpose of the harassment. Hazing involves individuals earning their right to be included in a group; bullying serves to force or keep an individual excluded from the group.

Based on a meta-analysis, Cook et al. (2010:75) found that adolescent bullies often lack social and academic competencies, and hold negative beliefs and attitudes towards others. Furthermore, negative family environments significantly influence children to become bullies. Internationally, there is thus a fair understanding of why bullying occurs. However, the majority of these studies have focused on learners from first world countries. The same is not necessarily true for hazing. Although there has been no significant academic literature that characterises the traits of students who are most likely to partake in hazing practices, the one clear distinguishing factor is that hazing is not always done as a form of bullying but rather as a rite of passage by which grade 8's can be accepted as fully fledged members of the school or a sport team.

Lets'opha and Jacobs (2017), in their study of students from Lesotho who are perpetrators of bullying, state that the participants in their study made it clear that learners who are new in the school, make easy targets. These include Form A (Grade 8) learners, learners who enrol late, and those who were transferred from other schools. A few of the participants in this study indicated that they bullied other learners to gain popularity among their friends and peers. They seem to believe that their bullying behaviour has, to some extent, contributed to the admiration other learners appear to have for them. Not only do they believe that bullying others makes them more popular, but they also try harder to bully others in order to prove themselves. These perceived benefits to perpetrators of bullying, suggest that there is a dominance factor that exists in bullying. The same is not necessarily true for hazing because the main purpose of hazing is seen to be the acceptance of new members into a team. My main argument here is that the difference between bullying and hazing

rests on the intentions of the perpetrator and the cultural value given to the perpetrators. In hazing, perpetrators are seen as merely seniors integrating members into the school, whereas bullying is often a practice that serves no clear identifiable purpose.

Venter and Du Plessis (2012), who write on bullying in South African schools, argue that schools should be a haven of safety for all learners, an environment where they can learn what they need to learn to become decent human beings. They argue that a school's policy and code of conduct should have definite rules and consequences for any aggressive or violent behaviour. Working within this argument, this study seeks to investigate the role played by teachers and coaches during hazing practices and how they either work to fight against these violent practices and "traditions" or engage and endorse them as part of the schools' culture. Nuwer (1999) suggests that hazing may be commonplace as those responsible for these illegal, yet unreported, acts become desensitised to to violence.. Mikell (2014), who writes on hazing, hegemonic masculinity and victimisation in her study of hazing in American College fraternities, argues that this desensitisation to violence can be characterised in the following ways. First, hazing may highlight a predisposition for violence. Second, hazing provides an opportunity to release pent up frustrations. Third, hazing may provide opportunities for psychologically ill members to manifest their violent tendencies (31-32). These three factors create an atmosphere for violent displays of superiority and inferiority and foster an environment conducive to severe injury and may sometimes, in the worst cases, result in death. The participants of my study have shared different experiences of teachers and how they handled hazing practices. However, the main sentiment was that staff members often turned a blind eye to these practices, either because they were viewed as part of the schools' culture or because staff members saw it as part of the heteronormative behaviour of young boys and men who are trying to develop each other into men. However, the failure of staff members to position themselves within these practices is how hazing practices often end up with no clear purpose and result in students being hazed, taken advantage of, and abused.

South Africa has very high levels of violence in general. In such an aggressive society, it makes sense that there would also be high rates of bullying at school since bullying is a subtype of violent behaviour (Venter and Du Plessis (2012). I would like to argue that one of the main differences that I have noted from my experience of conducting this study, and from my own attendance at an all-boys school in the Eastern Cape, is that staff members are often supportive of hazing practices as they see it as part of the schooling culture. The biggest challenge for these staff members, which is also evident in some academic literature (see: Huysammer and Lemmer; 2013) is that staff members are often unaware of the severity of some of the cases which occur at the schools and as a result, they view these practices as harmless.

Institutional culture at all boys' schools

The institutional culture is of importance when dealing with issues of hazing and it could be part of the reason why it has taken so long for schools to acknowledge and change these practices. Holman (2004:58 as citied by Crow, Macintosh; 2006: 436) asserts that athletic leaders, the majority of whom are male, are reluctant to encourage change because they are ''products of a system that subjected them to hazing and had them haze others''. Therefore, the systematic induction of new members of a school through the process of hazing can be heavily related to the history of the school. If it forms part of the culture, then it may be difficult to change and as a result it may even be difficult to gain a full understanding. So often it happens that a culture is maintained yet when it is investigated the significance has been lost. This is especially the case for schools whose hazing processes form part of an orientation to the school. Traditions get passed down with no real relevancy and there are no control measures as they are usually controlled by students. This then suggests the possibility of hazing being an expression of power and a reflection of abuse of said power

Arguably, culture plays a major role in the practices, norms, and ethos of boys high schools. An example of this can be seen from an article by RW Vorster titled Secrecy, initiation, grooming and the 'Parktown Boys way', Vorster covers cases that arose at Parktown Boys' School that led to abuse and sexual assault that were enacted under the guise of hazing. In one such case, the incident was reported and "High-profile arguments for the right of the school to continue initiations," and "it happened to us and look how well we turned out, so what is wrong with you", dominated the narrative, and the family who made the allegations public was subjected to ridicule and death threats." (Vorster, 2019: 3) Such cases show the extent to which the culture of hazing is defended at these institutions. Culture, defined as consisting of patterns, explicit and implicit, of and for behaviour acquired and transmitted by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievement of human groups, including their embodiments in artefacts; the essential core of culture consists of traditional (i.e. historically derived and selected) ideas and especially their attached values; culture systems may, on the one hand, be considered as products of action, on the other as conditioning elements of further action (Kroeber and Kluckhohn,1952:181). Serving as a socialisation tool, it is often passed down through generations, as argued by Huysammer and Lemmer (2013) in their definition of hazing which states that "Hazing, associated with initiation, is a centuries-old practice aimed at initiating newcomers from novice status to acceptance as functional and acknowledged members of a new group." (1). This history creates little or no room for change. Crow and Macintosh (2009: 437), looking at sport and hazing, argue that most sports persons continue the tradition of hazing since it was also done to them. This suggests that many young people often feel disempowered to alter or halt behaviour that they disagree with because of the extent to which certain practices are normalised and institutionalised.

Hazing is inflicted by senior members of a team or a school on junior members who are "often faced with the "transition" of joining the team as a player, as well as being "accepted" on the team as a viable member." (Crow and Macintosh; 2009,436). This indicates a power dynamic that is formulated

28

around a hierarchy. The presence of a hierarchy ensures that a culture stays alive, as cultures are often passed down through generations (Van Gennep, 1960). The act of hazing reflects the presence of power whereby juniors are made to complete tasks and are victimised through physical punishment. This is done so that they know their position in the system, and anyone who deviates from the instructions given or refuses to do what the other members are doing becomes an outcast. Literature suggests that one of the main problems in recognising hazing practices is that they often vary across different schools and sporting codes (see Crow and Macintosh,2009; Huysammer and Lemmer; 2013; Edelman,2005).

3.5 Legal implications involved in hazing

Hazing can be classified as criminal and non-criminal. Mikell (2014) argues that on the one hand, criminal hazing typically refers to incidents in which "an individual or individuals [who] hurt, harm, or terrorise another individual through actions forbidden by a hazing statute."(8) On the other hand, non-criminal hazing involves actions that are not as dangerous, such as verbal abuse, insulting students, giving them difficult tasks and/or physical activities that they have to complete, etc. but still violates statutes established by the organisation or institution (Nuwer, 1999). For example, sending a student to buy something for you at the tuckshop may be unlawful at the school, but to be unlawful to a point where it becomes a criminal matter, there must be evidence of physical harm. However, as the harm caused by hazing continues to increase, the criminal justice system will increasingly be called upon to address this issue Thus, there is a need to understand the depth of the hazing phenomenon and some of the issues that underpin the lack of legal action taken against students who haze and the staff members who are, in one way or the other, complicit in promoting and turning a blind eye to these acts.

One of the main issues behind the lack of criminal cases in South Africa regarding hazing is the definition of hazing which is so vague that many students and perpetrators do not recognise their experiences as hazing. This can be credited to various factors such as the perceived intention of the various practices, the diverse names used to label these practices, and the secrecy that is often a key part of the membership of teams and institutions where hazing practices still occurs.

Another issue concerning the prosecution of students who haze and cause harm to other students is that most schools deal with these issues internally, with most cases only being heard by hostel masters, deputy-head, or headmasters, and sometimes the SGB. This protects the students who inflict the hazing as, in most cases, the worst consequence they suffer is being expelled from the school. Nuwer (2000), for example, discovered that some school boards subliminally allow mild forms of hazing in the form of moderate embarrassment. Administrators validate this behaviour by succumbing to the students' desire to maintain some traditions within the student body, either because they believe in the traditions and value their presence, or because they have given up on the task of completely eradicating the activity altogether. In most cases the expulsion of students is

not enough, as there are often not sufficient consequences that can lead to the eradication of mindsets that enable one to take part in such violent acts. My view is that schools often act in their own best interests by either hiding these incidents or expelling a student so that the case is no longer linked to their school. This does not help in eradicating these practices within the schools, and it does not assist the justice system, as the school's lack of cooperation can result in a lack of evidence, and thus, the matter can no longer be handled sufficiently.

Although there have been several high-profile cases in South Africa revolving around cases of bullying and hazing, such as the infamous UFS cleaner's case and the ongoing Parktown boys' case, there is still a lack of criminal prosecution against students who harm others during hazing processes. Although I have raised a number of important issues to look at in regard to this, the fact of the matter is that schools aren't doing enough to prosecute perpetrators of violence against other students.

3.6 Conclusion

The link between power and masculinity is a result of the patriarchal notion that men must dominate. For this reason, I believe my study can make an important contribution to understanding this link as it focuses on the power dynamics between senior high school boys and new, grade eight learners. I aim to investigate not just the harm that could be potentially caused by hazing but also how it shapes masculinity, and whether these practices are still relevant to the masculine ideals that are being produced for this generation. Examining the relevance of these practices will also assist in avoiding the essentialism that, according to Alvesson and Due Billing (2009), is a factor that affects women's studies. "Most researchers are now sensitive to the notion of essentialism – the idea of defining women in terms of a universal, stable basic quality"- (Alvesson and Due Billing, 2009: 29). This connects to the idea of a hegemonic masculinity and the presumption that all males aspire to acquire certain masculine traits which are linked to the practices of masculinity. In considering essentialism as a factor that also affects men's studies, we also examine the presumption of toxicity related to studies of masculinity. This does not imply that there are no valid arguments addressing toxicity and masculine traits and behaviours that can be linked to how men are socialised. Conversely, my study will attempt to evaluate the various outcomes of hazing. This evaluation will also consider whether hazing truly serves a purpose that could be the reason behind its continued use. The awareness of the effects of essentialism on hazing allows for me, as a researcher, to consider all possible views and to look at the experiences of the boys. Scrutinising these factors not only allows for a clear understanding of how the boys viewed it at the time (as my study will be a retrospective study) but also how they believe it has shaped their manhood today.

Regarding the experiences that shape manhood, social reproduction plays an important role in how men view masculinity and manhood. This is in line with the fact that masculinity is formed through notions built in society and cultural factors. This view is supported by Archer and Yamashita in their

article on inner city masculinities, in which they address issues of race, class, gender and education in London. They argue that identity constructions combine traces and various social, historical, geographical, and cultural elements, and indicate the shifting nature of masculinities, which are created and recreated across time and context (120). Consequently, hazing alone cannot be taken as a defining factor and it is important to consider factors such as race and class. It must be noted that even though hazing is seen as a unifying process that builds a bond of brotherhood, there are certain aspects, especially considering South Africa's history of apartheid, that affect how these students could perceive one another. This perception undoubtedly influences the process of hazing and the general institutional culture of the school. Culture, socialisation in the home and school, and traditions, all work towards the production of a self-identified man who becomes the quintessential man. This quintessential man inhabits a hegemonic masculinity while stifling attempts to remake and unmake himself into a masculinity of the man's choosing. This constitutes another important factor in my study, as the idea of hegemonic masculinity is part of a theoretical framework developed to analyse men's power. It proposes the idea of multiple masculinities and hierarchies of power and exposes how men exercise power over women and other men (Peters: 1994). The notion that there exists a hegemonic form of masculinity is dependent on the perception that there is a dominant form of masculinity in that society.

Fakier and Cock (2009) address the desire to assimilate to a privileged group which, I believe, is a factor that plays a role in hazing. Assimilating into these groups is a form of cultural capital and is a factor when one considers that boys do this to avoid facing rejection. "Not only are repeated demonstrations of masculine-associated actions requisite for maintaining social status and recognition, but such efforts to win social status by degrading other boys are also disturbingly "normal"" (Klein; 2006, 56). This is also in line with arguments of in-group politics and the purpose served by groups in an individual's life. Regarding factors of hazing, I believe participation in hazing is deemed an important step in developing a group bond and in creating a culture of "us vs them" which is often used in sport.

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter I describe and interpret the research findings for the purpose of arriving at a clear understanding of hazing in relation to masculinity. By examining the answers given by participants, this study hopes to paint a picture that clarifies how the hazing they experienced was both perceived and experienced. The collective and individual responses and experiences of participants are used to describe the findings of this study. The aim is to arrive at a clear picture of a group understanding of the factors related to hazing and its relationship with masculinity in all-boys schools, while also focusing on key individual factors. As a whole, this chapter will discuss the relevant findings that emerged from a thematic analysis of the interview data. These findings will be used to answer the aforementioned research questions and will contribute to several conclusions to be discussed in the analysis chapter. In presenting the research findings, reference will be made to extracts drawn directly from the interview transcripts. These participant quotes serve to include the voice of the participants in the analytical discussion, and also provide evidence for the presented findings. Four themes will be discussed in this Findings Chapter, namely: (1) Institutional culture, (2) Orientation programmes, (3) The impact of the learners' hierarchy on the institution, (4) Navigating the school's space in the context of racialisation and classism.

4.2 Participants

This research sample consists of seven participants. All participants are black males who have attended an all-boys High School in the vicinity of East London (Now known as Gompo). Their ages range between 21-25 years. For ethical reasons, participants are not named and will be referred to by assigned pseudonyms. I have chosen to refer to them as Bradley, Kyle, Victor, Carter, Samuel, Earl and Steve. I have intentionally elected to use English names to protect the identity of the participants who are all called by Xhosa names. The schools they attended will not be named as I feel the names of the institutions carry no real relevance in regard to my hazing in relation to masculinity. Nevertheless, I make a clear distinction between the individual institutions when detailing the experiences shared by the participants. Although differing in many aspects, these institutions share nearly the same demographics, with student bodies mainly comprised of black students, predominantly for lower-middle to high-class students. They are all former Model C schools. Four of the participants attended the same boys' school, two in the same year (2014), 1 in 2015 and the other in 2017. Although these participants attended the same institution, the stories and experiences they shared in their individual interviews were all very different. These variations

can be attributed to differences in their backgrounds, the sports they played, their friendship circles, and whether they lived at the hostel or not. Another major factor I came to understand was how their geographic proximity to the school also shaped their views; by this, I mean which towns they were from, which University they attended, and whether they were active old boys, etc. The remaining three participants all attended different all-boys schools. Each of these participants reported very distinct experiences which shed light on years of Institutional culture, teachings, and diverse hazing practices. There were significant variations in the stories related by participants who attended schools with differing dynamics. These variations included the shape and form of localised hegemonic ideals and a variety of meanings attached to issues of race, wealth, and masculinity. However, all participants consistently reflected the basic relationships surrounding the narratives of masculinity and hazing upon which this paper is constructed.

My initial reasoning for seeking adult males for this project (rather than asking male students about their current situations) stemmed from earlier interviews I had conducted with first year university male students who had attended all-boys schools in South Africa (Gobodo,2019). This research revealed that the participants were often unaware of the networks of power that surrounded them. What emerged from those interviews were largely non-reflective accounts of various high school activities. As argued by Malaby (2009), who wrote his study on male memories of childhood violence and bullying, "memory-work can provide a useful means of examining identity construction though memory, noting that memory-work highlights the conflicting nature of discursive positions." (377). The purpose of this project, in its final iteration, was to determine the meaning adult males made of their experiences in school, and my participants were selected accordingly. The narratives recounting their experiences with violence and hazing in school, address issues of the ways in which current identities are constructed through memory.

4.3 More than just a blazer and badge

This section will look at the institutional culture, which emerged as an important theme in the interviews with participants. Cross and Carpienter (2009) writing on the "new students" in South African higher education argue that "the notion of institutional culture encompasses all the attitudes and behaviours which, though inherited from history, appear nevertheless resilient to change or almost immutable." They essentially argue that these attitudes and behaviours characterize the institution and different factors from within.In essence, hey constitute its identity. With this definition, I argue that even though different groups and cliques exist within the all-boys school, there is still a definitive institutional culture by which members of the institutions abide. It is the institutional culture, the shared values, assumptions, beliefs, and ideologies which I seek to identify and interpret from the interviews conducted with the participants of this study. One of the most important themes that emerged during the interviews was that of the culture, which was argued to be very important within these institutions. One of my participants, Samuel, explains: "*We just understood what was*

33

happening as part of the traditions of the school. We were encouraged not to question a lot of things but to participate so we can become closer with fellow students". Victor, who spoke mostly about his experience at hostel, shared similar sentiments as he spoke about the "brotherhood" and "bond" shared by hostel boys as a result of having gone through hazing together. He stated that they "shared a way of life" which they used to navigate high school together" I view the institutional culture as imperative to understanding hazing in all-boys schools because it is the understanding of these practices as "culture" which has allowed for the passing down of hazing practices and many other practices that forge the experience of boys in these institutions.

Addressing the role of the adolescent peer group in the formation and maintenance of the Secondary School institutional culture from a Canadian perspective, Brady (2004), argues that the adolescent peer group constitutes an integral component of the institutional culture of the contemporary secondary school. The institutional culture in all-boys schools is enforced on students by the school management and is supported by administrators and teachers. The prevailing culture assigns individual students and groups of students to their respective places within the status hierarchy that constitutes a school's social order. This positioning often determines the treatment that students receive from administrators, teachers, and peers, and communicates the degree to which others value them in the school community. Supported by the evidence uncovered through the interviews with participants, I argue that it is the prevailing institutional culture within these schools that reinforces hazing practices through the code of conduct, orientation processes for new boys and the school hierarchy, which often places senior boys in control of their juniors.

Bradley shared that in their early days, they were told that "once you put the blazer on, you knew you were not just representing yourself. Everything you did while wearing the blazer was a reflection of the school."

Samuel reflected on similar teachings when he stated, "*We were always told to wear our uniform with pride*" This reflects an institutionalisation that is attached to the uniforms students wore. The idea is that once a student puts on their uniform, they should behave in a manner that is attached to their institution. This is similar to the norms imposed on nurses, police officers and soldiers in uniform. Within this framework, I understand students as feeling pressured to submit to teachings that were handed down by seniors or other members of the school. I argue this based on the idea that students believe that their seniors, who have gone through what is expected of them as juniors themselves, would not mislead them into behaving in a way that is not part of the school's culture or traditions.

When a school's institutional culture is reinforced by administrators and teachers, the rejection encountered by students who don't submit to said culture serves to enhance perceptions of exclusion from membership in the school community in those affected. Such real or perceived treatment serves to diminish these students' sense of engagement with the institutions they attend. And as a result, this has the potential to lead to lower levels of academic success, reduced participation in the school

and, in its most extreme cases, withdrawal from the process of formal education as a whole. It is precisely this exclusion, with which I argue the school becomes complicit, that pressures students to submit and take part in hazing. Students are aware of the various repercussions that may result from not being fully accepted at the instituions that they are enrolled in. Repercussions include, among others, mistreatment in the hostel, exclusion from school or team events, and verbal and sometimes physical abuse from your peers. The school becomes complicit by knowingly dismissing such behaviour as "boys being boys", while being aware that such treatment is occurring. The school is also often left in the dark as they have placed students as school enforcers, which gives these students more power than the school might have initially intended.

In all such cases, schools are to be held accountable for issues that revolve around hazing. It is the culture within the institution that enables dangerous and violent school practices and allows for harmful traditions to be passed down.

4.4 Going beyond the code of conduct

Harber (2004), who writes that South African schools have traditionally been authoritarian institutions that stress obedience, conformity and passing, states that the code of conduct is a deliberate tool designed by the state for governing bodies to maintain learner discipline in school (Harber, 2004; 9). Following the argument in the introduction, the code of conduct was a subtheme that was established through the interviews with participants. I will first describe what a code of conduct is, explaining its duty in learning institutions. I will then examine some of the experiences shared with me by participants, including how they viewed the code of conduct, while linking it to how it has been used to create and maintain the institutional culture at the all-boys schools they attended. Pentz (2010), writing in a South African context, relates learner behaviour to a schools' code of conduct. She argues that a code of conduct aims to foster constructive learning and establish a disciplined and purposeful school environment (Pentz, 2010; 8). She further contends that the code should create a positive climate for empowering learners to be moral and democratic, thereby uplifting their community. It should also stipulate the disciplinary process and indicate the different levels of offences. In so doing, the code of conduct becomes a tool for redeveloping a sense of accountability along democratic rather than authoritarian lines. This ensures that students are apprised of the rules they must follow and can be held accountable for falling short of what is expected of them. Pentz also argues that the code should include the responsibilities of the parents and may form part of the curriculum. Although these are the expectations of the code of conduct, not all codes of conduct adhere to these guidelines and codes are often applied at the discretion of the authoritative figures of the school (teachers, headmasters, prefects, coaches etc.) Consequently, students are often at the mercy of those who are in power. This supports the argument made by Harber (2004), who contends that South African schools have traditionally been authoritarian institutions that stress obedience; I make this claim because the participants in my study have shared the common view

35

that punishments were not always imposed according to the severity of the crime. This statement not only attests to an abuse of power but also a culture of metaphorically "using force to bend the branches which were a bit tougher to break".

Bradley: "I would even argue that the school was very authoritative in terms of their system and code of conduct."

Victor: "The code of conduct was a joke; we were subjected to stringent rules which seemed to bend at the will of those in control. Many of the time, teachers would apply the rules when they saw fit."

The replies given by these two participants when referring to the code of conduct of their respective institutions, give expression to negative criticism of the power given to authoritative figures in these institutions. While these two students voice generalised negative perceptions of institutional codes of conduct with words like, "very authorative", and allusions to "bend[ing] the rules" as it suited those in authority, Samuel shared a story that I feel reflects a more blatant abuse of power:

Samuel: "I remember in grade 8, I was late for class after break, and it had seemed that there were a couple of other boys who were late as well. We had all been lined up by the headmaster outside his office, where each boy would enter individually. When I had entered the headmaster asked what my reason for being late was, at first he understood that I had left an important book in my locker and as a result, I had to run and go get it, but he still signalled for me to "scrum" a chair in his office, even though this was my first time in his office, I knew what he meant when he gave me the signal as I heard stories from other boys. He swiftly gave me two strikes with his cane and told me never to be late for class again. As I left, he told me to smile."

Samuel's recounting of this encounter raised several notable issues with which I wish to engage. Firstly, the number of boys lined up outside the headmasters office indicates that this was common practice at the school. Secondly, the manner in which the headmaster appeared to have understood the circumstances that may have led for a grade 8 boy needing to retrieve a book that he had forgotten in his locker. And thirdly, the corporal punishment that was meted out to the participant as a result of this transgression. The number of boys lined up at the headmaster's office points to the possibility that each and every one of the boys could have been on the receiving end of the corporal punishment administered by the headmaster. This implies that the practice of corporal punishment in the school was well known to students (and possibly even teachers). The South African school's act (1996) and the Abolition of corporal punishment act (1997) have together made it illegal for corporal punishment to be used in schools (Morrell, 2001;142). And yet, despite its illegality, this story demonstrates that its practice was part of an unwritten code that assigned to the headmaster the power to strike students as punishment. Corporal punishment is against the law (and thus the code of conduct). However, its regular occurrence is an example of how the code of conduct doesn't always reflect what actually happens at the school. I highlight this story to show how discipline is enforced through various means, to effect the same end, namely, forcing students to behave in the

manner expected of them at these institutions. As such, in addition to being an enforcement of discipline, it is also an enforcement of fear. Students are struck physically as a method of engendering fear for the purpose of forcing them to abide by school rules. This is supported by Harber, who argues that "Teachers and parents tend to rely too much on power and force to instil discipline in their learners and children. A vicious cycle of violence thus becomes established". (Harber, 2004; 20).

Although I will touch on the issue of race in later chapters, I feel as though the answers given by some of the participants raised matters which correlated to other issues around race. The participants had been asked if they had felt the Code of conduct for their respective schools protected them and reflected an interest in their well-being as students,… Carter stated that "*Although the school had a very anti-racism stance, I feel as though sometimes as black students it didn't protect us when it came to our cultures and how we were allowed to exist within the school.*" He made mention of how students were treated after they returned from the mountain (which I will touch on in later chapters), the sports that were offered at the school and some of the expectations placed upon new boys. This he expressed in Isixhosa, saying "*bebefuna senze izinto zabelungu*" which translates to "we were expected to behave as if we were white". These sentiments reflect a racialised institutionalisation that can be linked to hegemonic masculinity, which the schools try to produce. The racial disconnect between the code of conduct and the black majority of students at Carter's school, confirm the assertions of Christine and McKinney (2016), who in writing on Decoloniality and "Model C" schools in South Africa, state that "Model" C schools exemplify the entangled power matrix that characterises coloniality. They provide a clear example of how deep inequality persists well past the formal end of colonialism (Christine, McKinney, 2016;2).

When asked about what the school's code of conduct said concerning hazing, Earl mentioned that the traditional all-boys school he had attended while in Johannesburg, had a strict policy against hazing. Nevertheless, it was a practice carried out in secret and was very common in sports teams, hostels, and schools. He went on to explain that at the Joburg school, there was a code referred to as the "3 rules", which was known by all the boys. "*1. You never snitch on a fellow brethren, 2. a gentleman knows how to treat himself and 3. don't forget the first two rules*".

Earl: "Initiation was very common at my old school; I was there under a sports bursary, so I was introduced to some of these practices from the onset of my high school experience. The school's code of conduct said the school was against this, but my dad had informed me before I attended that this was common at all-boys schools and that I would have to suck it up as this was a great opportunity (the bursary). I didn't mind because, as the grade 8s, we were all subjected to more or less the same initiation. When I moved to East London in Grade 11, I understood that the school was much smaller as compared to (named school previously attended in Joburg). I felt as though the school didn't carry the same pride and culture, I had been under the impression that this was a school which was very proud of its heritage as an all-boys school, but when I arrived, I realised that

the school wasn't as strict about the culture of the school. Younger students did not respect the privileges seniors had and you would often find juniors in the matric line at the tuck shop or walking on the senior grass. At first, I tried to instil discipline as at the school I had previously attended, this was the duty of a senior, but after being reported to the headmaster, I was told that such traditions weren't cared for at that school."

Earl first mentions his experience at the institution he attended in Gauteng and his experience with the code of conduct. He spoke at great length about the traditions and culture of the school. Although he told many stories, relating different experiences at the hostel and the school which would otherwise be considered quite traumatic, He seemed to pride himself in having attended such an institution. I believe that this is due to the institution's prestige and the opportunity he had been afforded to attend such a proud institution. He drew a comparison in which he criticised the all-boys school he attended in East London as he saw the hazing and culture of the school as lesser than that of his previous school. This pride and the contrast drawn between the two institutions, demonstrates Earl's approval of what he saw as the hegemonic culture that he experienced at the school in Gauteng. This is part of what West and Zimmerman (1987), who write on heteronormative gender standards in American culture, call 'doing gender'. They argue that the doing of gender is undertaken by women and men who practice heteronormative gender roles. They state that doing gender involves activities that cast particular perceptions as expressions of masculine and feminine "natures". Earl's pride in his experience of what he views as "proper tradition", is part of a hegemonic ideal he has of true male social reproduction. This is rooted in a heteronormative understanding of manhood and a hegemonic perception of how men should be in all-boys schools. This culture is reinforced by ideals of "brotherhood" that are propagated within these institutions.

4.5 "How it started…"

The students introduction to these institutions all seemed to differ. Still, most of the participants agreed that on the first day at the school, there were camps, meetings, assemblies, and other formal sit-downs where they were told about how the schools system works by either their perfects or senior staff at the school. These can be seen as what Huysamer and Lemmer (2013) refer to as Orientation programs. "The official intention of such Orientation Programs is to familiarise new students with both the unfamiliar physical environment and the history and ethos of the educational institution" (Huysamer, Lemmer, 2013; 2). This marks the beginning of their period as new boys. New boys were commonly referred to by a name that clearly distinguished them from their peers; this is a name given to all new boys. For example, Bradley, Kyle, Carter and Victor reported that they were referred to as "skunks" at their school. Other participants cited names such as "faggot" and other derogatory terms. Using these terms to label new boys as a collective, reflects Connell's sentiments on Hegemonic Masculinity and violence (2002) when he argues that the making of "these men" is a collective endeavour – they are made as individuals, but they are also made as a class or group of

people whose ties are meant to last well beyond school (Connell,2002; 849). Labelling 'new' boys as a group creates a sense of unity which helps them develop a group identity where they see themselves as one with their peers.

Steve, who had started playing cricket for the senior school as he had attended the junior school, detailed how he was told from the first day that the popularity he had enjoyed in the junior school was all over. "I was told from the get-go that now that I am at the High School, I am nothing and basically that I must now know my place", he explained. Next, the new junior students were introduced to the rules, which formed the basis of how they were expected to behave and treat their seniors and other members of the school (staff). These rules include not looking seniors in the eye (staring at the floor when they walk) or standing up to greet when a senior or member of staff approached. Participants generally expressed that they were reluctant to challenge these instructions either out of fear or because they had previously known these practices, or simply because they saw no malice in them.

Schrock and Schwalbe state that "all manhood acts imply a claim to membership in the privileged gender group. To present oneself as a man is to make this claim, whether the presentation emphasises or deemphasises the capacity to exert control. As this point suggests and as research has shown, males can construct and present themselves as men in various ways." (Schrock and Schwalbe, 2009:284) This argument implies that participants in these hazing practices agreed to be part of them as they wished to assimilate to these groups as they saw them as privileged. The construction and presentation of manhood are what I see as the performative nature of gender. This is why hazing functions to construct masculinity that is seen as ideal for the school's system and beyond that into the society in which these schools are situated. When I asked participants if they thought the hazing practices had a certain purpose beyond introducing them to and teaching them about the school's culture, Steve responded:

"They were trying to make us tougher; I saw all the physical challenges and the tasks given to us as a way to test our limits and make us tougher because the school was very sports orientated and especially with its focus on rugby, the school was trying to produce strong rugby players and overall strong-minded individuals."

The consensus I derived from the interviews was that although participants were subjected to varying degrees of Orientation programmes, all of them were expected to complete physical exercises, which included running, push-ups etc. and they were sometimes subjected to physical abuse (even though they all appeared to be somewhat reluctant to label it abuse). Some participants admitted that at times they were abused, but they all submitted to the abuse. They cited a number of reasons for this submission. These included the presence of other students who were also being abused and other factors such as the belief that they were being toughened up. "You didn't want to seem like you couldn't take it or that you were weaker than the other guys because that is when they started to pick

on you", he stated. Participants generally agreed that they saw it as part of the hazing, even though most of them believed that, on occasion, some students abused their power and took it to the extreme. When asked about this, Victor stated that he felt this didn't discipline but rather "forced submission". The level of physical abuse even reached levels where they detailed some students carrying scars, which sometimes led to the exposure of these practices. Steve told a story about how one boy had been hazed as a form of initiation into a sports team, and the boy's father found out. Instances like these, reveal how deep-rooted hazing had become within some of these institutions. The participant went on to explain that the boy who had been singled out as the offender was suspended for a week and was reintroduced into the team thereafter. This incident clearly exposes a culture of acceptance in which hazing is perceived as a norm which therefore incurs few if any repercussions for the perpetrators. Huysamer and Lemmer (2013) argue that this is because hazing is rationalised as a justifiable method to build group unity. (Huysamer, Lemmer 2013; 2). This account also reflects the extent to which these institutions have normalised violence as a means to produce the kind of man, or in this case, athlete, the school aspires to produce.

The participants agreed that there was a difference between the hazing experienced as a student who stayed at a hostel and the "day boys". This included the tasks that students were required to perform, the responsibilities imposed on them and the physical abuse they were forced to endure. The difference in these experiences could be interpreted as an indication of the unity built in the boarding institutions as participants agreed that the bond shared by hostel boys was more significant than that shared by "day boys". Although time is a factor in any relationship, one participant noted that the hazing in the boys' hostel was more constant. He even went on to state that it was said that the consequences for what they referred to as "snitching" were worse for hostel boys than for day students. "At the hostel if you snitched you just got it worse because the guy you told on would get into trouble and you'd still have to stay with the other senior boys." Many participants agreed that "snitching" was the worst thing you could do at a boys school. Earl even shared a tactic used at the school he attended in JHB, which he referred to as "blacklisting". If a person snitched, they were outcasted from the whole school. "If you are blacklisted, you may not eat with your brothers, people are not allowed to speak to you and sometimes, when you walk past, students would spit as a sign of disrespect". This highlights the abuse students would be subjected to that was, and can be, used to motivate students to conform to hazing practices. It also reflects the complicity among the boys who had assimilated into the masculine culture that existed within the institution and who, as a result, rejected the "snitch" whom they regarded as an outsider.

As hazing practices differed from school to another, it is clear that all the schools attended by the boys had different practices for different sports, cultural codes and the general school population. These included practices such as applying Deep Heat or other rubbing ointments onto the private parts, playing the sports game with no drawers on and being assaulted with a bat or bare hands on the buttocks. When questioned about them, the participants generally viewed these acts as part of

the team's traditions and considered it a way to bring the team together. Kyle: "We saw it as something everybody in the team had to do to be part of the team; you didn't want to be the guy that didn't do it because you'd be an outcast and it's not like you were doing it alone, we did it as a team". This can be viewed as an ideal of unity prevalent in masculinity archetypes (see: Wong, Shi, Chen:2018).

4.6 Matrics, top of the food chain

In an article about corporal punishment and masculinity in South African schools, Morrell (2001) argues that there is a relationship between schools and masculinity. This argument examines the impact of heteronormativity, a tool in producing masculinity and how schools socialise students into a heteronormative society. Stoudt (2006), who writes on school violence, peer discipline and the reproduction of hegemonic masculinity in an American context, argues that schools are a site that impatiently and explicitly teaches and reinforces hegemonic values. Thus, I argue that heteronormativity is central to understanding discourse on all-boys high schools, as hegemonic masculinity is central to the experience boys have while attending these institutions. Notions of hegemonic masculinity are also evident in hazing, an example of this can be found in my study, where participants and the literature used in this study have stated that hazing is more prevalent within all-boys schools. The hierarchical structure that places Grade 12s (or matrics) as the school leaders, is also a reflection of the peer-based learning that positions students as a mechanism to help lead and teach other students to behave in a manner that reflects the institution's standards. If the institutional culture places matrics as the leaders (and thus the dominant group), this not only places grade 8 boys at the bottom of the dominance hierarchy, but also ensures that grade eights fight to maintain this status quo so that they can reach the top of the hierarchy when they reach grade 12. This section will henceforth follow students' experiences from being grade 8's s where they were subjected to hazing, to being grade 12s where they were the ones who inflicted the hazing.

Victor: "as a grade 8, you're intimidated enough to be scared of a grade 12, especially since they carried what seemed like a forced sense of authority."

From this statement, it's easy to identify the power dynamics at play between the two groups of boys. Power is a core principle of hegemonic masculinity as it often dictates the position one holds amongst other males. Interestingly, Victor argues that the authority held by the grade 12s was "forced". This suggests that although they did wield some sort of power, it was exaggerated and couldn't be challenged. When I asked for clarity on the choice of words, the participant explained that he felt the parallels of discipline were something he had experienced both at home and school. This came from having an older sibling. Consequently, he often viewed seniors as figures of authority. It was not until he reached grade 12 that he realised that the power he thought the grade 12s possessed was not quite what he had imagined.

41

Samuel viewed the power dynamics in a different light. He was a day boy, which means he did not stay at the hostel, and as a result, he knew some of his seniors from outside the school. He argued that this had its benefits as he would sometimes get out of certain tasks.

Samuel: "In Summer, grade 8's would be forced to run around the track in their jerseys and blazers as a punishment if the teachers complained about our behaviour. I had grade 12s from my area who would quickly pull me to the side and say I shouldn't go, or they would send me somewhere to waste time."

This brings to light the situated dynamics in these tasks, as it seemingly appears that favour sways according to whoever feels they have enough power to dictate what should be done to who. The danger in this lies in the potential for abuse of power, especially when considering the possible abuse which can be brought upon students. Kyle shared a story with me where a senior constantly picked on him and as a result, he had a hazing experience which he said left a scar on him.

The participants' experiences led me to ask how they navigated the experience of being grade 12s. Many participants shared sentiments of having understood the use of hazing for orientation purposes but being against the abuse of power, which it seems, was very common. Kyle stated that when he reached matric, he saw it as a chance to get his "vengeance". "It happened to me, so it must happen to others". This reflects a dangerous type of masculinity that views its trauma as something that should be passed down to others. Morrell, Jewkes and Lindergger (2012), writing about Hegemonic masculinities in South Africa, support my argument when they state that historically and institutionally, the ideal forms of masculinity for black and white men have included an acceptance of the use of violence to validate past experiences and shape those of others (20).

The use of peer group learning in these schools and the experiences shared by the participants of this study weren't all negative. Some gave expression to feeling appreciation for the bond they had created with their Grade 12s, for whom they would often have to polish shoes, carry sports bags and school bags and do other tasks. They viewed these relationships as akin to that shared with big brothers This was especially true for those who stayed in the hostel and who often received help with schoolwork or with gaining a better understanding of sports etc. Some Grade 12s even provided support for their grade 8s. Steve, who had a mixed experience, stated that through the negatives he experienced, he knew he didn't want to give the same treatment to his grade 8. Consequently, when he was in matric, he looked out for his grade 8 and never made him feel like a slave.

4.7 Black, white, and grey areas

This section seeks to examine the experiences of participants through the context of their racial and class positions. Hazing contains many sociocultural elements which mirror the society in which an institution exists. In this section, I will look at the elements of social class and race, which are elements that are unavoidable in institutions such as former Model C schools. These schools often

exist in a historical context that reflects an apartheid past, which is also reflected in the hazing practices and the students who often felt targeted and marginalised because of their race. This section will investigate instances of preferential treatment, the participators' experiences as compared to that of their classmates of other races, how they navigated these institutions and their overall experience of said institutions as young black men.

Steve stated that at his old school, the predominant demographic of the staff was white. The teachers had all been at the school (either as teachers or scholars) during the apartheid era.

Steve: "Staff members came from the old (schools name). As the black students, even though we were the majority, we always felt as though there were no places for "us".

Similar sentiments were shared by Earl as he stated, "There were more white figures at the school, this highlighted the culture at the school and I think it also showed the type of individuals the school's culture endorsed. Even through sports, I always felt there was a higher number of white students who the school supported through things like bursaries and awards because the school was trying to endorse a certain type of student."

In their article titled 'The effects of school context, structure and expressions on African American Males in the Middle and High school' by Davis and Jordan (1995) argue that Educational experiences often serve as antecedents to many of the social and economic ills students face later in life (570). Through the lack of authoritative black figures in Model C schools, I see a racial narrative being created through which black males are institutionalised into a culture of subordination to the authority of white figures. It is key to educational prosperity that students feel represented and understood within schools. In an American study titled 'Niggers no more' a critical race counternarrative on black male student achievement at predominantly White colleges and Universities (Harper, 2009), participants argued that their inability to integrate into campuses is because campuses are often so unlike their home environments (700).

Bradley, who had been a somewhat troublesome member of his High school, detailed his experience of being suspended and later expelled. In recalling the experience, he shared a sentimental story of how, upon returning to school after being suspended, part of his punishment required him to report to the school's secretary with detailed daily reports from teachers on his behaviour throughout the day. Bradley stated that it was through the relationship he had built with this secretary, a black female member of staff, that he had gained his sense of direction. He reported feeling that she had seen "the good side of him" which other staff members seemed to not see. As a direct consequence of feeling understood and "seen", Bradley felt compelled to work hard to make this member of staff proud.

Race is a major factor in the navigation of students in all-boys schools due to the historical traditions present within these institutions. Hazing practices are often passed down from generation to

generation and thus, the acts themselves may marginalise black students who may not have grown up around the same ideals upon which these practices centred. Although Bradley noted that much of what was expected of them as Grade 8s were general "boys being boys" antics, he shared sentiments that at his school, the demographic of students had been mostly black and as a result, black students would shy away from inflicting harsh hazing of white boys.

Kyle stated that at this school, there were two separate hostels which were seen by the students as one being the hostel for white students and the other for black students. Although this was not made clear in the school rules, there was a pervading feeling that admission to these hostels was often very selective.

Kyle: "I had a friend whom I had stayed with in the junior hostel (which was for grade 8s), he had applied for (the name of the senior hostel), he was later called in by the head of the hostel and asked if he was sure he wanted to go to this hostel as he would be the only white student at this hostel."

Although the "white" hostel had several black boys, it was predominantly white and was often seen as a hostel for the upper-class black students and student-athletes. This demonstrates a marginalisation of students that is especially evident in the calling in of Kyle's white friend who had wanted to go to the "black" hostel. These and other instances shared by participants are indicative of the racialisation of the spaces in these institutions.

Regarding sport, Carter shared sentiments of racialisation in selection as he argues that "there was often a sense of favouritism when it came to team selections. A lot of the boys had been selected due to attending junior school and having been in the squads since a young age. One could argue that they were picked as they were groomed from a young age. I always felt like, as black students, we had to work harder than our white classmates to get into teams."

Samuel "there was always a joke at my school, where spectators would jokingly say that certain individuals were picked into sports teams cause their parents had donated sports kits to the school. As much as this was a joke amongst students, it was always aimed at a certain demographic."

Although Samuel states that this was a joke, the fact that it targeted the white population in the school is evidence that the students felt as though white students were being "rewarded" for their parent's involvement at the school. Dynamics such as these make it possible for students to feel marginalised, by implying that the schools favour and cater to their white counterparts.

4.8 Conclusion

In my view, hazing is best understood when explained through individual experiences because, while it is most often inflicted on groups of students, hazing impacts each individual differently. Therefore, the perceptions of each participant were important. What was particularly fascinating was the ambivalent feelings felt by many students towards their respective institutions and how they spoke

about these environments and their experiences while attending them. It was clear that while the participants had viewed some of their experiences as positive, they remained critical of the abuse and marginalisation they had experienced. The mixed emotions evoked by some of the tougher questions I asked, helped a number of the participants become cognisant of the deeper underlying issues within some of their experiences. The danger inherent in these practices is that they often go unquestioned, and each individual seems to pass on the tradition without reflecting on why they did them and how they affected each student. It is in gaining an understanding through the reflections of my participants, that I have been able to identify the themes which I believe related perfectly with my research questions. Through this, I was able to engage and gain subjective insight, which I will examine in the analysis section.

CHAPTER 5

ANALYSIS

5.1 Introduction

There are many forms and practices within the scope of hazing that occurs at all-boys schools. These are interpreted differently by students as they become institutionalised within these schools and by the time they leave these institutions, students have become fully-fledged members who consequently replace most negative thoughts with a mentality that views the hazing as something they had endured and survived. Students often see this as part of their process through school and as something that has helped them become the men they are today. In this section, I will reflect on some of the findings from my research interviews and provide insight into how I interpreted the experiences and views shared by my participants. This will be supported by literature which I will use to anchor my interpretations and arguments.

Most of the literature on gender, referenced in this study presents evidence for post-structuralist and queer perspectives that posit gender identities as performances and practices (see Butler, 1990). These perspectives foreground the importance of gender as constantly in tension, always in the process of being formed and re-formed through what we do and how we do it in negotiation with others, thus co-constructed by boys and girls, men, and women. These arguments are important in understanding hazing practices, as hazing forms part of a heteronormative structure in 'doing' gender. Grade 8 boys are pressured into hazing activities by virtue of wanting to fit into masculine school groups and becoming "one of the boys". It is within this pressure that young boys consent to take part in hazing practices. Lau and Stevens explore how men rely on violence to disavow 'feminine' aspects of the self to maintain a socially accepted masculine identity. In arguments such as these, we can draw on the role violent hazing practices play in affirming the masculinity of young boys should they consent to take part in these practices. I will be using all these topics to analyse my research findings and answer my research questions.

It is a cause for concern that many of my participants downplayed their experiences by arguing that it wasn't a big deal, or they defended these practices claiming that it was their choice and rationalised it as something enjoyable. Some of the participants normalised hazing, referring to it as 'tradition' or something everyone went through as a "unit" or "team". They tended to recognise and expect such activities as part of the campus culture. Most of my participants resisted using labels such as 'hazing' or 'initiation' for these activities. They were seemingly unaware of the consequences and effects that the practices carried into their everyday lives and how these experiences impacted them and shaped them as individuals. They preferred to stand by the idea of having participated in these practices by

choice. As one participant explained: "We understood that this was what was expected of us and that it was the school's tradition. I think of it as fun and something one wants to do, then it shouldn't be considered as bad".

I believe that prior to these interviews, most participants had not engaged with and reflected critically on their experiences. It was evident that they were desensitised from their experiences and could rationalise their part in contributing to these practices once they had reached senior grades. Although their perceptions of their experiences are also valid and were indeed not all bad, I feel that it must be understood that there is a lack of awareness that became apparent to them as the interviews continued. This is not to say that participants had not been aware of the dangers related to some of these practices but rather that they had focused on the outcomes which they viewed as the successful integration of new members into these learning institutions, which in most cases they achieved. During the interviews, I came to understand that hazing is more goal-orientated than it is orientated around the individual experiences of grade 8's. These goals are viewed from a perspective that relates to the institutional cultures of a school, the pressure from staff and teachers and the pressure which stemmed from the students themselves.

5.2 Contextualising masculinity through race

Rob Pattman and Deevia Bhana (2010), in their report on an interview study on black and Indian boys at a formerly white elitist boys' high school near Durban, show how the doing of masculinity in this context is powerfully raced and gendered. The authors argue that these boys' accounts of their experiences of schooling, specifically as played out through sport, were in sharp contrast to the school´s presentation of itself as a multi-cultural boys school promoting positive 'race relations' and forms of respect. The study confirms the existence of continued divisions and identifications along the lines of gender and race at this school, and the experience of racialised marginalisation of black and Indian boys across the historical apartheid divides that privilege white boys and that are played out through sexual, gender and racial discourses. Pattman and Bhana are relevant to my study due to the institutional cultures experienced by the black men in my study. The participants in my study spoke about the institutional exclusion they experienced. Carter captures this when he speaks about the racial disconnect in which he felt pressured to behave in a manner he viewed as "white". This speaks to the pressure that the boys felt due to the history and culture of the school, which, in my opinion, contributes directly to the voluntary participation in these practices. Cohn and Zeichner (2006), who report on the effects of masculine identity and gender role stress on aggression in men, posit that men feel a compelling pressure to uphold gender role norms and expectations which results in cognitive distress and emotional conflict, referred to as gender role stress. This is also due to the masculine hierarchy that exists in these schools. Boys aspire to join the ranks that are celebrated within the system they are in, in order to attain what they see as the hegemonic form of masculinity present. Morrel et al. (2013) argue that hegemony is likely to be established only if there

47

is some correspondence between collective cultural ideals and institutional power (Morrel et al.,2013;3). Gender patterns also exist as social collectives such as armies and bureaucracies, as well as informal groups such as friendships, families, and networks (Connell, 2007). Connell describes this as the 'collective reality of gender' and explains that this sense of belonging to a particular group is an important reason why aspiring members of these collectives may agree to participate in hazing practices. Hazing is also related to race in so far as race is related to culture. Therefore, the institutional culture of a school directly determines the prevalence of hazing in said institution. The societies in which these schools operate also contribute to how hazing is perceived.

Stoudt (2001), writing on School Violence, Peer Discipline, and the (Re)Production of Hegemonic Masculinity, argues that Schools are just one institution, although a primary one, within a larger culture that systematically perpetuates the unbalanced stratification of race, class, and gender. Schools are sites that implicitly and explicitly teach and reinforce hegemonic values, and in so doing, facilitate the reproduction of the cultural advantages afforded to economically privileged white males. I believe it is important to consider the subtle institutional replication of group or class injustice, as well as its mistakenly perceived legitimacy and normalcy and its systems of symbolic violence, as part of an understated institutional culture that is perpetuated through the school's system. This holds true even in schools where the majority of students are now black.

In institutions staffed by teachers who taught during the apartheid era (for example, in the school Steven attended) or where there is a lack of representation, such as the one Bradley attended. It is important to interrogate why this status quo continues to exist. In a country and in communities that are mostly black, why is there still a lack of black staff members? I postulate that this is an intentional strategy aimed at upholding the institutional culture of schools that were created during the apartheid regime. Its purpose is to continue to systematically alienate black students and to force them to assimilate and uphold the school's "white" standards. Consequently, black students continue to be racially oppressed through rules that enforce specific criteria for hairstyling or through underhand discriminatory statements where black students have been told that "this is not a township school".

There are certain social determinants that play a part in how a male perceives himself and his masculinity, which could contribute to the rejection of the masculinity produced in the boy's high school he attends. His life experiences play an important role in determining his standing within a social setting such as a boys high school. For example, if a young black boy moves to a school where the culture alienates him based purely on his race and he feels rejected by the social setting because of his race, he might not feel the pressure to conform to masculine ideals produced in the school. This may be an important consideration because the idea of hegemonic masculinity gives rise to the assumption that there is a certain masculinity idealised by all men. The preceding example brings into question the truth of this assumption. Connell (2003), writing on masculinities, change and conflict in the global society, argues that the issue of the situational specificity of masculinities (and perhaps gendered practice in general) needs close attention. Discursive studies suggest that

men make situationally specific choices from a cultural repertoire of masculine behaviour" Connell,2003;6). This then points to the disconnect which could be present in many of the boys high schools in South Africa. As a result of the changing socio-cultural context of South Africa, there are disparate realities at play and the process of hazing could affect the boys and their masculinities in different ways. Most of the participants broke down how they viewed masculinity into three areas: what it means to be a man, what it means to be a black man, and the development of masculinity. Even though hazing processes differ from school to school, there is an implication that these differences may be the result of different cultural or historical realities upon which the school is built. For instance, if the school has made no effort to integrate the ideals of different cultures into the culture of the school, then an exploration of emergent masculinities and issues of violence should throw light on central questions about power. Power dynamics must be analysed and understood within a school's setting as it is within these dynamics that the learning experience resides. The impact of the overall experience of a learner at a learning institution is just as important as the school curriculum as they affect the student equally. If the learning environment is not positive and it results in students feeling rejected, then the reality is that this might cause students to rebel or possibly even strike, as we've seen in recent times.

In the Eastern Cape, the Xhosa rite of passage which is referred to as uLwaluko is a sacred rite practised by the Xhosa (see Gwata, 2009). It is a socially significant act that results in a boy's integration into the community and gains him acceptance and respect from other community members. uLwaluko is, therefore, a ritual that not only marks a boy's transition to manhood but also affords him legitimate membership in the tribal community (Gwata,2009; 8). As such, traditional male circumcision entails a change in status and the creation of a new identity. This rite of passage, although not directly comparable to hazing practices in all-boys schools in the Eastern Cape, is a contributing factor to the desensitisation which I see being enjoyed by hazing. As a result of the culture of uLwaluko, black students are familiar with traditional ideas of masculinity which foster a narrative around 'toughness' and surviving hardships. This is supported by Favero et al. (2015), who write on hazing in Universities in Portugal, that when hazing is conducted among men, it is often considered a test of their strength, courage, and determination. Severe physical hazing and tests where they must withstand pain, humiliation, or excessive alcohol consumption are justified by "commitment theory" which purports that these challenges must be overcome in the pursuit of the most-worthy elements to "earn" integration into the group (1833). The ideals shared through uLwaluko bear similarities to those created through hazing at all-boys schools. This points to the influence heteronormative standards exert on participants and provides an explanation for why students take part in these practices.

5.3 The reproduction of violent masculinities

The complex enmeshment of violence with masculinity has been theorised in multiple ways, with many studies illustrating how hegemonic forms of masculinity serve to facilitate, encourage, and legitimise violent practices by men towards other men. The role of violence in the social construction of masculinity and how violence is interwoven with dominant ways of being a boy and a man is a source of much discourse. Addis, Mansfield and Syzdek (2010), writing on the effects of Gendered social learning in men in the U.S, argue that gendered social learning does not teach men "to be dominant" or "to be homophobic" but rather that men (and women) learn to enact gendered repertoires of behaviour to achieve particular social means and ends. Within this argument lies the complexity which is at the heart of hazing practices at all-boys schools. Students do not enter these institutions with ideals that promote enduring these practices and later enforcing them on juniors; rather, students learn these behaviours and are institutionalised through a gendered narrative that exists to teach boys "how to be boys". In this manner, from a young age, boys are groomed to be desensitised to these experiences. For this reason, uLwaluko is relevant to this study. I believe that even though uLwaluko serves many purposes, there is a narrative produced around this rite of passage that teaches young boys and men that they must endure pain and suffering to be recognised as men. Consequently, in the Eastern Cape, boys idealise masculine practices which "prepare" them for a greater task which is ahead, which is ukoluka. This ought not to be misconstrued as an argument that uLwaluko serves no purpose outside of a gendered practice where young men are taught to endure pain, but rather that there are harmful narratives that desensitise, young boys and men, to abuse and violations all in the name of being a "man". Renold (2001), writing on hegemonic masculinity and the negotiation of learner identities in Wales, supports this argument as she argues that local hegemonic masculinities are constructed through face-to-face interactions with families and the immediate communities where hegemonic ideals are shared and reinforced through societal norms, practices, and cultures. The pressure that is exerted by fellow students who are going through the same hardships gives the impression these violent practices are perfectly acceptable. From the interviews I understood that students seek validation from classmates. They do not want to be seen as lesser members of these institutions, so they abide by the instructions given to them by their seniors. This indicates that the validation given to members who take part in hazing practices is layered in that goes beyond the desire to be a member of the institution and reflects the need to be seen as 'tough' by their peers, and the desire not to be seen as deviant by staff members and teachers.

Institutional culture is of importance when dealing with issues of hazing and may well explain why until recently, some schools have failed to acknowledge and change these practices. As a result, the societal consequences of hazing are still felt today. Victims of hazing may become violent in response to how the hazing made them feel and how it has placed them in a particular status level within the group. Holman (2004:58 as cited by Crow & Macintosh; 2006: 436), writing in an American

context, asserts that athletic leaders, the majority of whom are male, are reluctant to encourage change because they are ''products of a system that subjected them to hazing and had them haze others''. The perpetrator is thus created and not born. Perpetrators themselves have undergone hazing practices, and through the experience, have come to feel a sense of affiliation with the group, a connection with those who had passed through the same system. They have almost invariably witnessed others being hazed and, in many cases, will have eagerly anticipated an opportunity to haze others. These young men have come to believe that the hazing process is a positive one and that, as such, it is a tradition they feel compelled to pass on. Seniors in these all-boys schools often believe that their experiences have served them well in achieving a sense of affiliation with the group and that, therefore the traditions should be passed on. They believe that it is their duty to haze and possibly, that there is an expectation on the part of authority figures or peers that they will take their turn. They further believe that hazing is a test that should be passed by those worthy of the status of the group. In my view, this passing down of hazing practices is an act of revenge. Scientific evidence, mainly in studies with Filipino children and adolescents (e.g., Maxwell & Maxwell, 2003), demonstrates that victims of violence display a greater probability of becoming more aggressive and exhibiting violent behaviour in the future.

5.4 Passing down the tradition

It is predicted that being a victim of hazing results in a greater probability of committing acts of violence in the role of senior. By the time they become seniors, juniors who endured hazing feel entitled to haze as they were hazed. The opportunity to inflict hazing on others is cherished as something that is owed to them and is anticipated eagerly as students progress through their schooling years. Nuwer (2000) argues that subconsciously the perpetrator feels compelled to haze as the loss of dignity which he experienced when he was hazed can only be regained when he subjects another to hazing; this restores to him a "wholeness" of which he was previously stripped. Many victims turned perpetrators also believe that they are the custodian of a tradition and therefore bear a responsibility to pass down the tradition. They feel that as leaders, they cannot be responsible for a break in tradition.

Frequently, these feelings of ownership by seniors are what leads to them making the hazing practices more extreme. My participants shared the sentiments that seniors had meted out exaggerated, harsher hazing practices to make their experiences worse than those of their seniors. Hazing practices are dictated and controlled by students; it is they themselves who largely dictate the practices and how they are inflicted. This is arguably a result of the peer education used in all-boys schools. Students rely on each other to lead and aid when needed. It is part of the school culture for juniors to respect and follow the commands of the seniors. This is evident from the diverse acts they are expected to carry out or even in the way the participants spoke about their seniors in the interviews. The hierarchy is maintained through the school's culture, which rewards loyalty

(seniority) through privileges given to students; Renold (2007), writing on heterosexuality in primary school boys in Wales, argues that power and status are vital to the production of one's masculinity from a young age. She contends that within a school setting, young boys position themselves in ways that will help them gain approval from their friends. Accordingly, it is my contention that 'hazing' practices are ideal ground for studying how domination shapes the experiences and perceptions of masculinities of young men since, in the school setting, hazing traditions and practices have become an expression of hegemonic masculinity. Furthermore, one must take into consideration the idea of that power and subordination may vary from one culture to another. Favero et al. (2015) mention that hierarchical groups use severe initiation rituals to exhibit their position of control. Additionally, they point out that the main purpose of hazing is to create dependence among members of the group, based on the premise that individuals who are subjected to negative experiences together ultimately identify with the aggressors. All these distinctions influence how power is assumed and how one might succumb to pressures.

Johnson and Holman (2009), who write on the link between hazing and gender in the USA argue that traditional male sports subcultures tend to place considerable pressure on participants to conform to masculinist values and beliefs. Hazing is one of the processes through which this is achieved. Yeung, Stombler and Wharton (2006), writing on the experience of homosexual men in American Fraternities argue that College fraternities construct their brotherhood through rituals, secrecy, and, most importantly, an ideology that adopts a familial metaphor by emphasising brothers' lifelong commitment to one another. This suggests that, besides the process of hazing, there is a bond produced by the mere fact that these boys have undergone this process together and that through this, they share a brotherhood to which they attach their manhood. This is an underlying concept within the concept of assimilation and gender production. and students who undergo hazing view it as a defining experience of their lives. They continue to view this brotherhood as a significant part of their lives many years after attending these institutions.

The production of masculinity through hazing processes is a result of various structures, some of which have already been discussed, that lead to institutionalisation that impacts students. The intention of these processes may be to strip these young men of their identities and bring them towards a new identity that is centred on the acceptance of their "brothers". This may also give rise to a "hypermasculine" identity as suggested by authors such as Connell, Ratele and Morell. In this instance, "hypermasculinity" is produced as a tool of enacting gender amongst the participants of these practices towards society. The outcome is that students and former students of all-boys present themselves as hypermasculine males. This argument is supported by Yeung, Stombler and Wharton (2006) when they state that American researchers have found that fraternities on American Campuses produce a particular type of men through the construction of "hegemonic masculinity", a set of gender practices valorising men over women and reinforcing patriarchal legitimacy (6).

5.5 Conclusion

If anything, this study has shown that hazing is an outcome of gender practices that reflect cultural, societal, and institutional gender reproduction. Violent measures are allowed to continue and are normalised through the idea of group integration. When it comes to hazing, voluntary participation is merely theoretical, given the employment of persuasion and manipulation mechanisms that pressure students to participate and not abandon school traditions. It is the institutional culture itself that enables and allows for these practices to continue unabated. For this reason, I believe that it is the responsibility of the institution to not tolerate, condone or turn a blind eye to hazing. There is a huge gap between the codes of conduct and the actual behaviour that occurs in South African learning institutions. This has been made evident by the experiences shared by the participants of my study. Societies must be held accountable too. The heteronormativity which is reflected in the pressures on students to conform and assimilate into all-boy school culture, is a by-product of what is viewed as appropriate behaviour for young men. These harmful school traditions need to be questioned and schools must move away from these traditions. If not for the danger these practices pose to students, then for the impact hazing has on individuals even after they have left these institutions.

CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION

6.1 Introduction

This chapter seeks to engage with the Findings and Analysis chapters to tell us about how young men who have attended all-boys ex-model C Schools in the Eastern Cape talk about 'hazing' in their schools, and what this tells us about their understanding and experiences of masculinities and cultural heteronormativity. In my study so far, I have noted various factors that emerged from the experiences shared by my participants. There is overwhelming evidence in this research of an institutional culture at all-boys schools that normalises and promotes a certain type of masculinity. This masculinity is a kind of masculinity shaped by ideals of brotherhood, toughness, enduring pain and being of service to those around you. There is a burden enshrined in the uniform students wear that I believe places a weight on the students' shoulders. This weight is one of a new masculine identity that reflects the "white" traditions instilled and passed down at these all-boys schools and a culture of heteronormativity that is deep-rooted in the day-to-day experience of these students.

Morrel 2001, in his article about the relationship between corporal punishment in South African schools and masculinity, argues that during Apartheid, schools were critical in disseminating ideals of masculinity within white settler society and were, in this way, central in constructing society-wide hegemonic masculinity. He argues that schools provided conditions in which violent masculinities were constructed and enacted. It is noted that variations in disciplinary regimes are linked to specific gender relations and identities that emerge in schools. For example, aggressive and violent masculinities are most likely to arise in schools with harsh and authoritarian school disciplinary systems. Harber (2004) argues that South African schools have traditionally been authoritarian institutions that stress obedience, conformity and passing. In my study, I have noted various factors that I feel are similar to those argued by Morrel, which are linked to my participants' experiences. In my Analysis chapter, I argued that schools are but one, albeit primary, institution within a larger culture that systematically perpetuates the unbalanced stratification of race, class and gender. Furthermore, I contend that schools are sites that implicitly and explicitly teach and reinforce hegemonic values and, in doing so, help reproduce the cultural advantages given to economically privileged white males. The similarity in arguments in the case of my study and that of Morrel (2001) is largely due to the fact that both Morrell and I view school as a key role player in the reproduction of a certain type of hegemonic masculinity. The danger is that although Morrel writes on corporal punishment and I on hazing, it seems as if the violent nature of these issues has remained unchanged. Schools are still at the centre of unchanged violent practices, which reflect normalised

54

violence that stems from Apartheid. It seems as if the cycle brazenly goes unchallenged and as a result, the issue of violent practices within schools continues.

Poynting and Donaldson (2005), who write on hegemonic masculinity in ruling-class boys boarding schools, share various reports from Australian newspapers and magazines on a court case where two students had raped and sexually assaulted over 30 of their fellow hostel-mates. In this study, there are two similarities shared with my own study, namely the normalisation of these "traditions" where senior students violate students and how students often knew about these vicious assaults but never spoke out and sometimes even cheered on as these things happened. This shows a common trend within all-boys schools and the kind of masculinity produced within these institutions worldwide. This also speaks to the solidarity that functions under the guise of brotherhood, which often makes students feel pressured to conform to the pressures in these schools and normalise the toxic behaviours and traditions that become engraved in the masculine identity of students who attend them. Poynting and Donaldson argue that "these are often very prestigious schools whose traditions are rarely checked due to their success in academics and sports" (237). However, the very success these schools are hailed for comes at a cost that is creating competitive, physically aggressive, abusive masculinities, which organises itself into a hierarchy that dominates those who are seen as at the bottom of the hierarchy. This hierarchy also functions as a motivating factor where boys work hard to reach the top of this hierarchy. This kind of masculinity is also strengthened by the absence of women in these institutions and the hiring of former students (old boys) who attended the same school or similar schools so that they are aware and reflect the type of masculinity the school wishes to create.

The participants of my study shared their views and experiences as black men who occupied white-dominated spaces. In this context, "white-dominated spaces" isn't just a reflection of it being mostly populated by white people but rather it being dominated by white traditions, white authority figures and white institutional culture. It is bewildering that spaces can be dominated by black bodies but still owned and dictated to this extent by whiteness. Carter captures this in the findings section when he speaks about the racial disconnect in which he felt pressured to behave in a manner he viewed as "white". Connell (2005) argues that masculinities are constructed through social pressure, cultural norms, and institutional formation of the perceptions of masculinity and "what it means to be a man." Therefore, there are dominant traits that are idealised and believed to be indicative of the ideal male. Tshikila (2019), writing on the experiences of black male rugby players in Model C schools, argues that these students change their behaviour in order to gain power and influence within this environment. They use their double consciousness to negotiate power in an environment that seeks to subjugate them (56). This double consciousness argued by Tshikila reflects an internal battle between the identity of students within these former Model C schools as they find a way to navigate their experiences in spaces where they feel they are often unwelcome but still pressured to conform as to make their experiences better.

Sheriff (2005), writing on peer-group cultures and social identity in the United Kingdom, uses the social identity theory to analyse the social reproduction of masculinities in peer groups amongst adolescent and teenage boys. Social identity theory is fundamentally a theory of social categorisation whereby the importance of social group membership to an individual's self-concept is explicitly acknowledged. "The fundamental idea is that group memberships (for example gender, nationality, sports team and so on) are repressed in our minds as social identities and help to describe and prescribed our behaviour in a given social context." (Sheriff, 2005;50). Given that most individuals belong to multiple social groupings, in STI the self is conceptualised as a collection of social identities. This collection of social identities can be seen as what Tshikila (2019), argued to be a "double consciousness". Although the social identity theory has been criticised for its lack of consideration when it comes to the autonomy and humans, have in making decisions and navigating experiences. I feel as though it best applies to the experiences shared by the participants of my study as they struggled to navigate the pressures they felt to conform in "white" spaces as black men. Thus, hazing presents itself in boys' schools as both a cultural and power phenomenon (Morrell, 1998), recognising it as such points to a more nuanced understanding of the practice and it also helps us understand the conflict of social identities (or double consciousness) where these young men feel as though they must exhibit different identities to be accepted by their peers in these institutions.

Francis (2021), in his work titled "Queering the (ab) normalisation of gender, (hetero)sexuality and schooling in SA" argues that the representation of the "us" and "them" binary remains pervasive and an inescapable legacy of apartheid. Thus, the hegemonic "host" culture (whites) is viewed as the norm and the incoming others (blacks) are inextricably linked with deviance and the need for civilising and change. This argument highlights the historical nature of the discrimination, which is common in all-boys schools. Blacks are often marginalised as an indictment of their race. It is due to issues such as these that boys often take part in different activities which the school offers (sports and other extramural activities). Many see these as a way to participate in the school and help create an identity for themselves, which helps them form a relationship with their peers and other school members. Some boys even go as far as agreeing to be hazed and hazing others because they view this as part of being a part of the school. They don't realise that they will always be marginalised by virtue of their race and perceived social class. McClendon (1990) provides a useful example of how 'black' men have been compliant in gender oppression whilst simultaneously enforcing their own racial subordination in South Africa. This example highlights the double-edged sword that is the reality of most black men, especially within the context of hazing in all-boys schools. They haze young black students so they themselves can be seen as fully-fledged members of the school or sports team, not knowing that they themselves are oppressing themselves by virtue of enforcing a system that seeks to oppress their blackness.

The fact that hazing is also deeply entangled with passed-down traditions and school culture means that it is difficult for those who perpetuate it, either as perpetrators or victims, to problematise it. Holman (2004:58 as cited by Crow and Macintosh; 2006:436), writing in an American context, asserts that athlete leaders, the majority of whom are male, are reluctant to encourage change because they are "products of a system that subjected them to hazing and had them haze others". This leads me to posit that there is an element of masculinity that creates an environment for men to normalise these behaviours. Victims themselves view it as part of what it takes to become members of the group and thus, due to their existing views of manhood endure these practices. It is ideals such as "being tough" or "competitiveness" (the idea that if they can't endure a certain type of pain that someone else endured then they are weak), that exist in society, even outside of the school grounds, that enable these traditions to be normalized and passed on. I am of the view that if ideals such as the way that people view manhood do not change, then hazing practices and other violent manhood practices will never end because they are attached to how people think men should be. Nuwer (2000) argues that the perpetrator feels a subconscious need to haze because he believes that the loss of dignity that he experienced through being hazed, can only be regained when he subjects others to hazing. This is a patriarchal ideal, as the victim turned perpetrator sees a need to regain their patriarchal power. During the experiences of hazing, students see themselves as being at the bottom of the hierarchy. Their goal then becomes to climb to the top of the hierarchy. Part of this is also instilled through the competitiveness which is often endorsed through sports and sometimes academics at all-boys schools.

My argument is that students often find themselves enduring pain, shame, and humiliation, all in the name of being accepted members of these institutions. Rarely is any consideration given to how this affects them as men within society and how they are often changed by these practices. Although the participants of my study have argued that hazing practices in their respective institutions have become less harmful, I am left with two questions: one, has hazing lost its fundamental purpose over generations? And two, does the psychological trauma caused get passed down through social reproduction even outside of the school? If schools want to bring an end to these harmful practices, they must understand what purpose they serve, the damage they have caused to past and present students, and how this damage can be eradicated.

6.2 Conclusion

In his work on constructing hegemonic masculinities in South Africa, Luyt (2012) argues that there is little consideration given to the micro-level processes that operate in men's negotiation of identity in relation to hegemonic masculinity. Moreover, he argues that there is a limited reflection on how these processes may result in an identity that is complicit and contradictory. It is through understanding the basis of this criticism by Luyt (2021) that this study aimed to dig deep to understand the societal, structural, and institutional framework which led to black students conforming to hazing practices and thus conforming to hegemonic ideals in relation to masculinity. This research undertook to understand all aspects and factors around hazing and the masculine reproduction of hegemonic masculinity in all-boys schools. This study discusses how young black men felt marginalised by virtue of being black in what they felt like was "white spaces". They felt that partaking in hazing practices would allow them to integrate into these institutions and bond with their peers. Although students weren't forced to partake in hazing practices, the pressure they frequently felt manifested in them becoming victims of violence and, in the majority of them, later becoming perpetrators of violence. This indicates a form of complicit masculinity in which marginalised groups began to conform in hopes of being accepted or being perceived as fully-fledged members of these institutions. It is this complicity that kept these students marginalised within the institution as they progressed through it. Hazing is not the be-all and end-all of the masculine reproduction within these schools, layers of tradition, and intuitional institutional culture that affect young black men for years.

The lack of black staff and thus authoritative figures at the school represents a struggle that is representative of SA's apartheid past. The demographic of staff leaves black students without authorative figures with whom they are comfortable and can identify. It is a struggle on its own for students to adjust to these "white" spaces, but the lack of authoritative black figures who are not students leaves them vulnerable as they feel completely alienated. By the time these students become seniors they are largely institutionalized and thus have become desensitized to racial, structural and hierarchical issues. The existing culture of silence further exacerbates the marginalization that students experience in these schools.

In conclusion, gender is socially constructed using several socialisation tools. In the case of boys who attend all-boys schools, hazing is one such socialisation tool. Hazing is a multifaceted tool as it plays a role in various aspects of all-boys schooling. It is often an integration tool; it creates and structures the hierarchy, it forms part of its discipline, it acts as a carrier of tradition, and it also acts as a tool to shape and reproduce a hegemonic type of masculinity.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

7.1 Introduction

The main aim of this study was to understand how black men who attended all-boys ex-model C schools in the Eastern Cape understand and talk about their hazing experiences while attending these schools. Furthermore, it aims to explain what this understanding tells us about cultural heteronormativity and masculinities in SA. This paper contributes to the field of Masculinity in this specific context by contributing to a deeper understanding of hazing at the school level in a South African context. Hegemonic masculinity explains the dominance of ideal masculinity and how men are "supposed" to act. Such practices are closely linked to Hegemonic ideals around masculinity, including aggression in men, strength, and displays of hyper-masculinity. Connell (2005) argues that sex segregation naturally reinforces masculinity via three characteristics: men are not feminine, men are heterosexual, and men are physically aggressive. This study argues that the combination of these hegemonic ideals and attending a single-sex school, is what makes males who are new members to these schools more susceptible to the pressures of taking part in hazing practices. This study also contends that these behaviours are toxic to educational settings and detrimental to the cohesion of team-oriented groups. They create an environment of fear and hostility, in addition to fostering unbalanced scales of peer-to-peer "authority" and control.

These activities, identified by the participants in my study, included physical punching, slapping, verbal abuse, kicking or beating. Mikell (2014) argues that intense initiations may coerce the devotion of newer members to the team, but that hazing actually creates tension between teammates and initiates, leading to counterproductive behaviour. However, as with any peer pressure situation, the respondents in my study stated that they were unlikely to speak up about their hazing experiences for various reasons. These include feeling intimidated by their seniors and, sometimes, a fear of being silenced by school staff and coaches. Moreover, hazing may be perceived as the norm and an unchallenged tradition, causing students to feel pressured into taking part. Finally, new members may believe that the unity and cohesion that result from the hazing is necessary to create the bond and "brotherhood" which is often attached to the ideology of these institutions.

Hazing in sports is often hard to address because it is frequently overlooked by coaches. Teachers and coaches, many of whom are products of similar hazing initiations, may let the behaviour continue because they believe it fosters team unity. Participants also stated that these members of staff may be completely aware of the behaviour but have little concrete proof on which to act. Nuwer (2000) argues that either way, coaching stances on hazing among teammates fall somewhere on the

spectrum of strict prohibition of the behaviour and an attitude of "boys will be boys" (Nuwer, 2000). While the members may identify the behaviours as "Unity building", this study argues that hazing is often prevalent in these schools due to the institutional culture present in them. There is a set of shared cultural values from which hazing rituals stem; therein lies the reason new members are expected to endure such rituals. These rites of passage essentially form the foundation to create some sort of trauma bond within its members. Interestingly, the participants of this study believe that hazing of any sort does not benefit the group, yet the hazing cycle continues as a cultural norm.

It is no secret that many of these all-boys schools are heterocentric and non-conforming to anything outside of what they see as "tradition," thereby creating hostile environments for new members. However, when marginal men, such as those who identify as homosexual, black men or men that belong to a lower class, are accepted into these all-boys schools, they often embrace hegemonic masculinity and the self-same systematic standards that seek to marginalise them. Participants of this study argued that the "marginal" students must adopt behaviours and attitudes that serve to neutralise their status. It is noteworthy to mention that not all men will accept the heterosexual male culture and conform to these hazing practices. In fact, some will completely repudiate the ideals. However, this often leads to exclusion from the group, additional and more severe abuse. This study discusses how young black men felt marginalised by virtue of being black in what they perceived as "white spaces". They felt that participating in hazing practices would enable them to integrate into these institutions and bond with their peers. Although students weren't forced to partake in hazing practices, the pressure often experienced by students manifested in them becoming victims of violence and, for most, later becoming perpetrators of violence themselves. Regarding the experiences that shape manhood, social reproduction plays an important role in how men view masculinity and manhood. This is in line with the fact that masculinity is formed through notions of built-in social and cultural factors. As a result of this, hazing alone cannot be taken as a defining factor and it is important to consider other factors such as race and class.

The main conclusions made in this study argue that hazing is usually depicted as deviant behaviour, but it would appear to be a norm. Moreover, its core purpose is seen as being the progression from a newcomer to a group member. A lack of structure or meaning often leads to its misuse and the facilitation of outrageous events. This is also often the result of a lack of adult supervision and/or teacher involvement. In addition, the present research suggests that respondents will often fail to initially identify hazing behaviour, but upon further questioning, they will identify specific types of behaviours as hazing. In high schools and sports teams, hazing seems to be used as a tool to integrate new members into their new institutional world. Scandals including violence, sexual abuse, and alcohol abuse, could be a symptom of something deeper from the environment and societies in which these schools exist. It is clear from the research I have conducted and the literature supporting this research that the hazing practices committed at boys' high schools are linked to a culture that is produced within the schools. It is this systematic influence that allows these practices to be seen as

acceptable by students. The societal pressures for young men to be seen as part of a male group which is explained by Ratele (2008), as being a result of the performative nature of gender, are also an underlying factor. This performance can be seen as a link between the hazing practices and the masculine traits attached to them. The hazing practices seem to be a way for young men to be groomed to be what is projected as the type of man the institution wishes to produce. Hazing practices can be very dangerous and have resulted in numerous injuries and even deaths. The psychological effects that persist after one has undergone hazing seem to be long-lasting, as they affect how participants view the world. The unity and brotherhood produced within these institutions hold these practices together and foster the inclination to continue to behave in the manner students that they taught at their former high schools. If indeed schools wish to break this culture and produce a new way of thinking, the change will need to be supported by the numerous alma mater systems which schools have in place.

These practices were said to be viewed as a means by which to instil discipline in "faggots" and "skunks". It was understood that new boys had to lose their perception of themselves as the "big boys" in primary school. To fully assimilate into the new school, they had to lose this notion and be willing to work to gain a new status. One of the participants shared a story that related how he had attended a welcoming assembly with only the school's prefects present, and these prefects had taken him to the back of the hall where they hurled insults at him. "They just started swearing at me and saying all kinds of things; some of them even said they had slept with my sister, but I knew it wasn't true and that they were just trying to take my ego away". The participant had a sister that was doing matric at the sister school, and they had seen this as a way to let him know that he was not going to be protected.

The participants generally shared the sentiment that the hazing was a test to reveal the weak links in the group of new boys and spoke about how they would try their best to maintain their composure and comply without showing any weakness. My argument is that this idea of weakness is the result of the traditional idea of a masculine male. This version of masculine male being the type of men who the hazing practices were trying to produce. The weakest boys were targeted and put through further tests in which the perpetrators would continue picking on them. Participants shared different stories about the punishments that were handed to boys who did not comply with the instructions they were given. It appears that a failure to complete an instruction was seen as a sign of insubordination and thus a failure to fall in line. These instructions were usually handed to the group as a whole, but individuals would be singled out if they failed to comply. In one such story, a boy was instructed to buy food from the tuckshop for one of the senior boys and to pay for it with his own money. When he did not return from the errand, he was instructed to return to the Amphitheatre at the second break, where he was forced to sing school songs. It appears that in these hazing practices, disobedience was seen as a failure to respect what the school stands for. This is drawn from the punishment, which might seem odd, but considering the type of songs that were sung, it

served as a clear reminder of what it means to be at the school. The pride and passion which is being drilled through the singing of these songs is a lesson in taking pride in your school and understanding what it means to be a part of the brotherhood. It is in this brotherhood where masculine ideas are shared and constructed through various other acts.

"Versions of masculinity are culturally and historically embedded and learnt through socialisation rather than determined by biology (Kimmel, 2000)" (as quoted from Huysammer and Lemmer, 2013). The idea of mentorship through a system of seniors and juniors is also linked to how masculine ideas are shared and how masculinity is a result of socialisation.) When asked if they saw individuals according to how they treated them, the participants took turns describing how they chose to view their seniors. The consensus was that the participants were more drawn into idolising their seniors according to how much they respected them, as opposed to the fear they had for them. They added that they would later take on traits akin to those of the seniors they respected. When asked if they eventually became and remained friends with their seniors, one of the participants said, "yeah, I had a senior who played in the first team, and we would go practice kicking (rugby ball); he was cool; we were like friends". This highlights the disconnect caused by an abuse of power. Participants generally agreed that they remained close throughout the year with seniors that treated them well and avoided the ones that abused them. This brings into question the efficacy of hazing as a tool for fostering unity.

The effectiveness of these practices, notwithstanding a culture of unity, is ensured through various ideals and deep-rooted in different activities such as sports, singing of school songs and other extramural actives. This can be seen as being relevant to the constant presence of these ideals of unity which are a tool of the shaping of the masculine self. Unity breeds assimilation as a member of a group strives to be the best and make his mark on the institution and his brothers. Participants highlighted how "loafers" (many different slang terms were used) were seen as contributing nothing to the school and essentially not part of the culture. They were non-members who contributed no real value and were usually viewed as having no desirable characteristics.

7.2 Future suggestions

In their study on doing interviews with adolescent boys, authors Frosh, Phoniex and Pattman (2002) note that "despite the stereotype of the grunting adolescent boy, what was striking about almost all the interviews was the engagement and fluency of the boys". My own experience of interviewing adolescent boys was similar. What was notable from my earliest interviews with some of the participants was their willingness and ability to engage in somewhat "sensitive" conversations regarding some of the issues related to masculinity and manhood. This is an indication that men in South Africa are willing to engage in conversations around the topics of gender, male violence, and other harmful issues affecting them. Male violence in all its different aspects is deeply rooted in societal failures to address and rectify harmful male ideals that enable and ratify violence. Hazing is

just one aspect of male violence, but it is a good example that demonstrates how violence is a systematic issue. The various themes present in this study expose how patriarchy manifests itself in different social systems. As a result of this, I would argue that more discussions and conversations need to be engaged in to address the extent of the harm caused by many of the masculine ideals

Schools are pivotal to any attempt society can make to redress issues of male violence in South Africa. The government and other government forces have failed to play a role in the reconstruction of South African society. They have instead enabled many of the violent practices that are present within society. The continuation of hazing, even in the present age, illustrates the failure to address harmful and violent school practices. I am of the view that the government and law enforcement should intervene by creating laws that address hazing and school violence. Once again, schools have a crucial role to play in bringing about positive change because more cases need to be dealt with legally instead of being kept as a school issue.

There is also a need for South African schools to develop educational programmes that educate students around issues of sexuality, gender, and other major societal issues. As Francis et al. (2019;26) argue "teaching and learning about gender and sexuality diversity is key to the creation of sustainable schooling environments across the region." This could help develop a set of adults for the next generation that are more educated in understanding themselves and the people around them better. These programs could be included in the Life Orientation syllabus and have program facilitators, that are trained to educate people on these matters, sent to schools to run these programs for short periods of time. I believe that having facilitators would help address issues around any anxiety that teachers may have in speaking with learners on these topics. This is noted by Francis (2017) in his book titled 'Troubling the Teaching and Learning of Gender and Sexuality Diversity in South African Education' in which he makes visible the challenges of teaching sexuality diversity in South African schools. Francis encourages policy makers, teachers, and scholars of sexualities and education to develop further questions and informed action to challenge heteronormativity and heterosexism. I firmly believe that with the use of trained facilitators, these programmes could be successful in teaching students important information that they might not have otherwise learnt. In a five-country study on gender and sexuality diversity and schooling in Southern Africa, Francis et al. (2019) offer a way to think about gender and sexuality and how these invoke discourses of power, difference, assimilation, inclusion in schools. Drawing on the insights provided from this article, I think it is important to highlight how heteronormativity is privileged and made compulsory in schools. Thus, I feel it important to engage in these debates around heteronormativity and schooling so that it may be possible to inform school reform and emancipatory change. By so doing, we disrupt the hierarchical structure that situates heterosexuality as the norm and challenge school traditions and practices that harm students.

Martinez (2021) reports on a case where eight students in the state of Virginia, USA, had been arrested in relation to a hazing death where a college student drank a bottle of Jack Daniels as part

of his induction into his college fraternity. Cases such as these, and many others in the U.S, show the seriousness with which hazing is being dealt. Although I could not find any reports or articles on deaths related to hazing in South Africa, there have been many well-publicised cases concerning school violence here in the country, the biggest of which is that of the UFS students in 2008. However, none of the cases I found were cases that were directly linked to hazing. This is not an indication that incidents that occur are not court-worthy but rather, that there is a disconnect somewhere in the system that leaves these very serious cases unattended to. In relation to this, the government and law enforcement need to create awareness about what hazing is and implement proper channels by means of which students can notify teachers, their parents or law enforcement should they be a victim of any violent and harmful forms of hazing.

In terms of academic literature, more work is required to address the socio-cultural factors that enable violent practices. Scholars are producing a lot of work on masculinity and heteronormativity. However, I am of the opinion that hazing remains a topic that is yet to be fully addressed. Future work should consider factors such as teacher placement and how harmful it is to have teachers in place who enable or overlook harmful acts done by students. There is a need for more research into issues around masculinities in schools. Factors such as parental involvement, sports, and societal ideals, need to be analysed and researched in an attempt to address male violence.

For future studies I would like to broaden my focus on the topic of hazing and male violence and examine other dimensions of the experiences of boys at ex-model C Schools. These include institutional cultures, systematic micro-aggressions, and discriminatory institutional policies into which young boys who attend all-boys schools in ex-model C Schools in South Africa are socialised. South Africa has a very violent past which is linked to the Apartheid regime. Literature shows that there is a clearly visible institutional heritage at the heart of the South African schooling system. I think that research on violence in the schooling system may offer insights on and contribute to a better understanding of the violence perpetuated daily by South African men and women. My interest in this matter stems from witnessing the crisis of violence in South Africa, most of which is perpetrated by men. I have a deep passion for issues regarding a South African understanding of masculinity and how the "masculine crisis" can be understood and addressed within South Africa. It is my hope that my future research can help broaden the existing understanding of South African issues around violence and gender. I am of the belief that understanding the complex social pressures and imperatives confronting young men as they struggle to establish masculine identities and perform masculinity contributes towards interventions that aim to empower young men to develop alternative forms of masculinity that are non-violent and non-abusive. Future studies need to work on proposing less risky versions of masculinity that are more life-affirming and that promote ethical citizenship for the benefit of society.

REFERENCES

Addis, M. E., Mansfield, A. K., & Syzdek, M. R. (2010). Is "masculinity" a problem?: Framing the effects of gendered social learning in men. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity*, *11*(2), 77.

Ahmed, R., Sayed, Y., & Soudien, C. (2007). Creating the rainbow nation? Citizenship and education in South Africa. In *Changing notions of citizenship education in contemporary nation-states* (pp. 119-135). Brill Sense.

American Sociological Association, 1997. American Sociological Association code of ethics. *Retrieved Sept*, *30*, p.2002.

Alvesson, M., & Billing, Y. D. (2009). *Understanding gender and organizations*. Sage.Venter, E., & Du Plessis, E. C. (2012). Bullying in schools-The educator's role. *Koers: Bulletin for Christian Scholarship= Koers: Bulletin vir Christelike Wetenskap*, *77*(1), 1-7.

Barker, G. and Ricardo, C., 2005. *Young men and the construction of masculinity in sub-Saharan Africa: Implications for HIV/AIDS, conflict, and violence* (p. 27). Washington, DC: World Bank.pea

Bhana, D., Morrell, R., & Pattman, R. (2009). Gender and education in developing contexts: Postcolonial reflections on Africa. In *International handbook of comparative education* (pp. 703-713). Springer, Dordrecht.

Bryman, A. and Bell, E., 2001. The nature of qualitative research. *Social research methods*, pp.365-399.

Clasen, P. R. (2001). The female athlete: Dualisms and paradox in practice. *Women and Language*, *24*(2), 36-42.

Christie, P., & McKinney, C. (2017). Decoloniality and" Model C" schools: Ethos, language and the protests of 2016. *Education as Change*, *21*(3), 1-21.

Cohn, A., & Zeichner, A. (2006). Effects of masculine identity and gender role stress on aggression in men. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity*, *7*(4), 179.

Connell, R. W. (2003). Masculinities, change, and conflict in global society: Thinking about the future of men's studies. *The Journal of Men's Studies*, *11*(3), 249-266.

Connell, R. W. (2005). Hegemonic masculinity: Rethinking the concept. Gender & Society,19(6), 829-859.

Connell, R.W. and Messerschmidt, J.W., 2005. Hegemonic masculinity: Rethinking the concept. *Gender & society*, *19*(6), pp.829-859.

Cross, M., & Carpentier, C. (2009). 'New students' in South African higher education: institutional culture, student performance and the challenge of democratisation. *Perspectives in Education*, *27*(1), 6-18.

Crow, R.B. and Macintosh, E.W., 2009. Conceptualizing a meaningful definition of hazing in sport. *European Sport Management Quarterly*, *9*(4), pp.433-451.

DePalma, R. and Atkinson, E., 2007. Exploring gender identity: Queering heteronormativity. *International Journal of Equity and Innovation in Early Childhood*, *5*(2), pp.64-82.

DePalma, R. and Francis, D.A., 2014. The gendered nature of South African teachers' discourse on sex education. *Health Education Research*, *29*(4), pp.624-632.

De Wet, C. (2014). The views of experts on hazing in South African schools: a media analysis. *Journal for Christian Scholarship= Tydskrif vir Christelike Wetenskap*, *50*(1_2), 149-172.

Everitt-Penhale, B., & Ratele, K. (2015). Rethinking 'traditional masculinity'as constructed, multiple, and≠ hegemonic masculinity. *South African Review of Sociology*, *46*(2), 4-22. Fakier, K. and Cock, J., 2009. A gendered analysis of the crisis of social reproduction in contemporary South Africa. *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, *11*(3), pp.353-371.

Fávero, M., Pinto, S., Ferreira, F., Machado, F., & Del Campo, A. (2018). Hazing violence: practices of domination and coercion in hazing in Portugal. *Journal of interpersonal violence*, *33*(11), 1830-1851.

Francis, D. A., Brown, A., McAllister, J., Mosime, S. T., Thani, G. T., Reygan, F., ... & Muller, M. (2019). A five country study of gender and sexuality diversity and schooling in Southern Africa. *Africa Education Review*, *16*(1), 19-39.

Francis, Dennis. 2016. "'I felt confused; I felt uncomfortable… my hair stood on ends': Understanding How Teachers Negotiate Comfort Zones, Learning Edges and Triggers in the Teaching of Sexuality Education in South Africa." *Global perspectives and key debates in sex and relationships education: Addressing issues of gender, sexuality, plurality and power*. Palgrave Pivot, London, 2016. 130-145.

Francis, D. (2021). Queering the (ab) normalization of gender, (hetero) sexuality and schooling in South Africa. *Journal of homosexuality*, *68*(10), 1571-1590.

Francis, DA. 2017. *TROUBLING the Teaching and Learning of Gender and Sexuality Diversity in South African Education*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Francis, Dennis A., and Kylie Kuhl. 2020. "Imagining a Curriculum beyond Compulsory Heterosexuality in South African Education." *Journal of LGBT Youth* 1–20. doi: 10.1080/19361653.2020.1844606.

Francis, DA. (2022) Queer Activism in South African Education: Disrupting Cis(hetero)normativity in Schools, London: *Routledge*

S Frosh, A Phoenix and R Pattman, 2002, Young Masculinities: Understanding boys in Contemporary Society, Palgrave publishers

Guest, G., MacQueen, K.M. and Namey, E.E., 2012. Introduction to applied thematic analysis. *Applied thematic analysis*, *3*, p.20. Jansen, J.D., 2009. *Knowledge in the blood: Confronting race and the apartheid past*. Stanford University Press.

Gwata, F. (2009). Traditional male circumcision: What is its socio-cultural significance among young Xhosa men?

Harber, C. (2004). *Schooling as violence: How schools harm pupils and societies*. Routledge.

Hoover, N. C., & Pollard, N. J. (2000). Initiation Rites in American High Schools: A National Survey. Final Report.

Huysamer, C., Lemmer, E M., (2013) Hazing in orientation programmes in boys-only secondary Schools, South African Journal of Education

Jansen, J. D. (2020). *Knowledge in the blood*. Stanford University Press.

Johnson, J. & Holman, M. (2009) Gender and Hazing, Journal of Physical Education, Recreation & Dance, 80:5, 6-9, DOI: 10.1080/07303084.2009.10598315

Keister, L.A. and Southgate, D.E., 2012. *Inequality: A contemporary approach to race, class, and gender*. Cambridge University Press.

Kroeber, A. L., & Kluckhohn, C. (1952). Culture: A critical review of concepts and definitions. *Papers. Peabody Museum of Archaeology & Ethnology, Harvard University*.

Lets' opha, M. M., & Jacobs, L. (2017). "He doesn't like it, but I do it anyway": listening to the voices of learners who bully others. *Acta Criminologica: African Journal of Criminology & Victimology*, *30*(3), 87-102.

Langa, M. (2012). *Becoming a man: Exploring multiple voices of masculinity amongst a group of young adolescent boys in Alexandra Township, South Africa* (Doctoral dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand, Faculty of Humanities).

Luyt, R. (2012). Representation of masculinities and race in South African television advertising: A content analysis. *Journal of Gender Studies*, *21*(1), 35-60.

Malaby, M. (2009). Public and secret agents: personal power and reflective agency in male memories of childhood violence and bullying. *Gender and Education*, *21*(4), 371-386Maxwell, C. D., & Maxwell, S. R. (2003). Experiencing and witnessing familial aggression and their relationship to

physically aggressive behaviors among Filipino adolescents. *Journal of Interpersonal violence*, *18*(12), 1432-1451.

McWilliams S J (2006) The Brotherhood of Man(liness), Perspectives on Political Science

Messerschmidt, J. W. (2000). Becoming "real men" adolescent masculinity challenges and sexual violence. *Men and masculinities*, *2*(3), 286-307.

Mikell, T. C. (2014). *Getting away with murder: hazing, hegemonic masculinity, and victimization* (Doctoral dissertation, University of South Carolina).

Mlisa, L. N., Ward, C. L., Flisher, A. J., & Lombard, C. J. (2008). Bullying at rural high schools in the Eastern Cape Province, South Africa: Prevalence, and risk and protective factors at school and in the family. *Journal of Psychology in Africa*, *18*(2), 261-267.

Morrell R 1, Jewkes R 2, and Lindegger G 3, 2012: Hegemonic Masculinity/ Masculinities in South Africa: Culture, Power, and Gender Politics, SAGE publications

Nuwer, H. (2000). *Wrongs of passage: Fraternities, sororities, hazing, and binge drinking*. Indiana University Press.

Ntshikila, M. 2020. (Re-)Imagining Transformation in Sport: Black Male Rugby Players' Experiences of ModelC schools. University of Stellenbosch, pp.1- 121.

Nuwer, H. (2000). *High school hazing: When rites become wrongs*. Franklin Watts.

Pattman, R. (2010). Investigating'race'and social cohesion at the University of KwaZulu-Natal. *South African Journal of Higher Education*, *24*(6), 953-971.

Pattman, R., & Bhana, D. (2010). Sport, girls, trouble and humour: black and Indian boys negotiating gender, race and class in a formerly white single sex school in South Africa. *Journal of Psychology in Africa*, *20*(4), 547-555.

Pattman, R., & Bhana, D. (2017). Learning from the learners: How research with young people can provide models of good pedagogic practice in sexuality education in South Africa. In *The Palgrave handbook of sexuality education* (pp. 191-210). Palgrave Macmillan, London.

Peters, J.F., 1994. Gender socialization of adolescents in the home: Research and discussion. *Adolescence*, *29*(116), p.913.

Pentz, J. (2011). *Relating school codes of conduct to learner behaviour* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Pretoria).

Poynting, S., & Donaldson, M. (2005). Snakes and leaders: Hegemonic masculinity in ruling-class boys' boarding schools. *Men and masculinities*, *7*(4), 325-346.

Ratele K South Africa, Masculinities, Maleness and (Illusive) Pleasure, WIPE Programme Institute of Social and Health Sciences University of South Africa, February 5, 2008

Ratele K, Psychology in Society, 2017, African (situated) psychologies of boys, men and masculinities

Schrock, D. and Schwalbe, M., 2009. Men, masculinity, and manhood acts. Annual review of sociology, 35, pp.277-295

Seidman, I. (2006). *Interviewing as qualitative research: A guide for researchers in education and the social sciences*. Teachers college press.

Stoudt, B. G. (2006). "You're Either In or You're Out" School Violence, Peer Discipline, and the (Re) Production of Hegemonic Masculinity. *Men and masculinities*, *8*(3), 273-287.

Sweet, S. (1999). Understanding fraternity hazing: Insights from symbolic interactionist theory. Journal of College Student Development, 40(4).

Tshikila, S. S. M. (2020). *(Re-) Imagining transformation in sport: black male rugby players' experiences of model-C schools* (Doctoral dissertation, Stellenbosch: Stellenbosch University.).

Renold, E. (2001). Learning the 'hard' way: Boys, hegemonic masculinity and the negotiation of learner identities in the primary school. *British journal of Sociology of Education*, *22*(3), 369-385.

Van Gennep A,1960, The Rites of Passage, Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd

Victor W. Turner, 1969, The ritual process: Structure and Anti-structure, Routledge and Kegan Paul

Walker, C. 1990. "Women and gender in Southern Africa to 1945: An Overview". In Walker,

C (ed.) Women and gender in Southern Africa to 1945. New Africa Books. 1-32.

Wong, W. I., Shi, S. Y., & Chen, Z. (2018). Students from single-sex schools are more gender-salient and more anxious in mixed-gender situations: Results from high school and college samples. *PloS one*, *13*(12), e0208707.

Yeung K, Stombler M, Wharton R: Making Men in Gay Fraternities Resisting: and Reproducing Multiple Dimensions of Hegemonic Masculinity, GENDER & SOCIETY, Vol. 20 No. 1, February 2006 5-31, Sociologists for Women in Society

https://www.complex.com/life/11-men-charged-hazing-death-vcu-pledge-adam-oakes?utm_campaign=social_widget_share&utm_medium=social&utm_source=link

https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/opinionista/2019-01-07-secrecy-initiation-grooming-and-the-parktown-boys-way/

https://m.news24.com/Archives/Witness/School-gags-pupils-on-torture-in-boys-hostel-20150430?isapp=true

https://m.news24.com/Archives/Witness/School-gags-pupils-on-torture-in-boys-hostel-20150430?isapp=true