F A U L T L I N E S

Homophobic Visual Perceptions of Masculinity

Submitted in fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of
Master of Applied Arts: Graphic Design in the Faculty of Arts and Design
at the Durban University of Technology.

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A B S T R A C T

This study explores connections between masculinity and homophobia in a Faculty of Arts and Design at a South African university. Connections between masculinity and homophobia may have consequences for the visual representation of the male body in graphic design.

Literature suggests that gender is socially constructed and performed, and that masculinity and homophobia are connected. As such understanding this connection might assist graphic designers who are often tasked with visually representing gendered bodies. The study uses critical theory as the research orientation for inquiry, which is then related to masculinity studies.

Photo elicitation using context-free images of male body language in focus groups is the main data generation strategy. Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis with particular reference to participants' personal stake and interest in masculinity are employed as analytical tools.

Overall, the research data reveals four discursive 'positions' in relation to visual perceptions of body language: human or situational performance of masculinity, socially gendered performance of masculinity, effeminate or 'gay' performance of masculinity, and homosexual performance of masculinity.

However, in the data these positions overlap and combine when participants manage their stake or interest in masculinity. The thesis of this study is therefore that homophobic visual perceptions of masculinity may permeate gender performance as 'fault lines'. Although the study finds these homophobic fault lines in visual perceptions of masculinity, there is also evidence of acceptance of non-mainstream forms of masculinity.

Keywords: masculinity, homophobia, visual perception, body language, graphic design

D E C L A R A T I O N

I declare that ‘Fault Lines: Homophobic Visual Perceptions of Masculinity’ is my own work. All sources used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references. This dissertation is being submitted for the degree of Master of Applied Arts: Graphic Design in the Faculty of Arts and Design at the Durban University of Technology. None of the present work has been submitted previously for any degree or examination in any other university.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

L I S T O F F I G U R E S

L I S T O F T A B L E S

CHAPTER ONE

I N T R O D U C T I O N

This study explores the relationship between masculinity and homophobia that may have implications for the visual representation of the male body and masculinity. As such, I draw on theory from masculinity studies, a relatively new field of research, as well as theories related to gender construction, in order to better understand issues relating to masculinity. The literature on masculinity suggests that there is no singular masculinity, but rather that there are multiple masculinities in a given society, and that there are power relations between these differing masculinities. Further to this, it is suggested that gender is something that is socially constructed and performed in our everyday lives, and is not something that is inherent to us.

Graphic designers are often required to visually represent bodies and gender in their work, and as such might be required to visually communicate masculinity or masculine bodies to an audience. This study is therefore particularly interested in visual representations of the male body and masculinity.

However, among theories concerning homophobia, some suggest that homophobia and masculinity are closely linked, to the point that homophobic behavior and attitudes might serve the function of indicating masculinity. Understanding this connection between homophobia and masculinity might then have consequences for the manner in which the male body is represented in graphic design.

As I will discuss in Chapter Four in greater detail, this study was conducted at a South African university, within a Faculty of Arts and Design. Although it might be argued that South African universities harbor homophobic attitudes (Misibi 2013), research has shown that institutions of higher learning play a significant role in shaping how students experience gender (Gough and Peace 2000; Harris and Struve 2009) and that younger, more educated people tend to be more tolerant of different sexual orientations (Herek 1984). This, together with the visually oriented nature of a Faculty of Arts and Design and the visual interest of the study, provided the motivation for using such a research setting.

1.1 Context of the Study

In contemporary society, advertising and the media play a significant role in shaping the way we view human bodies, the way we form our identities, and how we express our gender (Lončar, Nigoević; and Vučica 2015). Similarly, Januário (2012: 489) believes there is a direct link between the media and advertising, and the human body:

> "In contemporary discussions, the theme of the body can be closely linked to the idea of consumption, providing incentive for the purchase and use of a variety of products, mainly in the cosmetics and fashion market".

So the body may become a tool used in advertisements in order to persuade the consumption of products. The manner in which subjects are portrayed in texts, and how we view these subjects become important considerations for graphic designers who might be involved in the visual communication of human bodies.

While many studies examine the representation of the female body in the media, Elliot and Elliot (2005) look at how men within the United Kingdom reacted to the manner in which the male body was represented in advertising. They state that "[a]lmost all the male respondents expressed dislike or aversion towards advertisements they perceived as being 'too feminine', 'too overtly sexual', 'not manly enough' or 'gay'" (2005: 10). They argue further that if male respondents accepted feminine images, "they could risk breaking culturally established gender codes and allow suspicions of homosexuality" (2005: 16). This suggests that in this particular study, men felt the need to uphold their masculinity, and in order to do this, believed they should prevent themselves from being viewed as homosexual. In Chapter Two (Literature Review) I discuss further the idea of multiple masculinities (Connell 1995) and the role of homophobia in the construction of masculinity and men's identities.

In South Africa, in a study about representations of gender in South African television advertising, Luyt (2011: 367) says that "men and women are represented significantly differently…". Although changes in stereotypical representations of gender are noted, for the most part, men are depicted as dominant, and women as subordinate (ibid.). This stereotypical representation of gender "lend[s] some support for the notion that countries with lower socio-economic development are likely to exhibit more traditional gender representation" (2011: 368). Where graphic design is concerned, Barnard (2006: 72) says stereotypes that are associated with visual representations of gender are "dominant because they are produced (in graphic design) on the behalf of dominant cultural groups". Graphic designers, whose work may involve them with the media or the creation and dissemination of advertisements, then become implicated in the construction of gendered perceptions, identities, and stereotypes.

Further to the stereotypical representation of gender in South African media, Massoud (2003: 301) believes that although the South African government and Constitution were the first in the world to protect the rights of gay people, this did not "reflect the attitudes of most South Africans, who did not support gay rights". Instead, what was created was a gap between the liberal South African laws, and the conservative South African citizens (ibid.).

Despite the inclusiveness of the South African Constitution, the ground level incidences of homophobia experienced by homosexual people often do not reflect this inclusiveness. In 2014, in an alleged hate crime, a young man from the Western Cape was tortured and then set on fire (DeBarros 2014). As recently as 2016, a gay man was beaten, stabbed and left in an unconscious state outside of a bar in the Limpopo province. The man, who was dressed in traditional female attire, claims the perpetrator harassed him due to his physical appearance (Gohl 2016).

Elphick (1997) believes Christianity played a role in the political, social, as well as cultural history of South Africa. Used to garner both support for, and against, apartheid, Christianity became the mechanism by which South Africa began to define itself.

> "Starting with the missionary campaign to Christianize African societies, some of the most intimate matters of white and black culture in South Africa – initiation, marriage, divorce, sexuality, association with people of other races, and even dress and drinking patterns – have been debated at length and with passion, largely in Christian terms." (1997: 1)

What this seems to suggest is that much of the rhetoric concerning a South African stance on homosexuality, may be in response, or due to Christian ideologies.

From a different perspective, Ratele (2014) believes that 'African' homophobia may be used as a means of distraction from the failures of Africa's leaders. He states that "well-publicized turmoil over homosexuality in Africa…. is also imbricated with the socioeconomic development-related failures of Africa's ruling men" (2014: 116). This hints at much deeper issues concerning the perceived failure and inadequacy of African men, linked to hegemonic African masculinities. From this view, homophobia becomes entangled with power struggles.

Similarly, Sands (2007: 5) discusses how colonized nations were not only dehumanized, but emasculated, which in turn affected the way in which postcolonial national identities were constructed:

> "European colonizers, in what was intended as an insult, often labeled colonized men as effeminate or homosexual. Early Spanish colonialists extended the Inquisition against sodomites in the Americas, and later British colonialists in Asia and Africa imposed harsh antisodomy laws. In postcolonial periods, when former colonies reasserted their national identity, patriarchalism added an additional dynamic, for colonized men then construed their oppression not simply as dehumanization but as emasculation".

It appears then that sexual orientation may not be the sole cause of homophobia and homophobic actions, but that the perceived failure as an African man may be alleviated by the oppression of those deemed weaker. In order to retain the perception of power and masculinity, homosexuals, or sodomites, are relegated to a lower social status and worth.

1.2 The Research Focus

As I have discussed above, graphic designers must represent males and masculinity. However, while I was reviewing literature relating to masculinity, issues of sexual orientation and homophobia were repeatedly discussed in relation to masculinity. Among understandings of homophobia, some theoretical views suggest that homophobia "is an integral component of heterosexual masculinity, to the extent that it serves the psychological function of expressing who one is not and thereby affirming who one is" (Herek 1986: 572) This suggests that if masculinity is linked to sexual orientation and homophobia, then understanding these connections would lead to a better understanding of how masculinity has been and can be visually represented.

As such, this study aims to explore connections between homophobia and masculinity that may have consequences for the visual representation of the physical male body in graphic design. As I will discuss again in Chapter Three, in order to achieve this aim, the following objectives and research questions have been devised:

The objectives of the study are to:

- Identify body language that may have come to impact on the perception of masculinity.
- Expand on current understandings of what is meant by the term 'homophobia'.

To achieve these objectives, I ask three main research questions:

1. How is masculinity visually communicated through bodily gesture and posture?
2. What different issues underlie the visual communication of masculinity?
3. How is the visual communication of masculinity affected by various and ambiguous manifestations of homophobia?

Clarification of the attitudes and values that might associate masculinity with homophobia is therefore needed if graphic designers are to challenge stereotypical representations of gender. In line with challenging stereotypical representations of gender, Eskilson (2012: 425) speaks of the 'citizen designer' – a designer who uses their work to address societal issues. I discuss 'citizen design' further in the next chapter, and how contemporary graphic design campaigns have used men's' bodies in an attempt to address homophobia in sport.

1.3 Theoretical and Methodological Approach

Critical Theory is used as the research orientation for inquiry. This approach is interested in the historical, social, cultural and political power relations that shape our sense of reality, with the goal of offering a critique of, and changing society as a whole. Because this study deals primarily with visual perceptions of masculinity, I make use of photo elicitation, a visual research method, as a means of generating visual stimuli that are then used in focus group discussions with participants from a Faculty of Arts and Design at a South African university. I then use Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis and the dilemma of stake and interest as analytical tools, as both may be useful for exploring connections between visual representations of masculinity and homophobia.

All outcomes are then viewed from a critical perspective. Emphasis is placed on offering a critique of current understandings of homophobia and constructions of masculinity by exposing research participants to specific visual stimuli that show body language related to stereotypical gender characteristics: confidence, dominance, submission and a lack of confidence, among others. By doing so, I hope that the study will offer insight to graphic designers with regard to visual masculinity cues, as well as a more comprehensive definition of the term homophobia. It is understood that masculinity is constantly contested and changing, and that this may impact on the results of the study.

1.4 Dissertation Outline

Chapter Two (Literature Review) offers a review of literature relating to gender construction, masculinity and homophobia, showing that these are areas of contestation. I then discuss masculinity studies, which deals with issues pertaining to men and differing masculinities, and show that current literature suggests homophobia and masculinity are closely linked. In this chapter, I also provide a connection between visual perception, body language, and gender, and discuss the potential role of graphic design in creating and combating gender stereotypes.

In Chapter Three (Theoretical and Methodological Orientation) I introduce Critical Theory as the research orientation for inquiry of the study. I also state the aims, objectives and research questions of the study, and discuss Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis and stake and interest as analytical tools that can be used to explore connections between masculinity and homophobia.

Chapter Four (Research Design and Methodology) presents the research design and methodology used in the generation of data. After discussing photo elicitation as a research method, I describe the processes involved in generating the visual stimuli that were used during focus group discussions, as well as ethical and validity concerns that arose during the first data generation phases of the study. I also discuss the appropriateness of the participant sample in relation to the aim of the study.

In Chapter Five (Initial Findings in Relation to Data Generation) I discuss the initial findings of the data generated during the focus group discussions in relation to the data generation methods outlined in Chapter Four. In doing so, I respond to the first two research questions of the study.

In Chapter Six (Interpretation of Data and Conclusion) I offer my interpretation of the data in response to the third research question of the study. I discuss discursive positions in the data, and show how these overlap and merge to form homophobic fault lines in the perception of masculinity. I also offer recommendations with regard to future research in the field of visual perceptions of masculinity and homophobia, and close by acknowledging positive masculinity aspects that emerged in the data.

CHAPTER TWO

L I T E R A T U R E R E V I E W

2.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses literature about masculinity and homophobia. The literature review presented in this chapter is analytical and seeks to elaborate the newer and older conceptions of masculinity and homophobia. It begins by examining the social nature of gender, and then discusses masculinity studies as interdisciplinary field of research. Various dimensions of homophobia are then considered, and in doing so, the connection between masculinity and homophobia is explained. The chapter also links visual perception, body language and gender, as this study is concerned with visual perceptions of masculinity. Finally, the chapter discusses the potential role of graphic design in both the construction and contestation of gender stereotypes, providing contemporary examples of how masculinity has been represented in anti-homophobia campaigns.

2.1.1 Gender, Sex, and Sexual Orientation

Although gender may be understood in different ways, it is necessary to differentiate gender from biological sex and sexual orientation. The American Psychological Association (APA) (2011: unpaged) defines *sex* as "a person's biological status… typically categorized as male, female, or intersex". *Sexual orientation* refers to the biological sex of "those to whom one is sexually and romantically attracted" and *gender* is distinguished from biological sex and sexual orientation as "the attitudes, feelings, and behaviors that a given culture associates with a person's biological sex" (ibid.).

Schrock and Schwalbe (2009) believe that the categories 'males' and 'men' are not to be taken as implying the same thing, just as 'females' and 'women' are not to be taken as implying the same thing. Instead, they suggest that for a biological male to benefit from belonging to the dominant gender group, "he must present himself to others as a particular kind of social being: a man" (2009: 279).

Herek (1986: 567) maintains that gender, as well as sexual orientation, are not innate concepts or predispositions, saying that "gender and sexual orientation must be understood within historical, sociological, and social psychological contexts, rather than exclusively individualistic terms". Herek (ibid.) says further, that being able to identify oneself as a man plays a large role in defining men's personal identities, which stems from a tendency to "experience… gender as a self-defining characteristic". Schrock and Schwalbe (2009: 281) believe that this process of identification begins during childhood, and that in order to understand the categorization of gender and their place within these categories, "[c]hildren must learn to categorize themselves and others".

Adding to the argument that gender and sexuality are not biologically innate characteristics, Herek (1986: 570) maintains that “”heterosexuals” and “homosexuals” do not exist in nature; they are constructs, ways of giving meaning to particular patterns or sexual behavior and interpersonal relationships”. In other words, both heterosexuality and homosexuality are inherently unnatural concepts. This is in stark contrast to theories that reduce gender to solely biological processes.

According to Boonzaier and de la Rey (2007: 288), the theory of biological determinism holds that men and women as gendered beings are different because of biological differences which are present at birth. According to this theory, biological differences result in differing personality and gender traits between men and women. Biological determinism does not then take into account the influence of society, culture, or history on the individual (ibid.), and is in opposition to the theories outlined below which are that gender is constructed.

2.2 Gender Construction

A brief account of the construction of gender is given below. Understanding the manner in which gender may be constructed is essential to the purpose of this study because of the different connections that are made between gender and masculinity, between gender and sexual orientation, and in turn, how gender and sexual orientation may be connected to homophobia.

Hopkins (1996) believes that the construction of oneself as a member of particular social groups contributes greatly to one’s sense-of-self, or ‘personhood’. Of these identity forming social groups, Hopkins (1996: 97) says that the ‘genders’ are:

> “[P]ervasive because no individual escapes being gendered, powerful because so much else depends on gender, and hidden because gender is uncritically presented as a natural, biological given, about which much can be discovered but little can (or should) be altered.”

Hopkins (1996: 97) also suggests that if a person is to construct their identity by belonging to certain social groups, it means that they do not identify with other conflicting or competing groups. So identity is relational, and during the construction of one’s identity, social groups with which one does not identify become part of the ‘other’. In the case of identifying as a masculine, heterosexual male, a possible ‘other’ might then be an effeminate, homosexual male.

Butler (2008: xi) states that “[w]e do not know… what precisely the norms of gender want of us, and yet we find ourselves moved and oriented within its terms”. When we exist, and when we act, we are doing so in relation to norms that already exist, and that are already acting upon us.

Barnard (2006: 72) describes gender identity as a "product of a set of beliefs or ideas concerning what it means to be male or female", and due to the cultural emphasis placed on these constructions, "gender identities are accorded different values". This is an important consideration for this study, as the differences in values accorded to gender identities may offer a potential explanation for the existence of strong opinions regarding acceptable masculine behavior.

On the notion of gender as socially constructed, Moynihan (1998: 1073) says that "[g]ender is not something we are, but something we do in social interactions", further maintaining that postmodern theories, which support the idea of socially constructed genders, may be useful in explaining why "[a] man may cry in one encounter and stoically withdraw in another" (1998: 1074). Connell and Messerschmidt (2005: 836) support this social construction of gender when they state that:

> "Masculinity is not a fixed entity embedded in the body or personality traits of individuals. Masculinities are configurations of practice that are accomplished in social action and, therefore, can differ according to the gender relations in a particular setting."

In line with the idea that gender does not exist as a fixed entity, Connell (1995: 6) states that "[i]t is, rather, the rationale of the changing practices through which gender is 'done' or 'accomplished' in everyday life…", believing that to attempt to "understand the social world through a biological demarcation is to misunderstand the relation between bodies and social processes" (1995: 44). Suggesting that masculinity and femininity are relational, Connell (ibid.) says they exist, and have meaning, in relation to each other, and that this relational status exists in all societies: "[m]asculinity as an object of knowledge is always masculinity-in-relation". This has implications for the visual representation of masculinity in that if a particular masculinity were represented in a particular manner, then 'other' masculinities would be represented in other ways.

Butler's (1990; 2004) view is that gender is a socially imposed series of ever changing requirements and restrictions to which human beings 'should' subscribe. Elaborating on the way in which gender is constructed, Butler (1990: 136) discusses the notion of it being performative:

> "…words, acts, gestures, and desires produce the effect of an internal core or substance, but produce this *on the surface* of the body, through the play of signifying absences that suggest, but never reveal, the organizing principle of identity as a cause. Such acts, gestures, enactments, are generally construed, are *performative* in the sense that the essence or identity that they otherwise purport to express are *fabrications* manufactured and sustained through corporeal signs and other discursive means."

Further explaining what is meant by performativity, Jackson (2004: 675) states that "[p]erformativity is Butler's theory of gender that accentuates a process of *repetition* that produces gendered subjectivity". This process involves not only a "performance *by* a subject but a performativity that

constitutes a subject and *produces* the space of conflicting subjectivities that contest the foundations and origins of stable identity categories" (ibid.).

On assumption that gender involves only the masculine and the feminine, Butler states:

> "Gender is the apparatus by which the production and normalization of masculine and feminine take place along with the interstitial forms of hormonal, chromosomal, psychic, and performative that gender assumes. To assume that gender always and exclusively means the matrix of the "masculine" and "feminine" is precisely to miss the critical point that the production of that coherent binary is contingent, that it comes at a cost, and that those permutations of gender which do not fit the binary are as much a part of gender as its most normative instance." (2004: 42)

Concepts of masculinity and femininity cannot then exist apart from one another – their definitions are interdependent – and to believe one must be either/ or is to misunderstand that gender is as complex as the people it attempts to characterize. Furthermore, Butler (2008: i) believes that although gender is "prompted by obligatory norms", the reproduction of gender is "always a negotiation with power", and can therefore change over time, "opening up the possibility of a remaking of gendered reality along new lines". Important to this study is the fact that gender norms may change over time, and that this could lead to new understandings of homophobia. What was once considered effeminate, and therefore encouraged homophobic responses, could now be included in 'new lines' of masculinity. The reproduction of gender as a negotiation with power also suggests that masculinity may be in a constantly contested state.

2.3 Masculinity(ies) Studies

Masculinity studies, also referred to as masculinities studies, is concerned with the historical and social constructions of masculinities, and the power relationships between differing masculinities. Kimmel and Bridges (2011) describe masculinity(ies) studies as "a vibrant, interdisciplinary field of study broadly concerned with the social construction of what it means to "be a man"".

As one of the seminal authors in the area of masculinity studies, Connell (1995) believes that masculinities are constructed and shaped by the historical contexts in which they exist or have existed. Accordingly, Connell (1995: 185) says that "masculinities come into existence at particular times and places, and are always subject to change". What is also put forward is that as hegemonic masculinities arose, so too did other 'marginalized' masculinities form. This is an important tenet of masculinity studies – that there are multiple forms of masculinity that exist at any given time, and that there are power relations between these masculinities.

2.3.1 Freudian and Jungian Masculinity

According to Connell (1995: 8), “the first sustained attempt to build a scientific account of masculinity” was offered by Sigmund Freud at the beginning of the twentieth century. Freud refuted masculinity as a natural object, instead believing that “adult sexuality and gender were not fixed by nature but were constructed through a long and conflict-ridden process” (1995: 9). This conflict-ridden process would begin during early childhood, when a child would become attracted to their opposite sex-parent, developing a rivalry with their same-sex parent. This was known as the Oedipus complex (Boonzaier and de la Rey 2007: 288). Freud believed that a difference existed in the manner in which males and females resolved the conflict with their same-sex parent, and that this difference resulted in developmental differences (ibid.).

Building on the idea of masculinity as resulting from a process of construction, Freud further hypothesized that all humans were bisexual, suggesting that both “masculine and feminine currents coexisted in everyone” (Connell 1995: 9). Furthermore, Freud’s work on the super-ego, which from a sociological perspective referred to “the means by which culture obtains mastery over individual desire”, sparked debate on “the patriarchal organization of culture, transmitted between generations through the construction of masculinity” (1995: 10). Perhaps most important, although it was disregarded by later psychoanalysts, was “the fragility of adult masculinity” (1995: 12) at which Freud’s work pointed. What Freud’s theory suggests is that gender is constructed as a result of a conflict ridden/ contested process, and therefore cannot be the result of biological determinism alone.

The psychoanalyst Jung’s ideas about gender differ from those of Freud in that Jung differentiated between the socially constructed self, the “persona”, and the unconscious self, the “anima”, formed out of “repressed elements”, that exist in opposition to one another (Connell 1995: 12). Jung suggests that the feminine “interior” possessed by masculine men was not only shaped by personal experiences, but also by collectively “inherited, ‘archetypal’ images of women” (ibid.). Jung’s work on the “shadow” (Nava 2008) further suggested that people who react to others in a particular way might be doing so because these people embody an aspect of themselves of which they are afraid or ashamed. Jung’s theory, not unlike Freud’s, also moves gender away from being the result of a solely biological process to one that includes a social aspect.

2.3.2 Hegemonic Masculinities

Hegemonic masculinity is the particular masculinity that “occupies the hegemonic [or dominant] position in a given pattern of gender relations…” (Connell 2005: 76). However, as Connell (2005) further points out, there is no single hegemonic masculinity that is fixed or forever stable.

Taywaditep (2008) in discussing hegemonic masculinity (as proposed by Carrigan et al 1985) claims that masculinity is the asset most valued by men, irrespective of sexual orientation. Theodore and Basow (2008: 31) also highlight the significance of masculinity in the construction of men's identities, saying that "[h]eterosexual masculinity is the cultural pressure exerted on males to be masculine in traits and heterosexual in orientation or else be viewed as feminine and socially unacceptable". From this statement, we can see that masculinity and heterosexuality might be dependent on each other.

Speaking of the traits associated with masculinity, Herek (1986: 568) maintains that "heterosexual masculinity is defined both positively and negatively". It is defined positively because heterosexual masculinity is associated with positive personal characteristics such as "success and status, toughness and independence, aggressiveness and domination"; and negatively because it "is also defined as what one is not – that is, not feminine and not homosexual" (ibid.).

Interestingly, Theodore and Basow (2008: 32) note that the positive characteristics associated with heterosexual masculinity come to be valued by both boys and girls as "more socially effective and rewarding" than feminine attributes. This points to an understanding of masculinities that affect not only the behavioral patterns of males, but also of females.

As discussed above, what it means to be masculine might differ depending on a variety of circumstances, and in line with this, "gender and sexual orientation must be understood within historical, sociological, and social psychological contexts, rather than exclusively individualistic terms" (Herek 1986: 567). What is discussed below refers to some of the literature concerning the predominant characteristics associated with certain hegemonic masculinities.

While acknowledging the difficulty in making generalizations about masculinities, Meek (n.d.) offers three themes that provide insight into the (hegemonic) American male gender role. He lists them as:

> "1. Strength: emotional toughness, courage, self-reliance, rationality
> 2. Honor: duty, loyalty, responsibility, integrity, selflessness, compassion, generativity
> 3. Action: competitiveness, ambition, risk-taking, agency, volition."

From Meek's themes it becomes apparent that the American 'man' is expected to be tough, honorable, as well as driven. These characteristics support Herek's (1986: 586) opinion about positive heterosexual masculinity characteristics – "success and status, toughness and independence, aggressiveness and domination" – discussed above.

Schrock and Schwalbe (2009: 277) also say that the male body can be seen as a "symbolic asset". This, they argue, is due to the conventional (and not necessarily accurate) manner in which being a male is associated with being a man.

The traits mentioned above, which by no means represent an exhaustive list, are linked to the research methodology used in the study which seeks to explore connections between visual representations of masculinity and homophobia, discussed in Chapter Four.

2.3.3 Masculinity as a position

Connell (n.d.) says that masculinity does not mean men, but rather that 'masculinities' involves "the *position* of men in a gender order". Connell also believes that women play a role in constructing masculinities through their interactions with men and boys (ibid.).

Masculinity as a social construction has already been discussed above, but it should be noted here that masculinity and femininity might have not always existed in opposition to each other on the basis of qualitatively differing characteristics. Connell (1995: 68) speaks of pre-eighteenth century European culture, and how men and women were seen as different, not because their qualitative characteristics differed, but because women were seen as inferior versions of the same character. Modern-day polarized genders that rely on opposing characteristics appear to be a more recent development.

Grim (1996) believes that it is very difficult, if not impossible, to determine whether or not all gender characteristics are socially constructed, or if there are innate, fundamental differences between the sexes. Instead, Grim (1996: 10) believes that "the treatment of differences which are in fact merely social as if they were fundamental… seems to be a clear instance of socially unjust treatment". He uses racism and sexism as examples of how socially stereotypical characteristics are often thought of as inherent, but this could be applied to homophobia, in that stereotypical (social) characteristics are believed to represent the inherent nature of homosexual people. What this highlights is that differences are often used in power struggles to advance a particular population while disadvantaging another.

2.4 Dimensions of Homophobia

Since the advent of masculinity studies, homophobia has more and more been considered a core issue of masculinity. This is elaborated upon in Section 2.5 of this chapter. What follows below is a brief account of historical instances of prejudice against same-sex relations and homosexuality. These accounts do not represent an exhaustive list, but rather aim to show how this form of prejudice has evolved over time, and how issues of power have remained central in the discrimination against non-heteronormative acts. In all instances, certain same-sex or homosexual acts were seen as inferior to 'normal' heterosexual normal acts.

2.4.1 Custom in Ancient Times

In Ancient Greece, the practice of *paiderastia* was a socially accepted part of Greek society. Derived from *pais* (boy or child) and *eran* (to love) "the source of *eros* (desire)" (Fone 2000: 18), it involved an age-structured relationship and mentorship between an older (*erastes* – the lover) and younger (*eromenos* – one who is loved or desired) man. This practice involved sexual relations between the two parties, which at the time was conventional and expected (2000: 19). The older man would take on the role of the 'penetrator', whilst the younger remained the 'penetrated' (2000: 26-28). It was not the sex of the object of the adult male's desire that was important, but the status of the object. The older man was expected to mentor and teach the younger male about the ways of life and responsible citizenship, who would eventually go on to seek and wife, and become an *erastes* himself. Concern was expressed only when the older man took on the role of the penetrated, or displayed 'feminine' characteristics. Being the most valued asset in society, the masculine male was expected to dominate over women and boys.

It would appear that the concern expressed had less to do with the sexual act of being penetrated than with the apparent relinquishment of the power and status associated with masculine dominance over supposedly intellectually and physically inferior beings.

Williams (1995: 520) points out that the commonly-held belief that the Romans rejected Greek homosexuality is inaccurate and misinterpreted. Whereas the Greek custom of *paiderastia* involved relations between men and freeborn boys, Romans forbade such behavior with free-born youths, instead allowing for sexual relations with male slaves of a youthful age. Importantly, the distinction between 'heterosexual' and 'homosexual' acts was an unnecessary consideration, so long as the adult male was exerting dominance of the object of his desire by remaining the active or penetrative partner. Like the Greeks, it was only when an adult male wished to take on the role of the passive or penetrated that concern was expressed:

> "… [P]assive men were subject to ridicule, reproach, or worse, but it can be shown that they were not conceptualised as deviant because homosexual, but rather deviant because feminised; and that they were feminised not because they were men who desired men, but because they were men who demonstrated desire in the way that 'women' were supposed to experience desire, namely as passive (penetrated) objects." (Williams 1995: 536)

This suggests that man, and in turn masculinity, was expected to exist in opposition to woman, and that the display of feminine characteristics by a man was sufficient to earn him the title of 'deviant'. This did not, however, imply that same-sex relations were considered non-masculine, which appears to be a current way of looking at it.

Ahmad and Bhugra (2010) stress the importance of differentiating between homosexuality and homosexual behavior. Similarly, Dykes (2008) believes the term homosexuality has been used to classify perceived non-heterosexual behavior as homosexual behavior, adding that a same-sex act does not necessarily imply homosexuality.

One of the earliest documented accounts of prejudice against same-sex relations can be traced back to fourth century BCE (Before the Common Era) Greece. In *Laws* (circa 350 BCE), Plato refers to homosexual intercourse and lesbianism as ""unnatural crimes of the first rank"", resulting from an "inability "to control their desire"" (636a-c as cited by Fone 2000: 34). This condemnation was not, however, targeted at the act of homosexuality itself, but rather at the fact that the act did "not contribute to the propagation of the race", and that it could "lead to irresponsibility in the citizenry" (Fone 2000: 35).

The idea that homosexuality, or rather effeminate men, may be identifiable based on physical traits or facial features, is not a new phenomenon, as is shown by Fone in his discussion of Pelmo's *Physiognomics* (4th C BCE). The *kinaidos* (the effeminate male discussed above) is described in physiognomic terms – suggesting the way a person acts *is* who they are – as having an:

> "[U]nsteady eye, and knock knees; he inclines his head to the right; he gestures with his palms up and his wrists loose; and he has two styles of walking –either waggling his hips or keeping them under control. He tends to look around in all directions". (Gleason 1990 as cited by Fone 2000: 56)

Similarly, van der Meer (2004: 77) discusses how seventeenth and eighteenth century European perceptions of homosexuality were based on a sexual ontology that "attributed little or no agency to the mind, and could only perceive same-sex behavior as the result of a body spun completely out of control". It is also interesting to note that in Protestant seventeenth and eighteenth century Holland, gender was seen as the ability, or inability, to control the body, and "sodomy was the ultimate sign of loss of control" (2004: 82). By this stage, Christianity had become an important contributing factor to the intolerance of homosexuals throughout the world.

2.4.2 Sin in the Common Era

At the beginning of the Common Era, the Christians, tired of persecution by the Romans, began a revolt against the pagans, and "by the fourth century the empire had become officially Christian, and legal condemnation based on religious precept became possible" (Fone 2000: 114). Prior to these Christian Roman laws, no law existed in Rome that prohibited homosexual acts or behavior. The only suspicions that arose occurred when the wellbeing of a freeborn youth was threatened. Also during the fourth century, the cessation of the Olympics, celebrated for millennia by the pagans, was ordered

by Theodosius. According to Fone, “this mark[ed] the triumph of ascetic Christianity over the pagan glorification of the body” (2000:113).

As time passed, Europeans traveling across the oceans to the Americas in search of uncharted lands imposed their Christian laws and prohibitions upon the native peoples. In a chapter entitled “Colonizing Sodom”, Fone (2000) documents the colonization of The New World, and the manner in which native ‘sodomites’ were persecuted and eradicated. What had existed previously as part of the native cultures became a source of disgust to the conquerors, who used their religion as a means of colonization.

2.4.3 Illness in Modernity

Homosexuality as a condition and the homosexual person as a category were claimed by medicine and psychiatry respectively (Green 2005). Although, this marked a departure from previous teachings of sodomy as a sin, it created a pathology of homosexuality, suggesting the homosexual person was “a *diseased* person” (2005: 120).

The implications of this could be seen in Nazi Germany, where homosexuals were persecuted along with other “inferior races” (United States Holocaust Memorial Museum 2016). Homosexuality was seen by some as a “sickness that could be cured”, and as such, policies were implemented that could ““cure” homosexuals of their “disease” through humiliation and hard work” (ibid.).

Similarly, during the Apartheid era in South Africa, there were alleged abuses of homosexuals within the South African National Defence Force. Kaplan (2001: 217) speaks of how homosexuals were categorized along with drug-abusers, the seriously mentally ill, and political objectors as being “‘deviants’ in need of psychiatric care”. Accordingly, homosexual men were seen “effeminate and passive, inadequate males who wanted to be female” (ibid.). Reports suggest that some homosexual conscripts were subject to the use of shock therapy and in certain cases, sex change operations were carried out (Kaplan 2001: 216).

2.4.4 Contemporary Homophobia: Fear

Nowadays, there appears to be continued debate concerning the definition and usage of the term “homophobia” (see Hopkins 1996; Green 2005; Dreyer 2013). First coined in the 1960’s and discussed further in 1972 by George Weinberg, the term “homophobia” referred to “the irrational fear of loving someone of the same sex” (Evans 2012) or “the dread of being in close quarters with homosexuals” (Weinberg 1972 as cited by Fone 2000: 5). Fone (2000: 3) elaborates on this definition to include “[a]ntipathy to them [homosexuals] – and condemnation, loathing, fear, and proscription of

homosexual behavior…". What Weinberg's definition did was move the focus from the homosexual as having a psychological condition to the oppression they experienced by others (Green 2005). On the other hand, Herek (1986) believes that the word homophobia places excessive emphasis on this form of prejudice as a psychological phenomenon, rather than acknowledging social-structural problems.

Fone (2000: 424) suggests it is difficult to define exactly what homophobia is, as the derivation of the word itself "is not satisfactory, constructed as it is from a slang abbreviation for "homosexual" joined with "phobia," which means fear but not dislike". Ahmad and Bhugra (2010: 452) question the relevance of the term homophobia, stating that "anti-homosexual attitudes remain and may be more aligned with discrimination than fear per se".

Additionally, the view of heterosexuality as "natural, moral, practical, and superior to any non-heterosexual option" (Hopkins 1996: 99-10), indicates that homophobia is about more than just sexuality. It hints at issues of morality and worthiness. Herek (2007: 906-907) speaks of sexual stigma, or "the negative regard, inferior status, and relative powerlessness that society collectively accords to any nonheterosexual behavior, identity, relationship, or community", as a way of understanding the sexual prejudice against, amongst others, homosexuals. Key to this concept is an understanding of sexual stigma as a collective cultural phenomenon "that exists independently of any one individual" (ibid.).

This is not to say that homophobia no longer involves the view of homosexuality as a sin. Fone (2000) maintains that in America, for the most part, religious institutions still do not completely accept homosexuality, and that religion is still cited as justification for discrimination. As was discussed in the previous chapter, a similar situation seems to exist in Africa.

The current 'phobia' aligned definition of homophobia also does not mean that contemporary attitudes towards no longer hold the view of homosexuality as a disease. Homosexuality was only completely removed from the American Psychiatric Association's Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM) as a metal disorder in 1987, and from the World Health Organization's International Classification of Diseases (ICD) in 1992 (Burton 2015).

2.5 Connections Between Homophobia and Masculinity

This chapter has indicated that homophobia is about more than a simple fear of homosexuality. Recent commentary relates the very construction of masculinity to homophobia (Herek 1986; Theodore and Basow 2008; Schrock and Schwalbe 2009; Ratele 2014). Schrock and Schwalbe (2009: 288) state, "[c]laiming a heterosexual identity as part of a manhood act may also involve homophobic taunting, especially among boys and young men". This taunting, they argue, further maintains sexist ideologies, as it implicitly says that a man who wishes to sleep with another man is

like a woman – that is, they are not a man (ibid.). Schrock and Schwalbe (2009) also speak of other acts that are used to signify manhood to others. Of the various manhood acts, "playing or watching sports –violent sports in particular", regulating emotional displays – especially where fear and pain are concerned, feeling or expressing sexual desire for the opposite sex, and homophobic taunting, as mentioned above, appear to be used by male adolescents when attempting to signify heterosexuality and in turn, manhood (2009: 282). They also discuss the role of aggression and violence in signifying manhood (ibid.). This process of signifying manhood, they argue, continues throughout life, where the male learns to "signify a masculine self in situationally appropriate ways" (2009: 283).

Chodorow (1999) maintains that "masculinity as it is defined intrapsychically and in relation to others is defensive, earned, and constantly threatened", adding that "[s]eeing the self as not the other, defining the self in opposition, does not seem generally as important to women as to men, nor does merging seem as threatening" (ibid.). This definition of the self in opposition to the other is supported by Herek (1986: 572) who states:

> "[H]omophobia is thus an integral component of heterosexual masculinity, to the extent that it serves the psychological function of expressing who one is not (i.e., homosexual) and thereby affirming who one is (heterosexual)".

Theodore and Bassow (2008) also point out that research has shown that this pressure exerted on heterosexual males often leads to an internalization of societal gender expectations. Due to anxiety over not being able to fulfill these expectations, some men may come to reject homosexual men as a way of reaffirming their own masculinity (2008: 32). These views suggest that masculinity, sexuality, and homophobia are intertwined.

Referring to the African continent, Ratele (2014: 116) believes that homophobia, together with nonconforming sexualities, have come to form part of hegemonic African masculinities:

> "[H]omosexuality and non-heteronormative sexualities, along with homophobia and homophobic acts, play a significant role in the practices, identities, constructions, and social reproduction of hegemonic African masculinities".

In other words, non-mainstream masculinities influence the manner in which mainstream masculinities are constructed. That is, mainstream masculinity is what non-mainstream masculinity isn't.

2.6 Visual Communication of Masculinity

If gender performativity involves the enactment of gender, and gender involves a socio-political struggle, then the movement of one's body may reveal certain power relations. Eves (2010) discusses

the way in which the bodily movements of the women of the Papua New Guinean Lelet culture reveal issues related to power. He believes that these movements are "heavily circumscribed by conventions that define what sorts of movements are appropriate to their gender", and that "[t]his process of engendering is quintessentially about power and shows how particular forms of power produce particular subjects" (2010: 1). Ciccia, Step and Turksta (2003) also believe that culture plays a major role in behavior and appearance. They state that "[c]ultural values of specific groups affect space and touch norms. Further, gender roles within a culture will determine, to some degree, dress and even baseline kinesics activity (e.g., eye gaze)" (2003: 5). The process of nonverbal communication is detailed in Subsection 2.6.1 of this chapter.

Connell (1995: 71) says that "[g]ender is social practice that constantly refers to bodies and what bodies do, it is not social practice reduced to the body", adding that to reduce gender to a purely social construction, or to biological determinism, or to a combination of the two, does not provide for an adequate enough account of the complex processes through which beings become gendered:

> "The body… is inescapable in the construction of masculinity; but what is inescapable is not fixed. The bodily process, entering into the social process, becomes part of history (both personal and collective) and a possible object of politics. Yet this does not return us to the idea of bodies as landscapes. They have various forms of recalcitrance to social symbolism and control…". (1995: 56)

What Connell (1995) instead proposes is what is termed 'body-reflexive practice'. In this description, "bodies [are] both objects and agents of practice, [with] the practice itself forming the structures within which bodies are appropriated and defined…" (1995: 61), and it is through these body-reflexive processes that a social world is born (1995: 64).

This study is concerned with the visual communication of masculinity, so it is necessary to discuss nonverbal communication as well as visual perception and stereotypes, as these factors may assist in illustrating how people come to know and make sense of a gendered world. These factors are unpacked below. Studies that have linked nonverbal communication, especially kinesics, with gender and sexual orientation are then discussed.

2.6.1 Kinesics, Haptics and Proxemics

As I have mentioned, this study deals with the visual communication of masculinity. It is therefore important to discuss the ways in which human beings are able to communicate nonverbally; that is, without the use of words. Ciccia, Step and Turksta (2003: 4) state that nonverbal communication "includes those behaviors that are mutually recognized and socially shared codes and patterns with a focus on message meaning". Adding to this, Hans and Hans (2015: 47) discuss "[t]he three main

aspects of nonverbal communication" as being "kinesics, haptic[s] and proxemics". These aspects are discussed below.

Kinesics refers to the movement of the body, and involves "gestures, head movements and posture, eye contact, and facial expressions as nonverbal communication" (Hans and Hans 2015: 47); or simply put, "body language" (du Plessis and du Plessis 2008: 23). Further elaborating on the relationship between the terms 'body language' and 'kinesics', Fast (1982: 11) states that "[b]oth its [body language] written form and the scientific study of it have been labelled kinesics", and that both body language and kinesics "are based on the behavioural patterns of non-verbal communication."

Speaking of a study conducted by Mehrabian, du Plessis and du Plessis (2008: 23) state that "of the emotional meaning of a message… 55% comes through body language," suggesting that "others believe the visual information that we make available to them before they believe the actual content of the words we use". This suggests that a person may make decisions concerning another's gender before they have spoken to that person. Similarly, Cover's (2004: 84) belief is that the appearance of a person elicits expectations from others for that person to behave in certain ways.

Haptics deals with the "power of touch" (Hans and Hans 2015: 48), that is, the manner in which touch between people influences the way in which communication is sent and received. Ciccia, Step and Turksta (2003: 5) elaborate on this definition, including "contact cues, such as frequency, intensity, and type of touch".

Proxemics looks at the way in which "space and distance influence communication" (Hans and Hans 2015: 49), or "spatial cues, including interpersonal distance, territoriality, and other spacing relationships" (Ciccia, Step and Turksta 2003: 5). Of the varying distances and spaces between people that influence the manner in which communication is conducted and received, four 'zones' have been identified. These zones, originally developed for US Americans, are described as follows: public space, which refers to a distance of twelve or more feet between the speaker and the audience; social space, involving a distance of between four and twelve feet; personal space, one and a half to four feet between speaker and audience; and intimate space, which refers to the most immediate space around the speaker, that is, less than one and half feet between speaker and recipient (Hans and Hans 2015: 49-50).

In addition to the abovementioned aspects of nonverbal communication, or 'codes of nonverbal signals', Ciccia, Step and Turksta (2003: 5) discuss vocalics, or "vocal cues… including volume, rate, pitch, pausing and silence"; physical appearance, such as choice of clothing or hairstyle; chronemics, referring to "the use of time as a message system"; and artifacts, "manipulable objects in the environment that may reflect messages". They point out that there are three primary factors that

influence not only the encoding of nonverbal messages, but also the way they are decoded, namely "the culture…, the relationship, and the situation" (ibid.). Chang (2006: 98) adds to these factors, which he calls the 'characteristics of nonverbal communication': "nonverbal behaviors communicate relational meanings and are rule-governed, and the rules are culturally based". These become important elements to consider when discussing a multi-cultural society such as South Africa.

Navarro and Karlins (2008: 4) discuss how nonverbal communication cues are sometimes referred to as 'tells', and they often revel a person's "true state of mind". Additionally, it is common for these 'tells' to appear in multiples, or 'clusters' (2008: 13). For example, someone sitting cross-legged may also have his or her arms folded.

Archer (1997: 79) states that "[g]estures are definitely NOT a universal language". What might be considered non-masculine to a white South African of European descent might be the epitome of masculinity to a black South Africa who identifies as part of the Zulu culture. Also, the situation or context in which nonverbal communication takes place may influence how the message is received. An image of a man placed on a wall in a public toilet at a rugby stadium might be interpreted differently to the same image in an art gallery.

2.6.2 Body Language, Visual Cues and Sexual Orientation

I have discussed above that people may make decisions based on very little visual information (see du Plessis and du Plessis 2008). Although biological sex and gender may not be intrinsically linked, Schrock and Schwalbe (2009: 279) believe that due to common associations between being a male and being a man, the "male body is a symbolic asset". This symbolic male body thus assists in "establishing credibility as a man and thus a member of the dominant gender group" (ibid.). Even though it is acknowledged that the symbolic asset alone is not sufficient enough to ensure such credibility, it appears that it would nonetheless bring with it the expectation of acting in particular ways. Lick, Johnson and Gill (2013: 656) add that "[p]erceivers use gendered body motion to categorize others' social identities, and these categorizations carry important consequences ranging from mate selection to prejudice". What follows below is a brief review of some of the studies that have attempted to examine the link between the physical body and perceived gender or sexual orientation.

Although it appears that the role of sexual orientation in nonverbal communication has only recently become a topic of interest to researchers, Knöfler and Imhof (2007: 190) state "a general prejudice persists that homosexual people can be distinguished from heterosexual people by their nonverbal behavior". Interested in whether or not sexual orientation influenced the nonverbal communication style of individuals, Knöfler and Imhof (2007) find that in dyadic interactions between two individuals,

nonverbal behaviors such self-touch, body posture, body orientation and gaze between a heterosexual and a homosexual participant differ from interactions where both participants were heterosexual.

Valentova *et al*. (2011: 1145) examined the "gaydar" phenomenon – "the ability to distinguish homosexual individuals from heterosexual ones using indirect cues" – cross-culturally. Using participants from both the United States of America and Czech Republic, they found that based on short video clips of recorded behavior, participants from both cultures were able to "rate sexual orientation both within and across cultures at better than chance accuracy, but there were also cross-cultural differences" (2011: 1150). What is highlighted however, is that although participants were, to some degree, able to identify and rate sexual orientation in others, the nonverbal behavioral differences between the two cultures did impact on the identification process.

In a contrasting study, Lick, Johnson and Gill (2013) investigated the effects of deliberate changes to body movement on perceived biological sex and sexual orientation. To achieve this, they used point-light displays that showed various walking conditions of individuals, which were then categorized by participants according to perceived sex and sexual orientation. Their findings suggest "that deliberate gait changes can influence basic social perceptions, although the effectiveness of those changes depends on one's social identities" (2013: 669). Similarly, Sylva *et al.* (2010) examined whether or not individuals were able to conceal their sexuality in differing scenarios. The first scenario involved a discussion about the weather, and the second, more demanding scenario involved a mock job interview. Raters were asked to identify whether or not the participants in the videos were homosexual. In both scenarios, Sylva *et al.* observe that "homosexual people were perceived as more likely to be homosexual than were heterosexual people" (2010: 149). In the second, more challenging scenario, however, homosexual men were less successful in concealing their sexual orientation, which suggests that "cognitively demanding situations may impair attempts to conceal one's sexual orientation" (ibid.).

Although the studies discussed above relate more to sexual orientation, and this study is concerned more with gender than sexual orientation, what they do point out is that participants appear to make very important judgments about others based on very little information. This would then appear to have important implications for the visual representation of the physical male body and masculinity in graphic design.

2.7 The Potential Significance for Graphic Design

The potential significance of this study for graphic design has been briefly discussed in Chapter One, but because this study involves the perception of primarily visual cues, it is necessary to first discuss

the role of perception in visual communication. Then visual perception is related to stereotyping, before the potential role of graphic design in challenging stereotypes is outlined.

2.7.1 Visual Perception and Stereotypes

Defining perception as "the process by which we utilize external sensory information in combination with other internal conscious and unconscious workings of the brain to make sense of the world" (2002: 91), Barry argues that our understanding of what we see, as well as our conscious thought, is influenced by past interactions and experiences, stored in the memory as templates (2002: 95). Barry (2002: 103) further discusses how 'reasoning' and information processing move from the amygdala in children and adolescents, to the frontal lobe of the brain in adults – "from emotional to cognitive processing". This is why young people thus appear to be more inclined to believe advertisements than adults. It is interesting to note is that even when adults are in possession of conscious knowledge, this does not necessarily alter the way they feel, due to emotional learning at an earlier age (ibid.). These perception processes help to explain how stereotypical images of masculinity may influence visual perceptions.

Hall (1997: 258) speaks of stereotyping as a representational strategy that "*reduces, essentializes, naturalizes and fixes 'difference'*", which "divides the normal and acceptable from the abnormal and unacceptable", and that this is more evident when there are "gross inequalities of power" (ibid.). Already from this brief description, together with perception discussed above, it can be seen that the visual representation of a person or group of people can be constructed in such a manner that this representation leads others to believe the person or people being represented are 'abnormal and unacceptable'.

Similarly, Cover (2004) believes that gender stereotypes play a role in gender performativity. Discussing Rosello's (1998) work on stereotyping, Cover (2004: 85) suggests that stereotypes are not necessarily untruths, as is commonly argued, but that they are representations of a portion of the truth that a particular power wants to convey as the whole truth at a particular moment in time. He supposes that visual stereotypes, which "reduce a set of ideas into an easily communicated and culturally intelligible image", will restrict "the possibilities for diverse subjective performances" (2004: 84) This, he argues

> "[O]ccurs through the coterminous parallel between *image to idea* and *body to action*… whereby a given, recognizable body is expected to behave in particular ways, much as a stereotypical visual image is expected to provide particular ideas." (ibid.)

In this way, stereotypical images of homosexual people may be disseminated by people in power who wish to 'other' homosexual people. These images then form the expectations others have of

homosexual people. Similarly, if masculinity is visually represented in a particular manner, those wishing to identify as masculine might begin mimicking the visuals to which they are exposed.

Schrock and Schwalbe (2009: 283) believe that media imagery plays a significant role in the construction and reproduction of what they term “manhood acts”. From childhood through to adulthood, males and females alike are bombarded with imagery depicting stereotypical gender cues that in turn influence the manner in which gender is constructed and enacted. This extends to the manner in which non-mainstream gender is portrayed, where “[m]en in marginalized groups are often represented in derogatory ways” (ibid.). This links with Horkheimer’s (1947) views on mass culture, whereby the individual comes to accept as their own the ideologies and beliefs portrayed by mass culture. This will be discussed in Chapter Three.

An important consideration for this study is Cover’s (2004: 85) belief that at the core of homosexual male stereotypes is the notion of non-conformity to heteronormative gender performances. This non-conformity thus sets the boundaries for the possible stereotypical representations of homosexuality circulated by the media; homosexuality is what heterosexual masculinity is not:

> “[T]he image of an effeminate ‘straight’ male is often misunderstood to perform non-masculine actions, movements and desires; at the same time, anyone operating a sexual subjectivity under the *name* ‘gay’, for example, is thus presumed to have an appearance (image; body) that varies ‘normal’ gender codes, even if only slightly.” (Cover 2004: 85)

This links with Hall’s (1997) view on the role of ‘power’ in stereotyping, whereby those in a position of power are able to represent others in a particular way.

If nonverbal communication and visual stereotypes influence our perceptions and expectations of the world and of others, then graphic designers, who are involved in the visual representation of bodies, could possibly play a role in altering and combating gendered visual stereotypes. This may in turn have an effect on the social construction of gender itself.

2.7.2 Challenging Stereotypes

Before discussing the potential role of graphic design in challenging stereotypes and addressing social issues, it is necessary to define the term graphic design, and in turn graphic designer. Cezzar (2016: unpaged), writing for the American Institute of Graphic Arts (AIGA) says:

> “Graphic design, also known as communication design, is the art and practice of planning and projecting ideas and experiences with visual and textual content. The form of the communication can be physical or virtual, and may include images, words, or graphic forms. The experience can take place in an instant or over a long period of time. The work can happen at any scale, from the design of a single postage stamp to a

> national postal signage system, or from a company's digital avatar to the sprawling and interlinked digital and physical content of an international newspaper. It can also be for any purpose, whether commercial, educational, cultural, or political."

By Cezzar's description, we see that the purpose of graphic design need not only be commercial, but that graphic design can also serve educational, cultural, and political functions. What is implied, however, is that graphic design involves the communication of 'some thing' in particular. Graphic design does not just admit that images are not neutral; it works purposively to use images to challenge stereotypes or advance alternative views. Barnard (2006: 28) says in this regard that that "communication is the production and exchange of messages and meanings, not the transmission of messages".

Barnard believes that the role of graphic design in stereotyping is two-fold. One the one hand, graphic design can construct and perpetuate stereotypes through the use of imagery (2006: 72), whilst on the other hand, "the other cultural function of graphic design [is] to challenge or contest the dominant cultural beliefs and values of a society" (2006: 74). From this description, we can see that graphic design, which may in fact be used to perpetuate stereotypes for whatever reason, can be used to combat these stereotypes. And it is this what Barnard says here that links with what Eskilson (2012) discusses below – the 'citizen designer'.

2.7.3 The Citizen Designer Impetus in Graphic Design

Eskilson (2012: 425) speaks of a citizen designer as "a professional who attempts to address societal issues either through or in addition to his or her commercial their work". These societal issues can range from sustainability to societal change. Similarly, Ahmad and Bhugra (2010: 448) believe the media (and in turn graphic design) plays a very important role in addressing attitudes toward homosexuality, and thus homophobia. In this case of this study, which explores connections between masculinity and homophobia that may have an impact on the visual representation of the physical male body by graphic designers, the societal issue here that needs addressing is that of gendered stereotyping and the visual communication of masculinity.

Both locally and internationally, there have been attempts to address issues relating to masculinity and homophobia through the use of graphic design and photography. In the examples discussed below, it is the representation of the physical male body in relation to masculinity and homophobia that are of particular importance to this study. In both cases, the issue of homophobia is addressed. In the first case, there is what could be considered a stereotypical approach in the representation of masculinity, while in the second, there appears to be a subtler, more ambiguous approach.

2.7.3.1 Graphic Design Examples

The Jozi Cats, a South African “gay and inclusive” rugby team (Muller 2016: unpaged), launched a campaign in 2016 in an attempt to recruit potential rugby players. The campaign also addresses issues of homophobia and gender stereotyping **(Figs. 1-3)**. Muller (2016: unpaged) claims the campaign – which has been “widely praised” was created in response to the controversy surrounding derogatory remarks made by a well-known South African rugby player – attempts to combat the “perception that gay men fit a certain stereotype which has been formed by society”.

Fig. 1 *Queen? (*Jozi Cats 2016) **Fig. 2** *Flamer?* (Jozi Cats 2016) **Fig. 3** *Fairy?* (Jozi Cats 2016)

Images of the Jozi Cats rugby team players, who appear to be fit, muscular, masculine men wearing rugby uniforms, are coupled with derogatory, homophobic slurs, creating tension between image and text. Verrijdt, who collaborated with the Jozi Cats on the project, claims the concept behind the campaign is intended to be “disruptive and sensitive” (As quoted by Wong 2016: unpaged). The intention of the campaign is to question gay stereotypes rather than perpetuate them (Wong 2016).

While it is acknowledged that the intention of this campaign was to combat stereotypes regarding homosexuality by “reclaiming homophobic slurs’ (Wong 2016: unpaged), it reveals underlying issues relating to how the public reacts to visual representations of the male body.

In seeking to recruit potential rugby players and combat perceptions of stereotypical homosexuality, the campaign only includes images of male bodies that appear to be stereotypically masculine. The derogatory words written above each of the images suggests that the male in the picture does not fit the description above. For example, the ‘Fairy?’ image **(Fig. 3)** shows a large man with a beard

holding a fairy wand. Fairy wings have been added to his back to, and the word/ question ‘Fairy?’ appears over the image. The expression on his face suggests that he is snarling. Taken in this context, it is implied that one would not question whether or not the man in the image was a ‘fairy’, and therefore would not question his masculinity.

However, when Alan Carr, an openly gay British comedian, was depicted as a fairy in a PETA (People for the Ethical Treatment of animals) campaign **(Fig. 4)**, the poster in question generated backlash – some of the harshest criticism coming from gay men (Jones 2014). What this comparison points to is that when a stereotypically masculine looking gay man is referred to as a ‘fairy’, it can be seen as satirical and used a means to combat homophobia and stereotyping. But when a non-stereotypically masculine looking man is depicted similarly, it is seen as distasteful and taken as perpetuating stereotypes.

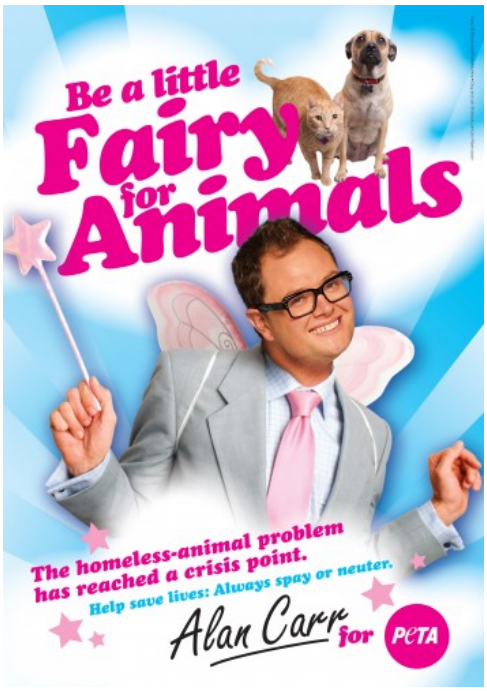


Fig. 4 Be a little Fairy for Animals (PETA 2014)

This appears to show that in the context of the visual representation of male bodies, a stereotypically masculine looking male depicted as a homosexual is better received by audiences than a non-stereotypically masculine male depicted similarly. Although the messages and target audiences of the two campaigns may differ, both attempt to address societal issues as discussed above by Barnard (2006) and Eskilson (2012).

In 2009, the Warwick Rowers, of the University of Warwick, United Kingdom, began producing an annual naked calendar that was initially sold to generate funds for their rowing team. The calendar

received great support from the gay community, and in 2012, the Warwick Rowers made the decision to use part of the fund generated from the sale of their calendar to help in combating homophobia in sport (The Warwick Rowers 2016). The team has since gone on to create Sport Allies, a programme that attempts to “reach out to young people challenged by bullying, homophobia or low self-esteem” (The Warick Rowers 2016: unpaged). The 2016 calendar aims to show that men need not be afraid of being themselves, and that gender and sexuality should be embraced (ibid.).

The photographs below **(Figs. 5-7)** represent masculinity differently to the way in which masculinity is represented by the Jozi Cats. The photographs depict men in close proximity to each other. There is also no mention of sexuality or gender in any of the photographs. The focus in these photographs appears to be on the intimacy between men, and not on the sexuality of the men depicted.

Fig. 5 *Unknown* (University of Warwick Boat Club 2016)

Fig. 6 *Unknown* (University of Warwick Boat Club 2016)

Fig. 7 *Unknown* (University of Warwick Boat Club 2016)

While it is acknowledged that the audiences for the Jozi Cats campaign and the Warwick Rowers calendar differ, both teams use their masculine bodies to address the societal issue of homophobia.

2.8 Conclusion

I have mentioned that this study is concerned with the visual communication of masculinity. It was therefore necessary in this chapter to discuss literature relating to issues of gender and visual communication. However, in doing so, it became apparent that the construction of gender, and in turn masculinity, was influenced by various factors, and that homophobia and masculinity were connected

to the extent that homophobia might be used to signify heterosexuality and masculinity. This chapter has also showed that people appear to make very important judgments about other people's gender and sexual orientation based on very little visual information, and that visual stereotypes might play a role in influencing these perceptions and expectations of others. Connections between masculinity and homophobia might therefore have important implications for the visual representation of the physical male body and masculinity in graphic design, where the graphic designer can either perpetuate or challenge visual stereotypes. Clarification of the attitudes and values that might associate masculinity with homophobia in a South African context is needed if graphic designers are to challenge stereotypical visual representations of masculinity.

In the next chapter, I thus outline the aim, objectives and research questions, and discuss the theoretical and methodological orientation of the study.

CHAPTER THREE

THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL ORIENTATION

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, Critical Theory is presented as the research orientation for inquiry into homophobia and masculinity. The way in which Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis and stake and interest are used in this study is then explained.

3.2 Aim, Objectives, Research Questions, and Proposed Outcome of the Study

This study aims to explore connections between homophobia and masculinity that may have consequences for the visual representation of the physical male body in graphic design. In order to achieve this, I formulated the following objectives and research questions:

The objectives of the study are to:

- Identify body language that may have come to impact on the perception of masculinity.
- Expand on current understandings of what is meant by the term 'homophobia'.

To achieve these objectives, I ask three main research questions:

1. How is masculinity visually communicated through bodily gesture and posture?
2. What different issues underlie the visual communication of masculinity?
3. How is the visual communication of masculinity affected by various and ambiguous manifestations of homophobia?

The proposed outcome of the study is the provision of guidelines for the visual representation of the male figure in visual communication design.

3.3 Critical Theory as a Research Orientation

The previous chapter drew on theory that shows gender, sexual orientation and homophobia to be sites of power struggle and, at the same time, to be inextricably linked. In light of this, critical theory, which is concerned with issues of power, is the overarching orientation of this study.

As a school of thought, critical theory consists of a number of theories that offer a critique of society. The orientation is toward changing the social world. In this way critical theory differs from traditional theories, which are "oriented only to understanding or explaining" the social world (Crossman 2015: unpaged). Quoting Horkheimer, a seminal critical theorist, Crossman (2015: unpaged) says that a critical theory must meet three specific criteria:

> "[I]t must be explanatory, practical, and normative, all at the same time. That is, it must explain what is wrong with current social reality, identify the actors to change it, and provide both clear norms for criticism and achievable practical goals for social transformation."

As the overarching theoretical framework for this study then, critical theory requires that a social problem be identified, the potential agents for change identified, and possible solutions provided.

In a comprehensive paper entitled *Rethinking Critical Theory and Qualitative Research*, Kincheloe and McLaren (2011) offer a reconceptualized, contemporary critical theory informed by the years they have spent teaching critical thinking, as well as working as critical theorists and researchers. On the relationship between critical theory and issues of power and domination within society, Kincheloe and McLaren (2011: 288) state:

> "A critical social theory is concerned in particular with issues of power and justice and the ways that the economy, matters of race, class, and gender, ideologies, discourses, education, religion, and other social institutions, and current dynamics interact to construct a social system."

Kincheloe and McLaren outline areas of, or contexts within critical theory that they have re-examined and re-interpreted to fit within contemporary society. Below, I discuss the key areas most relevant to this study in relation to masculinity issues.

3.3.1 Critical Enlightenment and Masculinity

From the perspective of critical enlightenment, critical theory seeks to understand how power relationships between individuals and groups operate. The researcher then seeks to "uncover the winners and losers in particular social arrangements and the processes by which such power plays operate" (Kincheloe and McLaren 2011: 288). Similarly, masculinity studies, which I discussed in the previous chapter, is also concerned with the historical and social constructions of masculinities and the power relationships between differing masculinities.

An area with which Horkheimer (1947) was concerned is the decline of the individual. By individual, Horkheimer means that the particular being in question not only exists or has existed at a particular

point in time as a member of the human race, but that this individual is aware of their "individuality as [a] conscious human being, including recognition of his [their] own identity" (1947: 128).

This lack or loss of individuality is, in part, due the repetitive and all-consuming manner in which social conditioning occurs. The person being conditioned in turn begins to mimic their surroundings in order to survive:

> "By echoing, repeating, imitating his surroundings, by adapting himself to all the powerful groups to which he eventually belongs, by transforming himself from human being into a member of organizations, by sacrificing his potentialities for the sake of readiness and ability to conform and gain influence in such organizations, he manages to survive." (Horkheimer 1947: 141-142)

Following Horkheimer, the desire to belong to some group – to feel a sense of worthiness and power in a world dominated by organizations – outweighs the potential of the person to realize their own individuality. Horkheimer (1947: 147) believes that because human beings are so systematically integrated into groups such as "associations, teams, and organizations", any sense of individuality or uniqueness is stifled. With regard to masculinity then, in order to belong to, or to demonstrate 'normative' masculinity, the individual might sacrifice their individuality in order to conform to the status quo. And in order to reaffirm this 'normative' masculinity, the individual might display homophobic attitudes (see Theodore and Basow 2008; Schrock and Schwalbe 2009).

In the process of "sacrificing his potentialities", the individual becomes entangled in a process of resentment and repression. As Horkheimer (1947: 143-144) states:

> "[U]nder the pragmatic reality of today, man's self-expression has become identical with his function in the prevailing system, although he desperately represses any other impulse within himself as well as in others, the rage that seizes over him whenever he becomes aware of an unintegrated longing that does not fit into the existing pattern is a sign of his smoldering resentment."

As I discussed in the previous chapter, in a given society, a man may be expected to exhibit specific traits in order to be considered masculine. As such, this might mean he will have to repress any traits or behavior that are incongruent with the particular society's expectations of men and masculinity.

Mass culture's involvement in the decline of the individual is such that the collective ideas, concepts, and beliefs act upon the individual and are adopted by the individual as their own (Horkheimer 1947: 154). By "imposing patterns for collective imitation", mass culture goes against the very concept of individualism that it portrays (Horkheimer 1947: 158-159). Kincheloe and McLaren (2011) agree that popular culture, amongst other things, has contributed to the decline of the individual's sense of self and sense of place. This has occurred through an inundation of electronic images and signs that

serve “as a mechanism of control in contemporary Western societies” (Kincheloe and McLaren 2011: 292). In other words, our individualism relies on the imitation of specific preexisting patterns of behavior that fool us into thinking we are being individualistic when in actual fact we are being controlled to think so.

Horkheimer (1975: 200) believes that both what the individual sees and hears, as well as the manner in which they do so are “inseparable from the social life-process as it has evolved over the millennia”. Elaborating on this, he maintains that everything that is perceived by the individual is “socially preformed… through the historical character of the object perceived and through the historical character of the perceiving organ”, and that neither are “simply natural; they are shaped by human activity” (ibid.). As a case in point, the previous chapter explained shifts in how homosexuality has historically been perceived in relation to masculinity - from customary and accepted, to sinful, and then to pathological.

I also noted in the previous chapter that masculinities are constructed and shaped by the historical contexts in which they exist or have existed (Connell 1995). How masculinity is constructed and defined then involves more than a simple process of ‘natural’ perception. The process of perception is intrinsically linked to what has occurred in the past, and how this is affected by current social conditions.

Kinchelo and McLaren (2011: 290) argue that there are constant attempts to win consent to domination, and that there is conflict between groups with differing agendas. Essential to this understanding is Gramsci’s view of hegemony:

> “Gramsci understood that dominant power in the 20th century is not always exercised simply by physical force but also through social psychological attempts to win people’s consent to domination through cultural institutions such as the media, the schools, the family, and the church.” (ibid.).

Similarly, in Chapter Two, Theodore and Basow (2008) argue that there is cultural pressure placed on males to conform to normative masculinity and heterosexuality, and to therefore be accepted as a masculine man.

Kincheloe and McLaren (2011: 291) further say that hegemony and ideology are inseparable, and thus ideological hegemony involves the “cultural forms, the meanings, the rituals, and the representations” involved in the formulation of the *status quo* as well as the position of the individual therein. This is echoed in Connell’s (n.d.) view that masculinity does not mean men, but rather that ‘masculinities’ involves “the *position* of men in a gender order”.

3.3.2 Masculinity and Discursive Power

The critical researcher understands that language and visual imagery can be used as a means of domination and control. Of particular importance to this study is the process of attempting to impose discursive closure, that is when "power discourses undermine the multiple meanings of language, establishing one correct reading that implants a particular hegemonic/ideological message into the consciousness of the reader" (Kincheloe and McLaren 2011: 291). For the purposes of this study, the definition of 'language' is extended to refer to the visual language involved in visual communication design and therefore graphic design. This would then include body language, which was shown in the previous chapter to influence our perceptions of others (see du Plessis and du Plessis 2008; Schrock and Schwalbe 2009; Lick, Johnson and Gill 2013).

Kincheloe and McLaren (2011: 299) then, while acknowledging the dangers of grouping critical theorists under the assumption that they adhere to a neatly packaged, unified approach to critical theory, state that they define a criticalist as "a researcher or theorist who attempts to use her or his work as a form of social or cultural criticism and who accepts basic assumptions". The assumptions that they list (2011: 299-300) link with masculinity issues that are discussed in this chapter and the previous chapter, which say that masculinities are shaped by socio-historical contexts; that there are power relations between these masculinities; and that some forms of masculinity enjoy more privilege than others.

3.4 Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis

Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis (MCDA) involves critically analyzing visual stimuli (along with text) in order to show how these stimuli create meaning (Machin and Mayr 2012: 9). Additionally, and in line with the interest Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) has with power and control, Machin and Mayr (2012: 10) say that:

> "Visual communication, as well as language, both *shapes* and *is shaped* by society. MCDA therefore is not so much interested in the visual semiotic choices in themselves, but also in the way that they play a part in the communication of power relations."

Kress and van Leeuwen (2001) add that the multimodalities of multimodal texts should not be seen as performing different meanings, and as such do not communicate only in specific ways. The same kinds of meaning may be communicated in different ways across modalities.

The CDA aspect of MCDA, according to van Dijk (1995: 17), refers to

> "[A] special approach to the study of text and talk, emerging from critical linguistics, critical semiotics and in general from a socio-politically conscious and oppositional way of investigating language, discourse and communication."

Because there are various meanings associated with 'discourse', it is necessary to identify the definition with which this study is aligned. Wodak and Meyer (2009: 6) discuss how ' 'text' may be considered the concrete form of abstract 'discourse'; and how 'discourse' may be "structured forms of knowledge and the memory of social practices". MCDA extends the definition of text, or discourse, to include visual texts as well as linguistic texts.

Thompson (2011: unpaged) refers to the Foucauldian view of discourse as "a culturally constructed representation of reality, not an exact copy", which "constructs knowledge and thus governs, through the production of categories of knowledge and assemblages of texts, what it is possible to talk about and what is not". Similarly, Machin and Mayr (2012: 20) say that discourses refer to the "broader ideas communicated by a text". The Foucauldian definition points towards issues of power and control, and is as such the preferred definition for this study.

Discourse thus forms subjects and structures society, and different discourses are linked to each other via collective symbolism (Jäger 2002: 35). Quoting Drew et al. (1985: 265), Jäger (ibid.) states that "[c]ollective symbols are 'cultural stereotypes (frequently called "topoi"), which are handed down and used collectively'". Jäger further argues that the media plays a role in the dissemination of visuals that we use to make sense of society:

> "In the store of the collective symbols that all the members of a society know, a repertoire of images is available with which we visualize a complete picture of societal reality and/ or the political landscape of society, and through which we then interpret these and are provided with interpretations – in particular by the media." (2002: 35)

As such, CDA places emphasis on issues of "*power, dominance and inequality* and the ways these are *reproduced* or *resisted* by social group members through text and talk" (van Dijk 1995: 18). Such a focus on power, dominance and inequality, and the resistance or reproduction thereof, links with the aim, objectives and research questions of this study. CDA is also concerned with control and access to discourse, that is, those in a position of power who control and have access to legitimate forms of discourse (van Dijk 1995: 20). It the abuse of power and the "(morally and legally) illegitimate forms of control and access" on which CDA particularly focuses (van Dijk 1995: 21).

van Dijk (1995: 23) adds that CDA (and MCDA) should bring to light ways in which those in power control text and talk in order to "monitor the mind of recipients in their own interest". This control may

involve emphasizing positives about one group, while emphasizing negatives about another; or de-emphasizing the negatives of a group while also de-emphasizing positives about another group (ibid.). Where masculinity is concerned, the positives of a particular kind of masculinity may be emphasized, while the negatives of other masculinities are foregrounded.

In CDA, 'structural oppositions' involve looking at how participants or actors are accorded opposing descriptors and corresponding characteristics. Machin and Mayr (2012: 39) provide the examples of "young-old, good-bad, or democracy-communism", which can be extended to masculine-non-masculine, heterosexual-homosexual. As Machin and Mayr (ibid.) point out, both terms do not have to be present at the same time for the recipient to infer that the one term implies qualities that are different from the opposite. For example, if a person is masculine, it implies that they are not non-masculine. If masculinity is associated with power and dominance, a masculine person would not be weak or submissive. Therefore it can be deduced that a non-masculine person is weak or submissive. If these opposing attributes or characteristics are stated more openly, then the term "ideological squaring" is used (van Dijk 1998 as referenced by Machin and Mayr 2012: 40). These above are examples of what are called 'referential strategies' (Machin and Mayr 2012: 79), and it is through using representational strategies that we are able to label people or "social actors" or participants (2012: 77).

Thompson (2011: unpaged) posits that using the Foucauldian approach to CDA should result in asking the following questions of a text or texts:

> "1. What is being represented here as a truth or as a norm?
> 2. How is this constructed? What 'evidence' is used? What is left out? What is foregrounded and backgrounded? What is made problematic and what is not? What alternative meanings/explanations are ignored? What is kept apart and what is joined together?
> 3. What interests are being mobilised and served by this and what are not?
> 4. How has this come to be?
> 5. What identities, actions, practices are made possible and /or desirable and/or required by this way of thinking/talking/understanding? What are disallowed? What is normalised and what is pathologised?"

From Thompson's points, what must be considered in the case of this study is: What is perceived as masculine/ non-masculine/ normal/ abnormal, what has informed these perceptions, and what is the impact of such perceptions?

A further means of gaining insight into masculinity and homophobia is the idea of *the dilemma of stake and interest*, discussed below.

3.4.1 Masculine Stake and Interest

Taken from Potter, Edwards and Wetherell's (revisited) Discursive Action Model (1993), the dilemma of stake and interest refers to the manner in which mechanisms or strategies are employed by people to change the impact or significance of some thing that is said or written or represented. Although the Discursive Action model (and the dilemma of interest and stake) is derived from the field of Discursive Psychology, the dilemma of stake and interest could be seen as being a part of CDA as it also deals with issues of power and contestation. On the notion of interest and stake, Potter, Edwards and Wetherell (1993: 392) state:

> "One of the features of interaction between people and groups is that they are commonly taken as entities with desires, motives, institutional allegiances and so on. That is, they are taken as entities with a personal or institutional stake or interest in their action. The referencing of such a stake is one principle way of discounting the significance of an action or reworking it's nature."

Potter and Hepburn (2005: 295) elaborate on this by adding that people "may respond to what others say as based on particular interest, and they may manage issues of interest in their own talk". Lee and Roth (2004) agree that people have a desire to sustain their interests, but may wish to produce accounts that do not seem as though they are attempting to sustain these interests. So it is the constant evaluation of stake and interest by the people of themselves and of others that is brought into consideration here. With regard to this study, how participants 'uphold' masculinity or contest masculinity issues comes into question.

An example is given by Potter, Edwards and Wetherell (1993: 392), in which the action of blaming someone or something can be seen as the "product of spite", thereby discrediting and disregarding the blame. Lee and Roth (2004: unpaged) speak about the phrase 'I dunno' used by Princess Dianna (as discussed by Potter 1997), and how this phrase was employed to "minimize [her] stake in her account of her involvement in the publication of a book that portrayed the royal family in a bad light". Here, the response 'I dunno' did not simply refer to a lack of opinion or knowledge, but was rather used in a way that allowed Princess Diana to manage her stake in the matter.

Potter, Edwards and Wetherell (1993: 392) further point out that there is no single manner in which the dilemma of stake and interest is handled, but that the use of reports, descriptions and versions are other ways with which the dilemma may be dealt. A seemingly or apparently ("ostensibly") factual description or version about a person or event can be used to place or redirect blame (ibid.). These "ostensibly factual versions" also impact the manner in which attitudes could be considered. A person expressing certain attitudes might become "caught in the dilemma of interest" whereby their attitudes might be seen as "having psychological motivations that are the subject of censure of some kind" (ibid.). Therefore, in order to avoid being labeled as prejudiced or bigoted, the person might employ

certain mechanisms or strategies. Potter, Edwards and Wetherell (ibid.) use the example of the "disclaimer structure "I'm not racist but…"" studied by van Dijk (1987; 1992). It isn't difficult to see how this example could be extended to "I'm not homophobic but…"

The dilemma of stake and interest is potentially relevant to this study as participants may manage what they say so as to sustain their interest in a particular matter, while at the same time attempting to avoid being labeled as discriminatory. This is further discussed in Chapter Five.

3.5 Ontological and Epistemological Positioning of the Study

As I have indicated in Subection 3.3.1, historically formed attitudes are important to current negotiation of knowledge and reality. The ontological position of critical theory study is one of 'historical realism' (Guba and Lincoln 1994: 110). This position takes the view that our reality and experiences are shaped by foregoing social forces of politics, economics, culture and a variety of effects on social identity, including gender. Reality is thus subjective and related to issues of power (Lather 2006). The discussion in this and the previous chapter takes the ontological view that gender is socially and historically constructed, that it is influenced by cultural and political forces, and that it can change over time.

The epistemological position of the study is then that knowledge is not value neutral, but rather a form of power that is negotiated between people ("transactional"), and therefore also between a researcher and those in the research setting (Guba and Lincoln 1994: 110). This view has been taken, for example, in Chapter Two, where I have discussed how masculinity has historically been linked to traits such as confidence, dominance and independence, and how homosexuality has been viewed as a sin and an illness, and inferior to heterosexuality. These views of homosexuality and heterosexuality would have been generated through transactions between people, are therefore "value mediated" (ibid.), and in keeping with the emancipatory function of critical theory (Lather 2006), can and should change.

In line with the ontological and epistemological position of the study, Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis as the analytical approach is discussed below.

3.6 Conclusion

As I have mentioned above, this research study begins with the aim of exploring connections between homophobia and masculinity that may have consequences for the visual representation of masculinity in graphic design. In this chapter, I have discussed the use of critical theory as the theoretical framework for this study. I have also presented MCDA as the analytical approach that may achieve

the visual aims of the study. This approach is interested in what is and what is not said, or what is alluded to; what is included, or what is excluded; what is brought to the foreground, and what is pushed to the background (Machin and Mayr 2012: 31). MCDA is especially concerned with the "ideas, absences and taken-for-granted assumptions" in images and text (Machin and Mayr 2012: 9). Critical theory and MCDA are considered to align with the research questions of this study as they explore possible contestation within the visual representation and communication of masculinity. The ontological and epistemological orientation of the study recognizes that historical realities prefigure this contestation, and also recognizes the epistemological status of such contestation in itself.

In the next chapter, I discuss how the research design and methodology of the study pursue the objectives and research questions, in light of the theoretical and methodological orientation.

CHAPTER FOUR

R E S E A R C H D E S I G N A N D M E T H O D O L O G Y

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter I discuss the research methodology for exploring visual connections between masculinity and homophobia. After describing the research setting in which this study was conducted, I give precedence to photo-elicitation as a research method. This is because the study centers upon visual communication, and the validity of research methods depends greatly upon this focus. At the same time the critical theory orientation of this study demands that ethical issues arising from the photo-elicitation method be addressed.

The resulting rationale for the production of male body language photographic images then follows. I then explain how three focus groups were planned, in which these photographic images were used to elicit responses about masculinity.

4.2 The Research Setting

This study was conducted at a South African university, within a Faculty of Arts and Design. The decision to conduct this research study within such an environment was based on the argument that universities may play a role in shaping how male students experience gender (Gough and Peace 2000; Harris and Struve 2009).

In their study about male students' perceptions of masculinity at an American research university, Harris and Struve (2009) found that although male students acknowledged the patriarchal and competitive nature of such an environment, the diverse culture of the campus allowed them to expand on what they might previous have though about gender and masculinity. While Hames (2008: 61) argues that "South African higher education institutions are highly sexualised, racialised, and gendered environments", and Msibi (2013) says homophobia is yet to be addressed in South African universities, Herek (1984) believes that younger people and more educated people tend to be more tolerant toward homosexual people. Downs (2012) also notes that gay men seem to predominate in art and design related industries. Considering that Herek (1984) maintains that people who have not had interpersonal contact with homosexual people are more likely to hold negative attitudes toward them, it would seem that students within a Faculty of Arts and Design might be more tolerant of non-mainstream sexual orientations. I therefore approached university students from a Faculty of Arts and Design to participate in the study, based on the assumption that tolerance and liberal thinking that is associated with creative expression would be prevalent. If homophobic attitudes were found in such an environment, it might be assumed that such attitudes would be more pervasive in less tolerant

environments, and this would then support some degree of generalizability of the study findings to such environments.

Based on these considerations, as well as the focus of the study, which is concerned with visual perceptions of masculinity, I decided to conduct focus groups drawn from a Faculty of Arts and Design. The composition of these groups is discussed in Section 4.5 of this chapter. In the light of the visual communication of masculinity, and potentially homophobic perceptions thereof, the chief validity concern of the methodology is the photo elicitation research method that I used to generate the images that were used during the focus group discussions. Photo elicitation is explained below, after which I discuss the composition of the focus groups.

4.3 Photo Elicitation as a Research Method

I have mentioned already that this study is concerned with exploring connections between masculinity and homophobia that may have consequences for the visual representation of masculinity in graphic design. As such, a visual research method was required, and photo-elicitation provides an effective way of eliciting responses from participants who are exposed to particular visual stimuli. This is discussed below.

Photo elicitation, defined as "the use of photographs during the interview process" (Lapenta 2011: 201) formed a large component of the data collection process of this study. As an open-ended method, photo elicitation allows for the interview process to be *guided* by the researcher in a "non-directive" manner, providing greater opportunity and space for "personal interpretations and responses" from participants (ibid.). This is in keeping with critical theory research methods; about which Budd (2008: 177) says "the interviewing process must be open (as in not directed by the interviewer) so that forthright responses are given". This open interviewing process also links with the use of focus groups as a research method (discussed in Section 4.5), which "can… be used for exploratory research, where the participants are relatively free to discuss the topic as they see fit" (Morgan 2008: 352). .

Additionally, the use of visual stimuli has been established as a rigorous research strategy:

> "Social scientists have employed drawings… photographs … and film or video… to record events as diverse as body motion, social settings, cultural practices, and the nonverbal expression of emotions. There appears to be widespread agreement that these visual approaches are absolutely essential if we are to capture authentic data about the social world. " (Archer 1997: 82)

Harper (2002) says that the usage of images and text during the interview process as opposed to text alone elicits a different kind of information. This is physiological: "[t]he parts of the brain that process

visual information are evolutionarily older than the parts the process verbal information" (2002: 13). Additionally, when processing images and words at the same time, more of the brain's capacity is utilized (ibid.). Photo elicitation generates the kind of multimodal (linguistic and visual) data in which MCDA is interested, and is therefore an appropriate data generation method for the selected data analysis approach of this study (explained in Chapter Three Section 3.4).

Advocating the use of images during the interview process, Harper (2002: 20) says that photo elicitation may help bridge the gap between the researcher and research participants. He says that when two or more people begin discussing the meaning of an image, "they try to figure out something together", thus making photo elicitation "an ideal model for research" (2002:23).

4.4 Photo Elicitation and the Production Masculine Body Language Images

The intention behind photo elicitation was to identify possible body language that may impact on the visual perception of masculinity, which is the first objective of this study (see Chapter Three Section 3.2). Body language would then be used during the generation of photographic images as visual stimuli in focus group discussions. The process of identifying appropriate body language was, however, not a simple task, and involved ethical as well as validity issues.

4.4.1 Ethical and Validity Issues

The critical theory orientation of this study needed to be applied as an ethical question to photo-elicitation as a method, as language and visual imagery can be used as a means of domination and control (Kincheloe and McLaren 2011).

When deciding what kinds of images would be best suited to generating discussion about masculinity and homophobia, I was faced with a conflict between ethical and validity issues. From an ethically sound standpoint, I could not present only images to participants that might immediately be associated with homosexuality or 'gayness', and then ask them to discuss issues relating to masculinity. To do this would be disrespectful to focus group participants who might be gay, and to gay people in general. .

But if I did not include images that contrasted with stereotypically masculine images, how could I ensure the image sample was valid in terms of the research aims, objectives and questions?

I decided it would be best to include an array of images that were generated based on literature relating to body language. This is discussed in greater detail later on in this chapter. The images used during the research process needed to show a range of body language that could create conversation

about visually perceived levels of masculinity. Initially, I considered a method of generating visual body language stimuli that involved identifying key descriptive terms from the literature review. Using these as internet search terms, images of masculine body language were to be sourced from photo-sharing social media platforms such as Tumblr, Flickr, and Pinterest. These search terms, however, often did not provide appropriate images, as some images were labeled incorrectly, while others did not correspond with suitable body gestures and posture. In addition to this, further issues arose relating to copyright.

This led to the decision to generate and photograph the images myself, using **Table 6** discussed below.

If I were to photograph the images myself, a model would then be required. The model would have to sign a consent form (provided in **Appendix A**) that stated their photographs would be used in a study that deals with masculinity and homophobia. To avoid ethical concerns regarding perceived sexuality, and to protect individual identity, the face of the model would not be shown. Also, facial cues might conceivably distort data.

Navarro and Karlins (2008 in reference to Morris 1985), discuss the face as the least reliable part of the human body when attempting to interpret body language. They state that "[w]hen reading body language, most individuals start their observation at the top of a person (the face) and work their way down, despite the fact that the face is the one part of the body that most often is used to bluff and conceal true sentiments" (2008: 55-56). This, they further argue, is due to the way in which the human brain has developed over time, allowing for the survival of the human species. The legs indicate the truest emotional intent, linked directly to the freeze, flight or fight response controlled by the limbic part of the brain. Even when the face may indicate confidence and comfort, the legs may indicate otherwise.

The imagery used during photo-elicitation is usually classified according to the source or generator of the imagery, namely researcher-produced, participant-produced, and co-produced (Lapenta 2011; Keegan 2008). Because this study relied on researcher-produced images, the validity of those images became an area of concern. How could images be selected or generated without relying solely on myself as researcher with inescapably preconceived ideas regarding body language? Further, my own research interest in connections between masculinity and homophobia could threaten the rigor of the process of generating body language images. These difficulties led to the rationale for generating photo elicitation images described in the next section.

4.4.2 Image Generation: Body Language Literature

What emerged while reviewing academic literature related to body language was that instead of discussing masculine and feminine body language as totally separate, academic literature tends to discuss the manner in which the human body communicates nonverbally, both consciously and unconsciously. This meant that body language relating to issues such as, for instance confidence, dominance, uncertainty or defensiveness could be identified. The importance of the situational context and culture in which this nonverbal communication takes place is highlighted in the literature. However, I chose to deliberately remove contextual cues from body image photographs for reasons that are detailed in Subsection 4.4.4.

Characteristics such as those mentioned above informed the final photo image generation. However a synthesis of body language characteristics from theoretical sources was needed in order to arrive at a balance of positive, negative and neutral body language examples. The matrices prepared for this purpose are shown in **Appendix B (Tables 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5).** The process of generating each matrix, however, and of generating a final composite body language table **(Table 6)** is detailed below.

In *What Everybody Is Saying* Navarro and Karlins (2008) indicate the importance of understanding the limbic system and the freeze, flight or fight responses in the decoding of body language. Having worked as a Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) agent, Navarro uses the expertise gained during his career to offer insight into the nonverbal expression of emotions and how we might be able to 'read' people based on their body language.

When creating the matrix based on Navarro and Karlins' (2008) findings **(Appendix B: Table 1)**, I devised nine descriptors or categories to indicate the primary emotional meanings of the body language they discussed:

1. Confident
2. Dominant
3. Territorial
4. Authority
5. Low Confidence
6. Submissiveness
7. Stress
8. Positive/ Comfort
9. Negative/ Discomfort

I then interpreted the body language discussed by Navarro and Karlins (2008) to fit within the descriptors used. In some instances, one body gesture communicated multiple emotions. For example, 'legs apart' could mean that the person using this particular gesture was consciously or

unconsciously communicating that they were dominant, authoritarian, and territorial. These emotions, in the context of the scenarios described by Navarro and Karlins (2008), could then further be interpreted as negative/ discomfort. It must at this point be said that although Navarro and Karlins (2008) might describe this particular gesture in a negative light, dominance and authoritarianism might be considered positive masculinity traits, as discussed in the previous chapter (see Herek 1986).

The nine descriptors devised from the reading by Navarro and Karlins (2008) were then used to create further matrices based on literature pertaining to body language by other authors. This was done primarily to confirm the information offered by Navarro and Karlins (2008).

The second matrix **(Appendix B: Table 2)** is derived from *Bodytalk: A World Guide to Gestures* by Morris (1994). Morris' approach is different to that of Navarro and Karlins (2008), in that Morris presents a compilation of body language from around the world, discussing the meaning, action, background, and locality of this body language. Morris (1994) does note, however, that during the research phase of compiling the guide, it became apparent that in some locations or countries, certain bodily gestures were reserved exclusively for men. Additionally, a female researcher that assisted in collecting the data was, in some instances, required to leave before the men would continue discussing the topic.

This matrix confirmed the meanings of some of the body language discussed by Navarro and Karlins (2008), but also added some body language used to tease or mock others.

The Definitive Book of Body Language by Pease and Pease (2004) offers yet another approach to interpreting body language. Many of the gestures that are discussed by Pease and Pease (2004) confirm the views of Navarro and Karlins (2008), with added interpretations or meanings given **(Appendix B: Table 3)**. I initially viewed the body language described by Pease and Pease (2004) with skepticism, as they seem to approach body language from a non-academic angle. However, after devising the matrix based on Navarro and Karlins' (2008) opinions, and confirming the interpretations of Pease and Pease (2004), I decided that this matrix should be included so that a greater range of interpretations could be used when generating the body language visual stimuli to be used in the focus group discussions.

To complement the academic literature on body language, I consulted two online sources in order to gain insight into popular opinion on masculine body language. The first online source was a blog about *The Art of Manliness*, with articles focusing on "uncovering the lost art of being a man" (McKay and McKay 2007). As with Pease and Pease (2004), this blog was used to complement Navarro and Karlins' (2008) opinions. The blog is written with good intent, but at times comes across as farcical

and prescriptive. The main points that were taken from four separate articles by McKay and McKay, from 2009 to 2014, are included in this matrix **(Appendix B: Table 4)**.

The second online source, a website called *To Be Alpha*, is "dedicated to helping everyone by creating content that is informative and entertaining" (King n.d.). The website contains a particular section dedicated to *Alpha Male Body Language*, which is a somewhat humorous take on masculine body language aimed at helping men separate themselves from "the masses of beta males" (ibid.). Selected body language and the corresponding interpretations are included in this matrix **(Appendix B: Table 5)**.

4.4.3 Combined Table of Body Language

I then combined the above five matrices to form **Table 6** which was used to generate the body language photographic images discussed below in Subsection 4.4.4. This table contains six descriptors/ emotions/ categories as opposed to nine, as in many cases gestures were interpreted such that they fell into two or more categories. I thus cross-referenced categories to avoid repetition of body language. For example, 'arms behind back' is assigned to the confidence category, but the gesture may also denote dominance, authority, and something negative.

Table 6 Combined Body Language Cues

Confidence	
Arms behind back	dominance, authority, negative/ discomfort
Hooding effect	dominance, territoriality, authority, negative (aggression)
Arms widespread	positive
Finger steepling	dominance, positive/ comfortable (superiority, self- assurance)
Fist clench (straight arm)	dominance, authority, positive (power/ victory)
Leg over arm chair	territorial, negative (aggression, indifference, informal)
Palm in palm (behind back)	authoritative, positive/ comfortable (superiority)
Arm fold, thumbs up	dominance, negative (defensive but cool, superiority)
Stand up straight, shoulders back, chin up, leaning in slightly	positive/ comfort (in control)
Head straight ahead	dominance
Ankle over knee (seated)	dominance, authority, negative (assertively relaxed, argumentative, competitive)
High shoulder shrug	positive/ comfortable
Thumb display	
Legs straight, slightly apart (standing)	dominance
Legs apart, upright (seated)	
Expanded shoulders	
Low/ Lack of Confidence	
Low/ partial shoulder shrug	negative/ discomfort

Hand Wringing	stress
Thumbs in pockets	negative/ discomfort
Neck touching	stress, negative/ discomfort
Leg twine (female)	positive/ comfortable (sexually powerful), negative/ discomfort (shy)
Arms crossed over chest	stress, negative (defensive, insecure, uncertain), territorial
Double arm grip	negative/ discomfort (restrained, insecure)
Partial arm cross (female)	negative/ discomfort (uncomfortable, stranger to group)
Back slouched	
Dominance	
Torso splay	territorial, positive/ comfortable
Chest puffing	territorial
Arms akimbo (thumbs back)	territorial, authority, negative/ discomfort (anti-social)
Genital framing	territorial
Forefinger pointing	authoritative, negative/ discomfort (threatening, "Do it or else!")
Cowboy stance (thumbs tucked, fingers showing)	territorial, authority, negative/ discomfort (aggressive)
Straddling chair (seated)	territorial, low confidence, negative/ discomfort (aggressive)
Palm down	authority
Finger pointing, with thumb and index finger squeezed together	positive/ comfortable (avoids intimidating others)
Forefinger raise	
Submissiveness	
Torso bow	positive/ comfortable
Elbows against waist (arm withdrawal)	stress, negative/ discomfort, low confidence
Rogatory (palms up)	positive/ comfortable (honesty, non-threatening)
Knee over knee (seated)	positive/ comfortable (very relaxed), negative/ discomfort (effeminate)
Wrist flap	negative (effeminate, insult)
Cheek support (hand on cheek)	negative (sissy)
Forehead press (back of hand)	negative (camp)
Leg cross (standing)	male: low confidence, negative/ discomfort (protecting masculinity) female: territorial, negative/ discomfort (access denied) general: positive/ comfortable, negative/ discomfort (defensive)
Legs together	
Positive/ Comfort	
Ventral front	
Leg stroke (female)	attraction
Ankle over ankle (seated)	relaxed
Foot forward (seated)	attraction, negative/ discomfort (intention to leave)
Face platter (female)	presenting face for male admiration
Leaning forward, arms uncrossed	sincere, receptive
One hand on chin, arms folded	contemplative
Hands to side	relaxed, open

Negative/ Discomfort	
Ventral denial	stress
Torso shield	
Arm restriction	
Frozen hands	
Stroking hands with fingers	stress
Leg clamp (seated)	stubborn
Head clamp	aggressive
Arms and legs crosses (seated)	defensive, emotionally withdrawn
Ankle lock (seated)	male: legs apart female: together stress
Fists clenched, arms crossed	hostile, defensive
Hands clenched	anxious, frustrated, stress
One/ both hands in pocket(s)	non-involvement
Knee bent (standing)	"other" (effeminate)
Head, looking up	lost
Head, looking down	loser
Folded arms, tensed jaw, balled fists	closed off, hostile, unwilling to communicate

Table 6 Combined Body Language Cues

4.4.4 Photo Image Generation

I used a single model for all the photographs taken. This ruled out the possibility of differences in height, weight, or skin color between models influencing or altering the perceptions on participants. I chose the model based on his overall physical appearance. He is of average height, weight, and build, and of typical university-going age (twenty years old). I acknowledge that the model is Caucasian, and that this may influence perceptions of masculinity among participants not of the same race or cultural background. To minimize the effect of skin color on participants' perceptions, photographs were edited so that they are presented in black and white. The model was dressed in neutral attire – a standard grey crew neck t-shirt, plain blue jeans, and commonly worn sports footwear. The model had an unexceptional haircut, and was also asked to remove all jewelry. Additionally, to further remove unnecessary stimuli from the images, I photographed the model in a studio against a white backdrop. As shown in Chapter Two, context plays an important role in the perception of male bodies and masculinity.

The intention with these images was for them to be context-less. These decisions were made so that the clothing worn by the model and the environment in which he was photographed would not impact on focus group participant perceptions.

I photographed the model using a Canon EOS 1000D DSLR camera equipped with a wide-angle lens, and an aperture of f/22 and an exposure time of 1/60. Two flashes – a soft box flash and an umbrella flash – were used to minimize shadows. The camera was positioned directly in front of the model, approximately two meters away, so that the entire body could be captured.

The combined table of the required body language cues and corresponding emotions/ characteristics **(Table 6)** was used to ensure the model understood what each of the body language gestures was supposed to communicate. I gave him a demonstration of what the required body language should look like, and then told him what the body language was intended to communicate or indicate. A total of one hundred and eighty-one photographs – showing both standing and seated body language – were taken, allowing for the model to interpret the body language in multiple ways. I then reviewed the photographs, and made the decision to utilize forty-eight of the one hundred and eighty-one resulting photographs. These forty-eight photographs were chosen to represent as widely as possible the matrix categories shown above in **Table 6**.

Some of the body language included in the final selection of body language photographs is not, however, found in Table 6. As the generation of body language images proceeded, it became evident that too close an adherence to the matrix would exclude what is called 'clustering' or mixing of gestures (Navarro and Karlins 2008). For instance, according to Table 6 above, 'hands in pockets' indicates negative/ discomfort/ non-involvement, while 'bent knee while standing' indicates 'other' (effeminacy). I then edited these forty-eight photographs using Adobe Photoshop CS6 so that they could be presented in black and white, and so that the model's face was indistinguishable. Next I composed the images into four slides comprising of twelve images each **(Figs. 8-11)** to make the presentation of body language images more manageable. These slides were used during the focus group discussions that are discussed below. Full sized images are included in **Appendix C**.

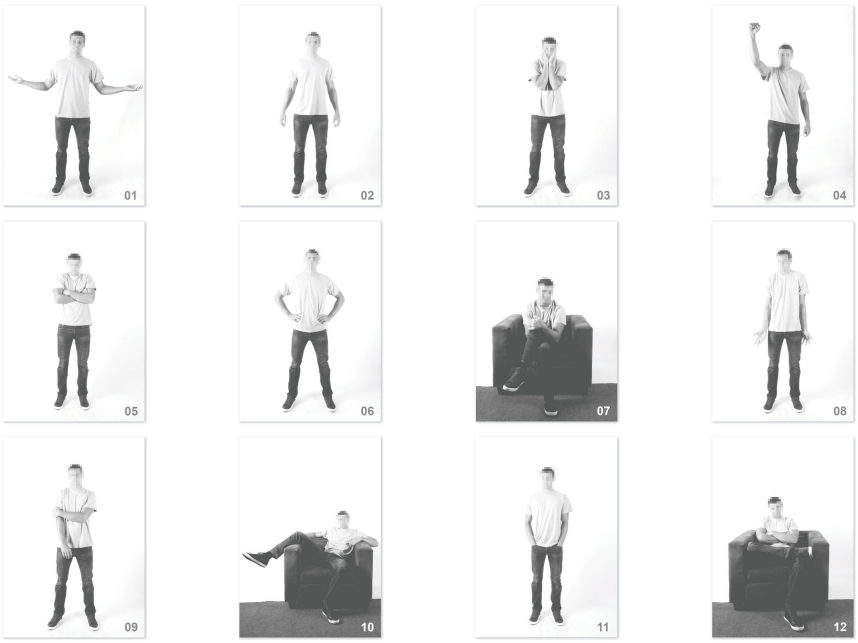


Fig. 8 Focus Group Slide 1 (Thomas 2016)

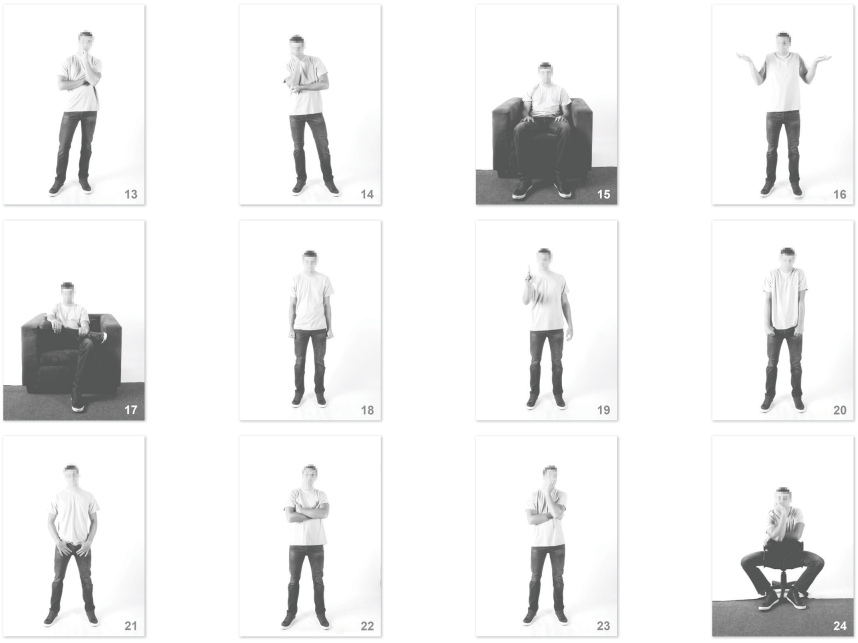


Fig. 9 Focus Group Slide 2 (Thomas 2016)

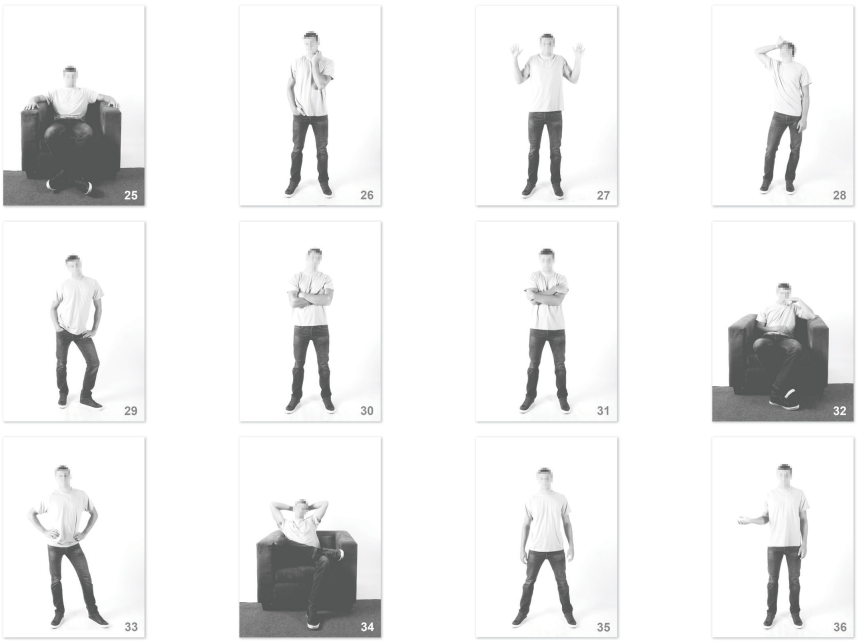


Fig. 10 Focus Group Slide 3 (Thomas 2016)

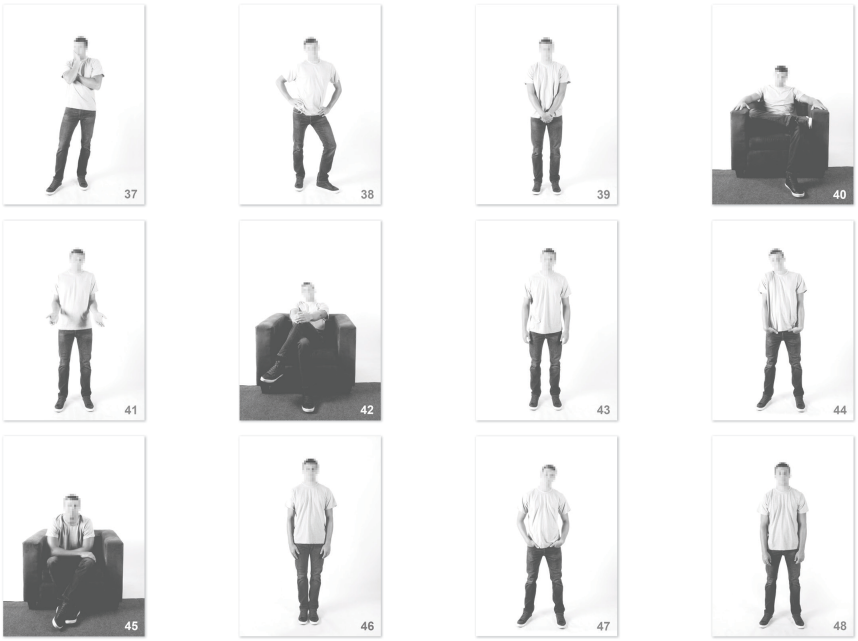


Fig. 11 Focus Group Slide 4 (Thomas 2016)

4.5 Focus Groups

This research phase involved the use of focus groups as a means of obtaining data from participants. Three focus groups were conducted, with between seven and ten participants in each group. Morgan (2008: 352) describes focus groups as "a form of qualitative interviewing that uses a researcher-led group discussion to generate data", whereas already mentioned above, the interviewing process may involve open discussion by the participants.

Kitzinger (1995: 299) believes that focus groups are a means of using group interactions and interpersonal communication between participants to generate data. Group dynamics bring more authentic, and colloquially expressed viewpoints, especially as "people's knowledge and attitudes are not entirely encapsulated in reasoned responses to direct questions" (ibid.). This is particularly useful in a setting where participants may not be completely comfortable expressing their opinions in formal or written language in response to written questions, as might be required with a questionnaire.

There are however questions to be considered regarding the validity of focus groups as a research method. On one hand, a group dynamic may inhibit individual responses that oppose group norms. On the other hand, Kitzinger (1995: 300) argues:

> "Group work can actively facilitate the discussion of taboo topics because the less inhibited members of the group break the ice for the shyer participants. Participants can also provide mutual support in expressing feelings that are common to their group but which they consider to deviate from mainstream culture (or the assumed culture of the researcher). This is particularly important when researching stigmatised or taboo experiences…"

This facilitation of the discussion of taboo or stigmatized topics is pertinent to this study as it asks participants to discuss issues pertaining to masculinity, which, as discussed in the previous chapter, is a site of contestation among males (Herek 1986; Schrock and Schwalbe 2009).

Significantly, focus groups may generate comments from participants that are more critical than those elicited in one-on-one interviews (Kitzinger 1995: 300). Similarly, Brinkmann and Kvale's (2005: 171) discuss 'the Platonic dialogue' where participants are encouraged to engage directly with the researcher.

4.5.1 Focus Group Participant Sampling

Although some researchers suggest aiming for homogeneity in a particular focus group in order for shared experiences to come to light, Kitzinger (1995) points out that it is not disadvantageous to allow

diversity within the group. However, the hierarchy within the group must be noted in order to acknowledge the potential impact of such a hierarchy on the data generated.

Kitzinger (1995: 300) further says that the use of friends and colleagues in focus groups ("naturally occurring" groups) may allow participants to relate to each other more easily. Participants may therefore "challenge each other on contradictions between what they profess to believe and how they actually behave" (ibid.). Barbour and Schostak (2005) support focus group samples comprised of peers. In addition to the positive aspects associated with 'peer groups', such as better chance of viewing as-close-as-possible real life scenarios, Barbour and Schostak (2005: 43) warn of the possibility of asking participants to "cross boundaries which they do not normally do in the contexts in which they usually meet".

This was an important consideration for sampling of focus group participants for this study, as potential participants may have previously interacted with each other, and may be students from the same department or class. Although the participants of the study attend the same university, and are placed within the same Faculty of Arts and Design, there would not necessarily be commonalities amongst the participants.

Below are the participant sampling parameters used in this study:

- Male or female
- Currently studying in any Faculty of Arts and Design programme (listed below):

    - Graphic Design
    - Interior Design
    - Photography
    - Video Technology
    - Fine Art
    - Jewelry Design
    - Fashion
    - Drama
    - Journalism
    - Language Practice
    - Translation and Interpreting Practice
    - English and Communication
    - Education

Potential participants were informed of the research study by means of posters and flyers **(Appendix D)** that were placed around a Faculty of Arts and Design. The posters initially requested that only male students respond, but I revised this when female students showed interest in the study and requested that they be allowed to participate. Furthermore, I have already mentioned in Chapter Three that women are also involved in the construction of masculinities through their interaction with men and boys (Connell n.d.) so I decided that the focus groups should include both male and female participants. Once potential participants had expressed interest in the study, I emailed them a letter of consent **(Appendix E)** that briefly outlined the purpose of the study and their potential role as participants. They were asked to sign the form before participating in the study.

As can be seen in Appendix D, I did not mention on the posters or flyers that the study was concerned with potentially homophobic perceptions. It is debatable whether or not such an exclusion presents an ethical issue, but I felt that raising the issue of homophobia during the recruitment process might have brought to the focus groups standard associations of homophobia with homosexuality rather than masculinity. I also did not want potential participants to think they had to speak about homosexuality or homophobia if they did not wish to. This issue is revisited in Subsection 4.5.2 below.

4.5.2 The Use of a Moderator

Golafshani (2015, in reference to Patton 2001) discusses how validity and reliability tend to refer to credibility in quantitative research, and that this credibility is reliant on the construction of a research instrument, but in the case of qualitative research, the research instrument is the researcher. This links with Bulmer's (2008) view that the moral integrity of the researcher is critical to the trustworthiness and validity of a research study. However, reflecting on my role as not only a part-time lecturer at the Faculty of Arts and Design, but as an openly gay researcher, I decided that a moderator should be used to conduct the focus group discussions so that my presence during the focus groups did not sway or influence participant responses and possibly compromise the validity of the data. Referring to Puchta and Potter (2004), Flick (2009: 204) says that the role of the moderator is "to create a liberal climate, facilitating members to contribute openly both their experiences and opinions".

A third year graphic design student who had previously demonstrated an understanding of the complexities of gender construction was approached as a potential moderator. He was briefed on the basic outline and purpose of the study, and asked if he would be interested in moderating the focus groups. I felt that this student would make participants feel more comfortable discussing their opinions openly than I could.

The literature presented in Chapter Two established a link between masculinity and homophobia. As I mentioned above in Subsection 4.5.1, ethically, I did not want participants to have to speak about homosexuality or homophobia if they did not want to, so throughout all communication with potential participants, only the issue of masculinity was discussed. This also ensured that I did not influence participant's opinions before they had had a chance to see the body languages images for themselves. This decision is supported by Brinkman and Kvale (2005) who believe the ethics of qualitative studies centre on allowing the research participants to object during the research process. Of the possible qualitative research methods that would allow such a situation to exist, Brinkmann and Kvale (2005: 171) speak of 'the Platonic dialogue' in which both researcher and participant/s are allowed to pose questions and offer answers, as well as critique what each party says. In this way, both researcher and participant/s are encouraged to form their own thoughts about the subject matter, which may assist in reaching deeper levels of understanding

Before the focus group research phase began, I briefed the moderator on the above issues, which he readily understood. I showed him the four slides that were to be used during the focus groups, and informed him that he would be asking participants to comment on the images in terms of masculinity. I asked him to be flexible in his approach, and to listen and respond to participant comments accordingly. I stressed that the moderator role was to facilitate discussion, and not elicit particular responses from participants. I encouraged the moderator to allow the participants to speak freely and without constraint..

On the types of moderation of focus groups, Flick (2009: 199) speaks of "formal direction", "topical steering", and "steering of the dynamics". My initial instruction to the moderator leaned toward topical steering, which involves "steering the discussion towards a deepening and extension of specific topics and parts" (ibid.), but as I will show in the next chapter, the moderation style used by the moderator could be seen at times as steering the dynamics, which involves "using provocative questions, polarizing a slow discussion, or accommodating relations of dominance by purposively addressing those members remaining rather reserved in the discussion" (ibid.).

4.6 Conclusion

In Chapter Three, I noted that the media might play a role in the dissemination of images that people use to make sense of society (Jäger 2002). This view may be useful in explaining why images depicting certain body gestures may elicit certain responses from participants. Prior exposure to similar images (with attached meanings) may have already played a role in shaping the perceptions of these images, and the manner in which participants appropriately responded.

In this chapter, I have accordingly outlined the use of photo-elicitation and focus groups as research methods. Both methods have been shown to be very useful tools when discussing difficult or taboo subjects. I have described the processes involved in generating the visual stimuli used during the focus groups, such as reviewing literature that relates to body language, and the generation of visual stimuli based on body language matrices. The particular images used were generated with the goal of assisting in achieving the aim of exploring possible connections between masculinity and homophobia that may have consequences for the visual representation of masculinity in graphic design.

CHAPTER FIVE

INITIAL FINDINGS IN RELATION TO DATA GENERATION

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I present the initial findings of the data generated during the focus group discussions, and discuss how these findings relate to the data generation methods themselves. I also show the connection between masculinity, sexual orientation, and homophobia that emerged in the data.

Excerpts from the focus group discussions are used to illustrate the nature of the data that emerged, and are accompanied by the body language images to which they refer. I then revisit ethical and validity concerns relating to this data that were discussed in the previous chapter. I conclude the chapter with reflections on the theoretical framework that has guided the choice of methods and the analytical approach in this research. In the next chapter, this analytical approach is implemented to interpret data.

5.2 Nature of Data in Relation to Research Methods

As I mentioned in the previous chapter, this study made use of photo-elicitation and well as focus groups in order to generate data. What follows is a description of how the data generated using these methods relates to the methods themselves.

Because three focus group discussions were held, I first discuss them collectively and then individually in terms of participants.

5.2.1 Focus Group Interviews

Three focus group discussions were held on the 17th, 24th and 31st of May 2016 respectively, and lasted approximately 40 minutes each. As I have discussed in the previous chapter, the focus group moderator was briefed before the focus group discussions as to the kinds of questions that should be asked. The moderator was asked not to lead the discussion, but to rather facilitate, and to probe further when participants appeared hesitant about voicing their opinions. The moderator gave participants the option of discussing the body language images in terms of them being ‘masculine’, ‘less masculine’ and ‘neutral’. Giving participants the option of describing an image as neutral meant that they were not forced to choose between only masculine and less masculine.

Participants were seated around a table, which was placed in front of a television monitor linked to a computer. Participants were informed that their voices would be recorded using two iPhone 5 smartphones, but were encouraged to speak freely and openly as their anonymity was guaranteed.

After each focus group discussion, I reviewed and transcribed the voice recordings. After briefly analyzing the transcriptions, I contacted the moderator, and gave him brief comments relating to the focus group discussions and his moderating style. The moderator seemed to make participants feel comfortable enough to speak freely, but there were brief moments where it was felt that he was pressing for discussion or response, or that he was over-participating in the discussions. So the moderator was asked to rather allow participants to speak when they felt the need, and allow participants to pause, hesitate and reflect and be relaxed about silence. It must be noted that even though it appeared at times that the moderator over-participated, this did not seem to r prevent participants from disagreeing with his comments.

As I have mentioned above, I transcribed and briefly analyzed data between each focus group. The transcriptions of all three focus groups were then tabulated. Only those participant responses in which gender is equated with a characteristic or descriptor are included in the tabulations alongside the corresponding images. Participants were shown forty-eight body language images in total and were encouraged to select images for discussion or comparison as and when they so chose. Not all of the body language images generated the same amount of discussion, and participants were advised to reserve comment on images they felt did not warrant discussion. Participants sometimes agreed the body language was masculine or neutral and quickly moved on to the next body language image. I purposefully excluded such instances from any tabulations as they did not generate sufficient discussion between participants, nor was gender linked with a characteristic or trait.

5.2.2 Focus Group Participants

I have discussed in Chapter Three, and briefly again in Chapter Four, my decision to include both male and female participants in the focus groups (see Connell n.d.). What follows is a description of the participants of each focus group, as well as positive and negative issues that were noted in relation to the style of moderation adopted by the moderator.

The first focus group consisted of eight participants, one female and seven males, from different departments within a Faculty of Arts and Design.

The second focus group consisted of seven participants, four females and three males, from an Interior Design department at a Faculty of Arts and Design. Although some of the participants were

acquainted with each other due to being students within the same department, this did not appear to affect their level of engagement or their free expression.

The third focus group consisted of ten participants from a Graphic Design department, three male and seven female, within a Faculty of Arts and Design.

In Chapter Four of this study, I discussed Kitzinger's (1995) views on "naturally occurring" groups. The participants from the second and third focus groups happened to be students in the same department, and in the same class (except in the case of one participant in the second focus group). This meant that participants might have felt more at ease with challenging each other's assumptions or beliefs than participants in the first focus group, where participants were from different departments and levels of study. This does not, however, mean that the data generated during the first focus group is less valid. As Kitzinger (1995: 300) states, "it can also be advantageous to bring together a diverse group… to maximise exploration of different perspectives within a group setting".

Participants' responses were expressed in such a way as to indicate allegiance to a particular social more or cultural norm, and were thus not purely personal or related to their status as students. The use of student participants in this way indexed wider attitudes that include broader social groups.

5.2.3 Photo elicitation

I have discussed the efficacy of photo elicitation as a research method in Chapter Four.

Participants were shown four slides that were either projected using a digital monitor or a video projector. Each of these slides consisted of twelve images depicting the same male model standing and sitting in various positions. Each of the four slides contained eight standing images, and four seated images. In the previous chapter, I discussed the process of devising the body language matrices. These matrices were used as a guide during the generation of the visual stimuli, where the model was directed by myself, but was also allowed to interpret the gestures and poses so that they did not feel 'over posed'. These images were arranged so that as far as possible, each of the categories of poses discussed in Chapter Four was represented on each of the slides. This was not always possible, as there were more images that fell under certain categories than others.

Participants were asked to categorize the images as being either masculine, less masculine, or neutral. Allowing participants the option of categorizing a body language image as neutral meant that they were not forced to categorize the images only as masculine or less masculine. This provided them with an 'out'. They were encouraged to discuss the images as and when they felt the need to do so.

Photo-elicitation seemed to work effectively as a research method during the focus group discussions. Participants were actively engaged with the images and their responses were spontaneous and varied. The decision to present context-less images appeared to work favorably, as participants storied the images themselves and created social contexts into which they placed the model. In doing so, they made connections between body language, masculinity and sexual orientation, sometimes revealing issues related to homophobia. Neither the model's clothing nor his race appeared to impact or prejudice the data in any way.

5.3 Data Characteristics

In the section below, I discuss the nature of the data characteristics as they relate to MCDA. In Chapter Three I have described MCDA as a means of analysis. I discussed how both CDA and MCDA are interested in both what is said or represented, and what is not said or represented. Therefore, this section shows how contestation; humor, laughter, and teasing; and contradictions were evident throughout the focus group discussions.

Focus group participants will from here on be referred to in the following manner:

Male participant number one from First Focus Group	MP 1.1
Female participant number one from Second Focus Group	FP 2.1
Female participant number two from Second Focus Group	FP 2.2
Male participant number one from Third Focus Group	MP 3.1
Moderator	Mod

5.3.1 Contestation

There appeared to be contestation predominantly in the second and third focus groups. In some instances participants would call each other out directly about opinions or beliefs they held. This sometimes led to irritation amongst participants. In all three groups, there appeared to be voices that were heard more often than others. This was particularly expected in the second and third focus groups, as participants were from the same department or class, and were used to interacting with each other and sharing opinions freely.

The example below illustrates the dynamic of the second focus group. FP 2.1 referred to a pose as being aggressive, and the rest of the group disagreed with her. The participants went back and forth, with MP 2.1 asking FP 2.1 to define the word aggressive because he felt she didn't understand what the word meant. This challenging of opinions appears to confirm Kitzinger's (1995) view that focus

groups compromised of friends may allow participants to relate to each other or challenge each other's opinions. In this instance, it seemed that participants were accustomed to interacting with each other and therefore comfortable with openly challenging or contesting each other's views. This allowed for a depth of data that may not have been achieved had the participants been strangers, as participants were prepared to voice their views and defend them if necessary.

FP 2.1: A bit more aggressive
FP 2.2: I don't think it's aggressive
MP 2.1: There's no aggressive.
MP 2.2: That looks aggressive?
FP 2.1: Look at the shoulders!!
FP 2.2: If he does that…
MP 2.2: That doesn't look aggressive FP 2.1.
MP 2.1: Please define aggressive for me. Because I'm lost here.
FP 2.1: Intimidating
MP 2.1: Still. Please define
FP 2.1: I would be intimidated if someone stood like that
FP 2.3: Hawu. FP 2.1:!
FP 2.1: I'm being for real
MP 2.1: NO WAYS!

By contrast, there were occasions where opinions and decisions were unanimous. In these cases, it seemed that there were very obvious ways that a male should sit or stand. When all participants agreed on a particular matter, it appeared to increase group cohesion.

5.3.2 Humor, Laughter, and Teasing

Across all three focus groups, humor, laughter, and teasing between participants was present. Kitzinger (1995: 299) says that focus groups and group work "help the researcher tap into the many different forms of communication that people use in day to day interaction, including jokes, anecdotes, teasing, and arguing". As Rees and Monrouxe (2010: 3385) point out, it cannot be assumed that humor and laughter are inextricably linked. People do not only laugh because they find something humorous. Laughter occurs for a variety of reasons, and can sometimes reveal underlying power relations and identity constructions.

At times the laughter within the focus groups seemed nervous, and at other times the laughter seemed 'genuine'. It appeared at times that humor helped the participants feel comfortable with each other, and with whatever opinions were being expressed. Laughter also appeared to allow participants to distance themselves from comments with which they might not have agreed (laughing in disbelief). Sometimes humor allowed participants to make certain comments that might otherwise have be received negatively were it not for the added element of humor.

Referring to a study by Coates (2007), Rees and Monrouxe (2010: 3385) discuss how in focus groups whose participants are already familiar with one another, as is the case with friendship groups, participants may use jokes to create a sense of intimacy with the other participants, while at the same time creating distance or disassociating themselves from those about which they are joking.

Boxer and Cortés-Conde (1997) distinguish between joke telling and conversational joking or situational humor. They state that conversational joking "is a play frame created by the participants, with a backdrop of in-group knowledge, encompassing not only verbal features but also suprasegmentals and non-verbal communication" (1997: 277). Further, they differentiate "three humorous speech genres" of conversational joking, namely teasing, joking about absent others, and self-denigrating humor (self-teasing) (1997: 279-282). In turn, these three speech genres can function as a means of "identity display" or "relational identity display/ development" (1997: 282).

Teasing was present during some of the interactions between participants of this study. Rees and Monrouxe (2010: 3386) note that although teasing and shared laughter amongst participants can promote group cohesion, when the teasing changes tone and becomes "aggressive, highly distressing and unmarked", it can be seen to be insulting. Similarly, Boxer and Cortés-Conde (1997) speak of the manner in which teasing can bond, nip or bite.

Rees and Monrouxe (2010: 3386) also believe that teasing can be used to "perform social identity", and that this teasing appears to be influenced by gender. They state:

> "Laughter is a mechanism through which individuals can construct their gender identity. Through laughables and laughter, men and women can construct their identities as

masculine men and feminine women, respectively. Furthermore, due to the cultural assumptions about gender and laughter (e.g. men producing more laughables and women doing more laughing), men and women can perform gender in ways that maintain and subvert the gendered order of work."

Here, laughable refers to the comment or action introduced to produce laughter in others, while laughter refers to the reaction to the laughable. During the focus group discussions, there were instances in which some participants produced more laughables than others, while there were those that laughed without producing many laughables. The excerpt below demonstrates the laughter/ laughable action. MP 2.1 introduces the laughable, and the female participants produce the laughter. It can, however, be interpreted in this example that the female participants used their laughter to challenge the comment made by MP 2.1 regarding his masculinity. This example also shows how participants often used themselves as a means of marker or measuring stick of masculinity.

FP 2.1:	Like, it's like fully, um, thingy your legs – crossing your legs like from here right at the top – I don't find it a problem if a m… fully masculine guy does that, actually. I don't know. For me the air thing – no. It just doesn't
MP 2.1:	Okay so if I wasn't like this (*referring to being a masculine man*) (*Female participants burst out laughing and start teasing him*)
MP 2.1:	If I wasn't like that and I… and my legs were folded, how would you perceive me?
FP 2.1:	Legs were folded?
MP 2.1:	Yeah. And I was like that
FP 2.1:	It's sexy for me, actually

Along a similar line of argument to Rees and Monrouxe, Boxer and Cortés-Conde (1997: 290) note that gender influences the kinds of verbal play that is used when speaking about physical appearance or bodies. They say that females often use self-denigration as a possible means of forming a common bond with others by identifying their own personal physical 'deficiencies', whereas males seem to more at ease with teasing other people.

Because humor, laughter, and teasing may reveal underlying power relations and identity constructions, and the theoretical framework of this study is concerned with power and gender, it becomes necessary to explore the role of laughter and teasing during the focus group discussions. It may be possible that participants laughed when unsure of how to verbalize what they wished to say. It may also be possible that laughter allowed participants to perform gender or display their identity to other participants and to the moderator.

5.3.3 Contradictions and Disclaimers

As anticipated in Chapter Three some of the data that emerged appeared to be contradictory. For example, in some instances disclaimer structures were used by participants in order for them to explicitly state that they felt a certain way in a 'politically correct' fashion, but would then later on appear to contradict the disclaimer they had introduced.

Mod:	Would you be comfortable. You said okay maybe you'd sit next to him. But would you be comfortable sitting next to him?

MP 2.1:	No. The thing is, probably three of four years ago, I wouldn't sit next to him. But now I also have a gay friend. (*MP 2.2 giggles*) So now I can relate more to him. So I (*FP 2.1 giggles*)
Mod:	So the old you would run away
MP 2.1:	Yeah! (*Laughter*)
MP 2.1:	You know?!
MP 2.2:	Ya ya
FP 2.1:	Oh wow
MP 2.2:	But that is less masculine
MP 2.1:	But, but that is less masculine. I wouldn't be comfortable, but… I wouldn't sit close. (*Loud laughter*)

In the above excerpt, the moderator asked MP 2.1 to elaborate on a comment he had made regarding image 07. MP 2.1 states that because he has a gay friend, the opinions he expresses now may be different to those he might have expressed before having a gay friend. Although he introduces this disclaimer, MP 2.1 later says that he wouldn't feel comfortable sitting next to someone who sat in a similar manner to the model in the image.

In another example, participants felt it was unethical to categorize people according to perceived gender, but would then go on to assign other labels to the images shown. As anticipated in Chapter Three, the disclaimer "I'm not racist but…" (Potter, Edwards and Wetherell 1993: 392 in reference to van Dijk 1987; 1992) could be extended in this instance to "I'm not homophobic but…"

5.4 Nature of Data in Relation to the First Two Research Questions

What follows below is a description of how the data obtained during the focus groups related to the research questions of this study. To reiterate, the research questions are:

1. How is masculinity visually communicated through bodily gesture and posture?
2. What different issues underlie the visual communication of masculinity?
3. How is the visual communication of masculinity affected by varied and ambiguous understandings of homophobia?

The first and second research questions will be dealt with in this chapter as they both deal directly with the visual communication of masculinity. I will address the third research question in Chapter Six in terms of the theoretical framework and literature that I have already discussed in Chapters Two and Three.

5.4.1 How is masculinity visually communicated through bodily gestures and posture?

During the focus group discussions, participants often linked the body language in the images with some or other characteristic, behavior or attitude. The participants were able to make connections between body language and gendered traits. As per Machin and Mayr's (2012) explanation of connotation and denotation, images denoting body language connoted masculinity issues. As I have explained participants were shown images of a male standing and sitting in various poses. At the same time, the body language aspects connoted particular meanings to participants. Sometimes participants commented that particular body language made the individual look more confident, or dominant, or more submissive.

All three focus groups, at some point or another, discussed issues relating to sexuality. Sometimes sexuality was discussed explicitly and without restraint, while at other times it appeared participants were attempting to remain politically correct about sexuality. Sexuality was also sometimes used as a marker or characteristic of masculinity. This is in keeping with Schrock and Schwalbe's (2009) discussion of how heterosexuality may be used to signify manhood, discussed in Chapter Two. In some instances, body language was considered less masculine or neutral, because participants drew on real life scenarios where a manner of standing or sitting was seen as gay. This showed a link between gayness and lack of masculinity. This will be further elaborated upon in Chapter Six.

Participants repeatedly introduced a social context 'story' that they used in making gender judgments. For example, body language that may be associated with the army or a soldier was not necessarily interpreted by all participants as masculine, as they associated the army and soldiers with submitting to a superior body and obeying orders. This is illustrated in the excerpt below. What is also shown in this example is the way in which participants discussed a classmate they assumed (whether accurate or not in their assumption) to be homosexual. They compared someone in the army who is commanded to stand in a certain way with someone who willingly chooses to stand in the same pose. In both instances the participants believed the pose could not be masculine.

MP 2.1: That's less masculine, as well
FP 2.4: (laughs)
Mod: Is it? Not neutral maybe?
FP 2.4: It's neutral!
MP 2.2: Qiniso* is the judge of…
MP 2.1: Yeah. Unless…
Mod: So there's no masculinity it that at all?
FP 2.3: Uh uh
MP 2.1: No
FP 2.3: Where?
MP 2.1: Where?
FP 2.3: Uh uh
Mod: I dunno
MP 2.2: We can't find it. We cant find it.
Mod: Who stands with their legs together?
FP 2.4: Qiniso
FP 2.1: School boys
FP 2.2: People in the army
Mod: School boys. Ya when you forced to
MP 2.1: Ya. Unless when you're instructed to do something
FP 2.2: Ya when you're forced to. Not naturally
Mod: So it's not a natural pose?
MP 2.1: No!
FP 2.4: Qiniso stands like that naturally.
FP 2.2: But his legs are really small
MP 2.2: You just said Qiniso, c'mon.
FP 2.1: It can be a natural pose. If the guy's still young
MP 2.1: What do you mean when a guy's still young?
FP 2.1: Like primary school
MP 2.1: Ya when you were told to do so!
FP 2.1: Uh uh
MP 2.1: Like those stand straight! Walks straight!

	Sit down, put your legs in
Mod:	But then again, it's a soldier pose you know
FP 2.2:	Ya it is
Mod:	You know? It could be a sign of masculinity
MP 2.2:	Because they are commanded to do so
MP 2.1:	YEAH!
Mod:	When you seen the guys… But when you see the guys doing that relate soldier
FP 2.3:	Shoulders (something)
MP 2.1:	But they are told to do that
FP 2.4:	But you know what are from an early age
MP 2.2:	And you would only want to do that?
FP 2.1:	So if you do that voluntarily it's less masculine?
MP 2.1:	Yeah
MP 2.2:	You can NEVER do that voluntarily
FP 2.1:	Never?
MP 2.1:	Never!
FP 2.3:	Your shoulders need to be up

*Not his real name

There were further examples of the 'storying' characteristic of participants' comments. – that is, participants appeared to create scenarios or social contexts into which they placed particular images. There was a particular instance during the second focus group discussion in which a participant discussed the idea of 'metrosexuality'. The opinion was expressed that a male using body lotion or cream does not necessarily make him less masculine. Earlier on in the same focus group (before any of the other participants arrived), there was a discussion between two of the female participants during which the topic of men using moisturizer came up. The issue of masculinity was also raised in relation to this.

In certain instances, participants also appeared to look for specific visual gender cues. For example, specific body language cues were most evidently connected to the performance of gender. For example, such cues connoted playfulness, foolishness, strength or boredom.

Body Language Descriptors

During the focus group discussions, various descriptors were used by participants when discussing the body language images in relation to perceived levels of masculinity. The table below shows the image in question, together with the descriptors that were generated from each of the focus groups. Some of the descriptors below were generated to summarize what participants discussed in relation

to the body language image. Some descriptors refer to individual comments made by participants, whereas others refer to the general discussion that took place in the focus group. Not all of the body language images generated a response from participants. This is indicated in **Table 7** below.

Table 7 Body Language Descriptors

Image	Focus Group 1	Focus Group 2	Focus Group 3
	Gym – stepping off the bench Playful – friend hits you on the back	Confidence Foolish Clueless	Unnatural
	-	Frustrated General	Bored (*sarcastically*) Less masculine because he's showing emotion
	Striking Manly Strength Authority	Power Political logo	(*sarcastically*) Powerful equals masculine

Image	Focus Group 1	Focus Group 2	Focus Group 3

	Scared Drug dealer Girl acting cute	Sulky teenager Rude Impatient Aggressive	Could be aggressive or angry
	-	Superman	Authority
	Feminine Timid	Discomfort – wouldn't sit close to him Doesn't make you gay, but not masculine	Proper for girls
	Dodging Lack of confidence Scared Sketchy Different Awkward Scary Passive	"Hey!"	-

Image	Focus Group 1	Focus Group 2	Focus Group 3

	-	Gay but neutral	On the fence Comfortable
	Lack of manners Proper guy	Disgusting = male Lack of manners (*if in public*)	Rude Comfortable Like a man Manly
	-	Normal for males because females wear skirts and skirts don't have pockets	Chilled
	-	Obviously masculine	Confident
	Masculine Weak	Fist equals masculine	-

Image	Focus Group 1	Focus Group 2	Focus Group 3
	Lack of confidence Subjective Feminine	-	-
	-	Uncomfortable	-
	-	Strange	Guys don't admit they're confused Dramatic
	-	Boss	Puffing shoulders Trying to assert authority

Image	Focus Group 1	Focus Group 2	Focus Group 3

	Awkward Geeky Less masculine	Ready to fight Angry Insecure Weak Scared Sad Fist equals masculine	-
	-	Bitch	“I’ll smack you” Dominant Animalistic
	-	-	Male model doesn’t mean masculine
	Cowboy	Misogynist	Cowboyish Cocky Egotistic Weird

Image	Focus Group 1	Focus Group 2	Focus Group 3

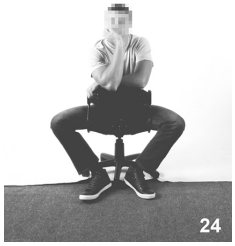
	-	-	Attitude Trying to be a man
	Comfortable Flirting with a girl Trying to impress	Suggestive if a woman does this Power Comfortable enough to bend rules Control Authority Commanding	-
	Comfort Sort of masculine	Schoolboyish	-
	Sketchy	Gay	Not a natural pose for anyone Unnatural

Image	Focus Group 1	Focus Group 2	Focus Group 3

	Awkward Scared	Liar	Backing off doesn't mean he's less masculine
	Fainting Dramatic Over exaggerated	Qiniso Gay Over exaggerated	Drama queen
	Angle of legs/ hips problematic	Gay Duck-face pose Logo for gay About to do a booty hop Twerk Girl pose Trying to show butt and face like a girl	Tryna pull a Beyoncé
	A bit more relaxed than #5	-	-

Image	Focus Group 1	Focus Group 2	Focus Group 3

	Cold	Gay Over exaggerated Dramatic	-
	Bent wrist is problematic	Issue with legs being crossed Sexy Lazy “let’s go buy icream” (*gay, flirting*)	Comfortable Has period pains
	Angle of legs/ hips problematic	Not as exaggerated as #29 Weak ‘White Chicks’ movie	-
	Dude Confidence Relieved/ relaxed	Lazy equals masculine	Trying too hard Over exaggerated sexuality display Comfortable Siff

Image	Focus Group 1	Focus Group 2	Focus Group 3

	Ronaldo (soccer player) Fruit cake	-	In your face Pushing pelvis forward Trying too hard Inferiority complex Over exaggerated strength display
	-	-	Waiter Subservient
	Scared Confused	Arms and legs are telling different stories	Discomfort/ effeminacy – “Why are you standing like that? What are you looking at?”
	Angle of legs/ hips problematic	“Pop that hip!”	Cowboy Gay cowboy

Image	Focus Group 1	Focus Group 2	Focus Group 3

	Scared Timid Remorse Must accept consequences Security guard Body guard Big guys Bad posture	Football player Rugby fly-half Masculine only if playing sport	-
	-	Boss Liar Power	-
	Discomfort – wouldn't sit close to him Would sit across the room Would leave the room	Yoh! Less masculine	"Oh! Lady!" Posh Physically uncomfortable for guys Judging someone Generally, women sit like that
	-	-	Obviously neutral

Image	Focus Group 1	Focus Group 2	Focus Group 3

 44	Allowed	-	Justin Bieber Trying to be gangster Asexual models
 45	Not striking Normal	-	-
 46	Soldier Mannequin Testing thigh gap Standing at attention Wouldn't call a soldier a pansy	Qiniso = Gay Schoolboyish Soldier Submitting to authority Qiniso stands like that naturally Obeying	Boring Awkward Impractical Sheldon from 'Big Bang Theory'
 47	"That's how you stand in the army when you've got a really big gun" Cocky Confidence	Boss Lying attitude	-

Image	Focus Group 1	Focus Group 2	Focus Group 3

	Sad Lonely Dweeb Slouched Manly	-	-

Table 7 Body Language Descriptors

5.4.2 What different issues underlie the visual communication of masculinity?

From the individual and group body language descriptors shown above, generalized masculinity issues appeared to emerge. Across all three focus groups, participants spoke at length about *appropriate* or *acceptable* male behavior or body language versus appropriate or acceptable female behavior or language. This occurred even though the images shown to participants were of a male, and femininity was not the main topic of discussion. The excerpt below shows how participants brought up the topic of appropriate or rather expected female behavior in relation to what they considered to be less masculine. The discussion starts out with participants saying the body language depicted must be uncomfortable for males, and then moves on to a discussion about 'appropriate' female behavior.

Mod:	7?
	<*Less masculine*>
?:	Unanimous
Mod:	Why would that be?
FP 3.4:	His legs crossed
FP 3.5:	Crossed
MP 3.2:	And his hands
FP 3.6:	No his hands are on his knee
MP 3.2:	Mmmmm!
Mod:	Ya coz people were debating last week that you legs can be crossed, males cross their legs, but as soon as you…
?:	It's less comfortable
FP 3.3:	It must be so uncomfortable!
FP 3.1:	It's like you know if you guys think back…
Mod:	Between the arms and the legs probably
MP 3.2:	Ya
FP 3.1:	… to the whole like, um, who was saying, you went for the… in school you did that course or something, the
FP 3.5:	Oh ya.
FP 3.1:	Etiquette thing, and you know like how when you in school and they teach girls when you cross your legs you have to put your hands on top of them
FP 3.3:	You need to cross your legs, yes
	<*female participants agree*>
FP 3.1:	Like, that's like a trait that we've been told
MP 3.2:	Obviously got taught from the wrong school
	(*laughter*)

Participants also spoke about which of the poses they considered *unacceptable* or *inappropriate* for a male. In some instances it was accepted by participants that males and females could perform the same action or gesture without changing the perception of the individual in question, whereas in other instances, a male 'doing' a 'female' action or gesture (or vice versa) was seen as unnatural or unusual. Also, sometimes it was agreed that a particular pose was acceptable in certain situations only.

A notable amount of opinion expressed related to *authenticity*. Certain poses were seen as demonstrating authentic masculinity, while others appeared to the participants to be over-exaggerated or hyper masculine, and thus neutral or less masculine. Participants would also sometimes relate particular poses to themselves.

Consider the following excerpt from the third focus group discussion. Participants appeared to become irritated with poses that were seemed to them to be exaggerated.

FP 3.5:	We're saying it becomes less masculine because it's like he's trying… he has an inferiority complex.
FP 3.1:	That he feels like he has to enforce it by showing more strength.
FP 3.5:	Ya
FP 3.1:	Almost
Mod:	Okay
FP 3.2:	By looking bigger than what he already is
MP 3.2:	Not really
Mod:	Good okay
FP 3.3:	No I don't think so either
FP 3.5:	It's like when, to put it in perspective, like

	if a big woman wears small clothes, to try and make herself look smaller, she actually looks bigger. Coz everything's like
FP 3.1:	Exaggerated
FP 3.5:	Exaggerated. Yes. Thank you (*Mild laughter*)

What is highlighted above is that in some cases when participants felt that poses were overly masculine (hyper masculine), this seemed to indicate *inauthentic* masculinity. FP 3.5 compares the pose in question with a large person who wears small clothing to try make themselves appear smaller, when in actual fact the small clothing makes the person look larger. Here the comments made by FP 3.5 point to issues of intentional deception that mitigates against authentic or 'natural' masculinity.

At times, the topic of discussion would sometimes shift to whether or not a male participant would *naturally* stand or sit in a certain way. Interestingly, if a male participant claimed to naturally stand or sit a certain way, it did not necessarily mean the pose in question was seen as masculine, even if the participant implied that they themselves were masculine.

Another masculinity issue that appeared to emerge was that of being *powerful* versus being *weak*. It was interesting to note that even when participants might have said a particular body language image represented weakness, this did not necessarily imply that they meant to say the pose wasn't masculine. In the excerpt below, participants discussed the body language image as showing sadness, loneliness, or being a dweeb. However, as MP points out, even though the body language may not be very masculine, it's still quite a manly kind of way to stand.

Mod:	And now 48.
MP 1.6:	Sad. Lonely. Dweeb.
MP 1.4:	Neutral
MP 1.2:	Ya he's just slouched
Mod:	Neutral? That's just an emotional pose.
MP 1.1:	Yeah I think that's just chilled
MP 1.3:	But also you wouldn't, a female stand like that hey – with her feet like that and with her shoulders like that.
FP 1.1:	Uh uh
MP 1.3:	So it's a very manly thing to do even though its not
Mod:	Slouchy man pose
MP 1.1:	But it's not particularly masculine
MP 1.4:	Or manly
MP 1.1:	If you had a chick that looked like that
MP 1.3:	But it's only us that do it though
MP 1.2:	Ya. Would look out of place if a woman was doing that coz not many women would do that
MP 1.6:	Nnnnya. It's neutral
MP 1.1:	I think it's more neutral. The only reason we say that's more manly is because he is a man.
MP 1.2:	If a women were standing like that I wouldn't
MP 1.1:	What if she's just standing like normally with her hands down?
MP 1.3:	If a woman stood like that she would look very manly.
MP 1.6:	Yeah
MP 1.3:	So that's why I would vote masculine

So in the above example, the body language could be categorized as demonstrating weakness, but still being authentic and acceptable in terms of masculinity.

5.5 Conclusion: Methods and the Theoretical Orientation

In this chapter I presented initial findings in relation to the data generation methods employed. I also showed that masculinity was strongly contested by focus group participants, who often discussed the importance of social context in deciphering gender. This is in keeping with Connell's view that "[m]asculinity as an object of knowledge is always masculinity-in-relation" (1995: 44). What follows below is a discussion of the methods in relation to validity and ethical issues, and the usefulness of the theoretical framework to the study.

5.5.1 Methods: Validity and Ethical Concerns

It is a staple of qualitative research that the role of the researcher is essential to rigor in the research process. The researcher must remain sensitive to possible issues arising during the research process, and flexible in their willingness to alter or manipulate strategy in response to issues that arise. But, as I discussed in Chapter Four, as an openly gay researcher and a lecturer within the Faculty of Arts and Design, conducting the focus groups myself was problematic. My consequent decision to use a moderator appeared to work favorably as participants seemed comfortable voicing their opinions. It is also possible that the participants felt more relaxed with the moderator because he was one of their peers in the Faculty of Arts and Design.

A further validity consideration is that the participant sample should be appropriate to the research topic (Morse *et al*. 2002). In Chapter Four, I discussed the process of participant sampling. It seemed that participants' familiarity with each other and the fact that they were all art and design faculty students allowed them to feel comfortable about challenging each other's opinions.

Also already discussed in this chapter and the previous chapter was the intentional exclusion of unnecessary stimuli from the images shown to participants. These images were based on the body language matrices shown in the previous chapter. Initially there was some concern that these images would not result in sufficient data relating to masculinity and masculinity traits as they were based on body language characteristics. This did not, however, prove to be the case. Participants readily 'storied' these context-less images in gender performative and sexuality terms.

Morse et al (2002) also discuss the importance of checking and rechecking data, so that ideas that have emerged are reconfirmed in new data. After each focus group, as discussed above, I transcribed and briefly analyzed the focus group recordings. Throughout all three focus groups, similar data

characteristics appeared to emerge (contestation; humor, laughter, and teasing; contradictions and disclaimers).

Obtaining informed consent from participants is essential to the ethical conduct of qualitative research (Angelo 2008; Guerriero and Correa 2015). To ensure that the informed consent process was adhered to, participants were emailed the informed consent form **(Appendix E)** (together with a brief description of what they could expect on the day of the focus group) before the focus group discussions were held, and were again presented with a hard copy of the form on the day of the focus group. They were asked to familiarize themselves with the content of the form, and to sign and date the form before participating.

The importance of allowing participants to object during the research process was also discussed in the previous chapter (see Brinkmann and Kvale 2005). Participants were encouraged to share their opinions and speak openly and freely. In the second and third focus groups especially, participants felt free to challenge each other as well as the moderator.

5.5.2 Theoretical Orientation

As I have described above in Subsection 5.5.1, the methods used in this study have been implemented in accordance with the critical theory orientation of the study described in Chapter Three. The data presented in this chapter reflects the critical theory view of culture as an area of struggle and contestation, where the "production and transmission of knowledge is always a contested process" (Kincheloe and McLaren 2011: 292).

This allowed some confidence in proceeding to a further level of critical discourse analysis in Chapter Six. This level of analysis addresses the critically motivated third research question of this study, which requires analytic interpretation of discursive positions in a masculinity gender order (Connell n.d) and the research participants' stakes and interests in these positions.

CHAPTER SIX

I N T E R P R E T A T I O N O F D A T A A N D C O N C L U S I O N

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I interpret the initial findings presented in Chapter Five using Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis. A matrix is developed from the initial findings in order to find significant discursive features relating to perceptions of masculinity. I also consider the implications of my interpretation of research data for graphic design professional practice.

6.2 Synthesis of Body Language Descriptors and Gender Issues

The matrix **(Table 8)** presented in this section addresses the third of the research questions posed in this study:

How is the visual communication of masculinity affected by varied and ambiguous manifestations of homophobia?

In the vertical dimension, the matrix below shows *body language descriptors* that were identified in Chapter Five and which answered the first research question:

How is masculinity visually communicated through bodily gesture and posture?

In the horizontal dimension, the matrix below uses *gender performance issues* that were identified in Chapter Five, and which answered the second research question:

What different issues underlie the visual communication of masculinity?

My interpretation of the body language descriptors in relation to the gender performance issues is based on connections that participants made while discussing the body language images. The matrix below **(Table 8)** thus shows body language descriptors in relation to gender performance issues of acceptability, authenticity, being powerful and being 'natural'. The opposing gender performance issues – unacceptability, inauthenticity, being weak and being 'unnatural' – indicate masculinity deficiencies and may potentially be 'homophobic'. These gender performance issues relate to Butler's (1990; 2004) gender performativity, which I discussed in Chapter Two. This view says that, amongst other things, gender is performed through acts and gestures.

Table 8 Body Language Descriptors in Relation to Gender Performance Issues

Image #	Body Language Descriptor	Gender Performance Issues							
		Acceptable	Unacceptable	Authentic	Inauthentic	Powerful	Weak	Natural	Unnatural
02	Gym – stepping off the bench	•							
	Playful – friend hits you on the back	•							
	Confidence	•				•			
	Foolish								•
	Clueless	•							
	Unnatural								•
03	Frustrated	•							
	General	•							
	Bored	•							
	(*sarcastically*) Less masculine because he's showing emotion	•			•				
04	Striking					•			
	Manly			•					
	Strength					•			
	Authority					•			
	Political Logo	•				•		•	
	(*sarcastically*) Power equals masculine				•				
05	Scared						•		
	Drug dealer						•		
	Girl acting cute		•				•		•
	Sulky teenager	•							
	Rude/ Impatient	•							
	Aggressive					•			
	Could be aggressive/ angry/ irritated	•							
06	Superman	•		•		•			
	Authority	•				•			
07	Feminine		•						
	Timid						•		
	Discomfort – wouldn't sit close to him		•						•
	Doesn't make you gay, but not masculine		•		•				
	Proper for girls		•						•
08	Dodging		•				•		
	Lack of confidence						•		
	Scared						•		
	Sketchy		•						
	Different	•							
	Awkward								
	Scary Passive		•				•		•
09	Gay but neutral	•					•		
	On the fence	•	•						
	Comfortable	•							
10	Lack of manners	•							
	Proper guy	•		•				•	
	Disgusting = male			•				•	

	Rude			•					
	Comfortable	•							
	Like a man/ Manly	•		•				•	
11	Normal for males	•		•				•	
	Chilled	•							
12	Obviously masculine	•		•				•	
	Confident	•		•					
13	Masculine	•							
	Weak		•				•		
	Fist = masculine	•		•					
14	Lack of confidence						•		
	Subjective		•				•		
	Feminine		•						
15	Uncomfortable	•					•		
16	Strange								•
	Guys don't admit they're confused								•
	Dramatic				•				•
17	Boss	•		•		•			
	Puffing shoulders				•				
	Trying to assert authority	•			•				
18	Awkward	•							
	Geeky				•		•		
	Ready to fight	•							
	Angry	•							
	Insecure						•		
	Weak						•		
	Scared	•					•		
	Sad	•							
	Fist = masculine	•		•					
19	Bitch		•		•				•
	"I'll smack you"			•		•			
	Dominant			•					
	Animalistic			•		•			
20	Male model doesn't mean masculine				•				
21	Cowboy	•				•			
	Misogynist			•					
	Cowboyish	•							
	Cocky			•					
	Egotistic				•				
	Weird								•
22	Attitude	•				•			
	Trying to be a man				•				
24	Comfortable	•							
	Flirting with a girl/ Trying to impress	•		•				•	
	Power	•				•			
	Comfortable enough to bend rules	•				•			
	Control					•			
	Authority					•			
	Commanding					•			
25	Comfortable	•							
	Sort of masculine	•							
	Schoolboyish						•		
26	Sketchy		•						
	Gay		•						•
	Not a natural pose for anyone				•				•
27	Awkward							•	
	Scared							•	
	Liar			•				•	

	Backing off doesn't mean he's less masculine	•						•	
28	Fainting – walk away		•				•		
	Dramatic		•				•		
	Over exaggerated						•		
	Qiniso		•				•		
	Over exaggerated				•				
29	Angle of hips/ legs problematic								•
	Gay								•
	Duck-face pose		•						•
	Logo for gay		•						•
	About to booty-hop		•						
	Twerk		•						
	Girl pose								•
	Trying to show butt and face like a girl		•						•
30	More relaxed than #5	•							
31	Cold	•							
	Gay		•						
	Over exaggerated				•				
	Dramatic				•				
32	Bent wrist is problematic		•				•		•
	Crossed legs are problematic		•						
	Sexy	•							
	Lazy	•							
	"Let's go buy ice-cream" (gay, flirting, childish)		•						•
	Comfortable	•							
	Has period pains								•
33	Angle of hips/ legs problematic		•						
	Not as exaggerated as #29	•							
	Weak						•		•
	'White Chicks' movie				•				•
34	Dude	•		•				•	
	Confidence	•				•			
	Relieved/ relaxed	•							
	Lazy = masculine			•				•	
	Trying too hard				•				
	Over exaggerated				•				
	Comfortable	•							
	Siff			•					
35	Ronaldo (soccer player)	•							
	Fruit cake		•				•		•
	In your face				•				
	Pushing pelvis forward				•				
	Trying too hard				•				
	Inferiority complex				•		•		
	Over exaggerated strength display				•		•		
36	Waiter/ Subservient	•					•		
37	Sacred						•		
	Confused						•		
	Pensive	•							
	Arms and legs are telling different stories								•
	Discomfort/ effeminacy – Why are you standing like that? What are you looking at?"		•						
38	Angle of hips/ legs problematic		•						•
	"Pop that hip!"		•						

	Cowboy								•
	Gay Cowboy		•						
39	Scared	•					•		
	Timid	•					•		
	Remorse	•					•		
	Security guard/ Body guard/ Big guys	•							
	Bad posture	•							
	Football player	•							
	Rugby fly-half	•							
	Masculine only if playing sport				•				
40	Boss	•		•		•			
	Liar			•				•	
	Power	•				•			
42	Discomfort – wouldn't sit close to him/ would sit across the room/ would leave the room		•						•
	"Yoh!"		•						•
	Less masculine		•				•		
	"Oh! Lady!"						•		
	Posh						•		
	Physically uncomfortable for guys				•				•
	Judging someone????								
	Generally, women sit like that				•				•
43	Obviously neutral	•							
44	Allowed	•		•					
	Justin Bieber				•				
	Trying to be gangster				•				
	Asexual models								•
45	Not striking/ Normal	•						•	
46	Soldier								
	Mannequin						•		
	Testing thigh gap								•
	Standing at attention	•							
	Wouldn't call a soldier a pansy	•				•			
	Qiniso = Gay		•						
	Schoolboyish						•		
	Soldier	•				•			
	Submitting to authority				•		•		
	Qiniso stands like that naturally		•				•		
	Obeying						•		
	Boring	•							
	Awkward								•
	Impractical								•
	Sheldon from 'Big Bang Theory'	•					•		
47	"That's how you stand in the army when you've got a really big gun" (Cocky/ Confidence)	•				•			
	Boss	•				•			
	Lying attitude			•				•	
48	Sad	•					•		
	Lonely	•							
	Dweeb	•					•		
	Slouched	•							
	Manly	•		•					

Table 8 Body Language Descriptors in Relation to Gender Performance Issues

The next and final step of the analysis was to examine the potential for homophobic perceptions of masculinity in the matrix above. This meant looking at both the body language descriptors and the gender performance issues in relation to masculinities as the "*position* of men in a gender order" (Connell n.d.). Taking a meta view of discourse over each of the focus group discussions, I identified four discursively constituted 'positions' that participants accorded to body language in relation to masculinity. These positions appear to be constituted by already established ideas about masculinity that may have arisen from previous social interactions and visual perceptions of masculinity.

- 'Human' or Situational Performance of Masculinity
- Socially Gendered Performance of Masculinity
- Effeminate or 'Gay' Performance of Masculinity
- Homosexual Performance of Masculinity

These positions are discussed below.

6.2.1 'Human' or Situational Performance of Masculinity

In this position, there are perceptions of body language that cue situational responses without announcing any masculinity deficit. Participants sometimes perceived body language in terms of particular situations. For example, in the first focus group, the body language descriptors "sad" and "lonely", used in reference to image #48, were deemed simply to be appropriate responses to situational circumstances, and so indicate acceptability in terms of masculinity. In another instance in the first focus group, a participant described the model's body language in image #31 as 'cold', but added that the body language is neutral because "it is okay to be cold". Here, there seems to be no significant impact on the perceived level of masculinity.

6.2.2 Socially Gendered Performance of Masculinity

Here, there are perceptions of body language that cue either gendered masculinity deficit or masculinity sufficiency, or surplus, as socially and culturally performative. Gender is construed according to a continuum of more or less masculine, and as such, this position embraces the positive and negative gender performance issues shown in **Table 8**:

- Acceptable/ Unacceptable
- Authentic/ Inauthentic
- Powerful/ Weak
- Natural/ Unnatural

On the positive side of the gender performance issues, descriptors such as ‘masculine’, ‘manly’, and ‘Superman’ were used by participants in the second focus group in reference to the body language in image #06. On the negative side, participants from the first focus group discussed the body language in image #08 using descriptors such as ‘scared’ or ‘no confidence’, which they then perceived as being less masculine. Further body language descriptions that illustrate gender performance issues are also shown in **Table 8**. So, masculinity is perceived by participants as socio-culturally performed, but not necessarily connected to sexuality.

6.2.3 Effeminate or ‘Gay’ Performance of Masculinity

Often, when participants used the word ‘gay’, or made references to a gayness, they did not seem to refer to a person who is in a relationship with a person of the same sex. The term ‘gay’ seemed to refer to a form of masculinity deficiency. For example, in the second focus group, the body language in image #26 is described is as ‘gay’, with a following question “Which guy does this?” These perceptions of body language thus cue ‘gayness’ as masculinity deficient, without necessarily referring to homosexuality. Here gender is perceived to be performed as feminine.

6.2.4 Homosexual Performance of Masculinity

At times, participants pejoratively referenced ‘gayness’ or gay people, and in doing so, also indicated that the body language in the image was masculinity deficient. In the second focus group, the word gay was negatively associated with descriptors like “duck face”, “twerk”, and “girl pose”. In this instance it seemed that some of the participants used gay and associated descriptors to express an aversion toward gay people, while also noting an ‘obvious’ masculinity deficiency. Here, gender is perceived to be performed as ‘deviant’ sexuality.

As I have discussed above, the four positions I identified are discursively constituted. Jorgensen and Phillips (2002: 7) say that when we expand on meaning, we draw on foregoing discursive structures (those already historically constituted). By contrast, discursively *constituting* structures are those where aspects of different discourses are blended and merged. In the section below, I discuss how historically constituted positions did not necessarily remain fixed, and how they overlapped and merged as constituting discourse.

6.3 Overlapping and Shifting Masculinity Positions

What is most notable about the above positions taken in relation to body language images is that they are neither fixed nor mutually exclusive. Participants’ positions seemed to move across the aforementioned discursive positions in relation to particular body language images.

In the first instance, focus group interaction as social interaction in which knowledge is negotiated (Guba and Lincoln 1994) meant that a position taken might be abandoned or revised later on in the discussion. In the second instance, the development of stories about the possible social context in which a body language might occur tended to alter the perception of masculinity. Participants might begin by positioning body language as merely gendered, as in 2 above, but this attribution could shift to one of 'gayness' (femininity) or even homosexuality.

The reason for such shifts in the perception of masculinity seems to lie in the shifting of participant stakes and interests through the social negotiation of visual body language meanings. In Chapter Three, I discussed how the dilemma of stake and interest might result in people managing what they say in order to change the impact of something that is said so they are not be perceived negatively by others (Lee and Roth 2004; Potter and Hepburn 2005). Participants managed their stake or interest in the discussions about masculinity by shifting between or merging the discursively constituted positions above.

The social contexts into which participants placed the contextless body language images affected their stake or interest in masculinity. Stake and interest especially pivoted on the discursively constituting effect of projected social context. As I discussed in the previous chapter, participants often storied the images by placing the body language into a particular social context. As such, this context allowed to the participants to ascribe particular performances of masculinity to the body language images. But altered or alternative suggestions of social situations allowed participants to project body language into these situations. Further, should the participants themselves be in a different social setting engaging with their friends, the positions they assigned might alter according to the setting and how they expect their stake or interest in the topic to be perceived by others.

In accordance with the third and fourth gender positions I identified above, the data that emerged from the focus groups seems to show that there are different manifestations of 'homophobia'. At times, participants seemed to comment on body language as being 'gay' as a way of indicating a masculinity deficiency. In other instances, comments relating to being gay seemed to take on a different tone, indicating not only masculinity deficiencies, but also more of an aversion toward gay people. Both instances seem to suggest that at times, masculinity is viewed using a 'homophobic lens'. Such comments also indicate an overlap in the second, third, and fourth positions: the body language is perceived as less masculine, reference is made to 'gayness' in order to indicate masculinity deficiency, but this reference to 'gayness' could also be interpreted as being pejorative.

In the excerpt below, the word gay was negatively associated with descriptors like "duck face", "twerk", and "girl pose". In this instance it seemed that some of the participants used gay and associated descriptors to express an aversion toward homosexual/ gay people, while also noting an

'obvious' masculinity deficiency. This obvious deficiency is expressed by MP 2.1 who believes that the body language simply cannot be equated with masculinity.

FP 2.3:	Awe ma! Gay.
MP 2.1:	And 29!
	(*29!)*
Mod:	Pretty neutral huh? (*Joking*)
FP 2.3:	NEVER! NEVER! NEVER!
?:	My foot?
Mod:	What's wrong with that?
FP 2.4:	Since they're taking over this world, I guess its gonna be neutral. Coz they're everywhere you look.
Mod:	Who's that?
FP 2.4:	Gays and lesbians.
	(*Woooooo*)
FP 2.3:	Yes
FP 2.2:	(*Disgruntled*)
FP 2.4:	They taking over! Seriously. Ever since it was legalized it's like everywhere you see
FP 2.3:	It's legalized?
MP 2.3:	That's the famous pose!
MP 2.2:	That's like the duck face
FP 2.2:	That doesn't…
FP 2.2:	It doesn't mean there's more of them! It means now that they're accepted they're not afraid to be who they are.
FP 2.4:	Oh but there's more now. It's like…
	(*Interruption from outside the venue*)
MP 2.2:	But that is like a logo for gay.
FP 2.4:	Mmm. Wow
Mod:	So you say that's like a logo?
FP 2.1:	Looks like he's going to do a booty hop just now

Mod:	Booty hop? (*Laughs*)
FP 2.4:	That's right
Mod:	But that's definitely
FP 2.4:	Twerk twerk twerk
MP 2.1:	But you can't justify that as something masculine. It just doesn't make sense.
FP 2.3:	No
MP 2.2:	It can't be masculine
MP 2.1:	You can't
Mod:	Once you break that hip you know (*sarcastically*).
MP 2.1:	You know!
MP 2.2:	Once you do that you're out.
MP 2.1:	Straight! (*Laughter*)
MP 2.1:	You can't
FP 2.1:	That's how most girls pose now.
MP 2.1:	Yes!
FP 2.2:	For their selfies.
FP 2.1:	Exactly
FP 2.4:	And guys on Instagram
MP 2.1:	No no
FP 2.4:	They be trying to show their butt and face like girls
MP 2.1:	Rubbish
FP 2.3:	Coz they gay
MP 2.1:	Yeah exactly (*Very loud laughter*)

As the excerpt above shows, participants from the second focus group reacted very strongly to image #29. There was a general consensus amongst participants that body language could not be considered masculine, due to associations they made with homosexuality. FP 2.4 commented that because "they" (gay and lesbian people) are everywhere, and because they are "taking over" since "it was legalized" (homosexuality); the body language might be seen as quite neutral in the future. These kinds of comments also seem to demonstrate Horkheimer's (1947) views about the decline of the individual, as FP 2.4 uses a collective term – "they" – to refer to a group of people with which she or her group does not identify.

What FP 2.4 alludes to is that because she sees more homosexual people around her, poses associated with non-masculinity may come to be seen as 'normal' or commonplace in the future. FP 2.2 then corrects FP 2.4 by saying there aren't more homosexuals now, but rather that "they" no longer have to be ashamed of who they are. It seems that in this scenario, FP 2.2 uses "they" to align herself with arguments that support homosexual people, whereas FP 2.4 uses "they" to align herself against those arguments. FP 2.4 also says that males who stand in this particular way are trying to emulate females. FP 2.3 suggests that this is because males who stand like this are gay. The

comments imply that a lack of masculinity is equated with femininity, which is equated with homosexuality.

MP 2.2 then remarks that this particular pose is “like a logo for gay”, and that it cannot be a masculine pose. MP 2.1 supports MP 2.2’s comments, saying the pose cannot be justified as masculine. Here, heterosexuality was used as a marker of masculinity. This is an example of the ‘homophobic lens’ that I mentioned above. Because some participants associated the pose with homosexuality, they could not accept the pose as being a masculine pose. These comments suggest intolerance toward individual expressions of masculinity, and illustrate the direct connection some participants made between masculinity and sexual orientation.

Although in the excerpt above participants made direct reference to homosexuality or gay people using the word ‘gay’, there were other instances in which indirect references were made. In these instances, participants did not refer directly to homosexuality or gay people, but their tone of voice or choice of words hinted that they were.

In the excerpt below, after participants made it clear they thought the body language in image #42 was not masculine, the moderator asked the participants if they would sit close to a person seated similarly. Some participants responded with comments that again suggest embarrassment and an aversion toward males who would sit like that. The effeminate sounding noise that someone makes, the immediate “Yoh” (which in South Africa can express disbelief or shock), and the comments about sitting across the room or leaving the room, are interpreted as being homophobic because they all suggest aversion to effeminacy in males. Later in the same conversation, some male participants admitted to sitting in a similar manner, but the majority agreed the body language was less masculine. FP 1.1 maintained throughout the conversation that body language was less masculine, no matter who seated in that position.

MP 1.1: 42. Yoh!
Mod: 42…
MP 1.5: No.
FP 1.1: No.
(*Someone makes a disapproving effeminate sound*)
MP 1.1: Ya that's definitely not masculine
Mod: Would you sit close to him if you saw him sitting like that next to you?
MP 1.6: I'd sit across the room
MP 1.2: I wouldn't sit across from him.
FP 1.1: Calvin*? Sits like that
MP 1.2: I'd probably leave the room
Mod: Ya Calvin* sits like that. It might just be a preference?
MP 1.7: Are you okay with him?
MP 1.3: Ya I'll be…
Mod: Ya sometimes
(*Loud laughter*)
MP 1.3: I often sit with my legs crossed. And it's pretty comfortable
FP 1.1: I think it's more. It looks less masculine
FP 1.1: But it looks less masculine
MP 1.2: The action that he's doing.
MP 1.7: Ya I also do sit like that
MP 1.3: Traditionally
Mod: If you walked into a room and you didn't know anybody would you sit like that straight away?
<No>
MP 1.1: So there's your answer
MP 1.3: But now that I have sat like that, I know
FP 1.1: I sit like that all the time.
MP 1.1: If you're a girl, you're allowed to Clianta.
FP 1.1: But it's definitely less masculine. If I sit

	like that it's less masculine
MP 1.2:	I do agree
Mod:	So what does the majority say?
MP 1.1:	I think less
MP 1.7:	Less
MP 1.2:	Less

* Not his real name.

From the participant comments above, there seem to be different possible stakes or interests in masculinity. Participants' whose interest is to preserve a particular kind of masculinity might defend this kind of masculinity by showing disapproval toward perceived effeminacy in males. MP 1.3's comment about having sat in a similar position and knowing it is quite comfortable to do so, despite other participants' disapproval of the depicted body language, suggests that his interest differs from the others. His interest might lie in challenging the other participants' perceptions of 'acceptable' kinds of masculine body language. Similarly, FP 1.1's interest does not appear to be preservation of a particular kind of masculinity. Rather her comments suggest that she perceives the body language to be less masculine regardless of the gender of the person seated in the position.

The excerpt below also shows that some participants believed there were definite ways a 'man' should act. MP 1.6 says that if a man is going to faint, he doesn't makes any sounds or act in a dramatic way. He simply faints. MP 1.1 then says that a man would just hit the ground. MP 1.7 adds that a man wouldn't give out 'signs' before he's going to faint. These comments suggest that in the view of the participants, being overly dramatic or exaggerating cannot be reconciled with positive masculinity. MP 1.5's comment that he would "walk away", and MP 1.1's "let them fall slowly" suggest that both participants would be embarrassed or irritated if they saw a male exaggerating like this. This could be interpreted as homophobic, as the participants are expressing a clear aversion toward body language they consider to be connected with not being a 'man'. On the other hand, FP 1.1 seems to be more sympathetic to the idea of someone who is about to faint, saying she would "be waiting to catch him".

MP 1.6: 28. Now that's nooot masculine. 28 has to be like, come on
Mod: Oh why is that now?
MP 1.7: Who does this?
(*Laughter*)
MP 1.1: Maybe he's trying to act like an elephant.
FP 1.1: When you are fainting
MP 1.7: Fainting?
Mod: So 28…
MP 1.1: Ya definitely not
MP 1.6: If you're a guy and you're gonna pass out, don't go 'ahhh'
MP 1.7: You just pass out.
MP 1.1: You hit the ground like a MAN
MP 1.7: You don't give out signs, you just…
(*Agreement*)
Mod: If someone did that with you while you were out, what would you do? Would you, like, just walk away?
?: Ya.
MP 1.5: I'd walk away
MP 1.2: I'd be like you're over dramatacizing (sic)
FP 1.1: I'd be waiting there to catch him.
MP 1.7: Oh okay you mean a guy or a
Mod: A guy
MP 1.2: You'd be over dramatacizing (sic)
MP 1.6: I don't know you
MP 1.1: He's the kind of guy that would get shot and say I think I've been shot
(*Laughter*)
Mod: Would you feel uncomfortable if that were to happen?
MP 1.1: Let them fall slowly.
Mod: So 28 is *definitely*
MP 1.6: Not masculine

In another instance from the first focus group, MP 1.6 teased MP 1.1 when he demonstrated a particular gesture in order to further substantiate his comment. MP 1.1 joked with MP 1.6 by asking MP 1.6 to move his chair away from him, because MP 1.6 seemed to act out the gesture too accurately for his liking. In Chapter Five, joking between participants during focus groups was shown to be a possible way in which participants could create a sense of intimacy while distancing themselves from those about which they are joking (Rees and Monrouxe 2010). In this instance, MP 1.1 was joking with MP 1.6 about the gesture he made, which may have helped him feel as though he was playfully bonding with MP 1.6. At the same time, his joking distanced himself from effeminacy in males. This appears to confirm Schrock and Schwalbe's (2009) opinion that homophobic taunting may be used by adolescent males to signify heterosexuality, and in turn, manhood. It is therefore possible that some participants may have had a stake or interest in defending masculinity-power associations.

6.4 Conclusion: Homophobic Fault Lines in the Visual Perception of Masculinity

The ultimate validity of the conclusions of this study rest on their alignment with the ontological and epistemological orientation to critical theory. Most vital to these conclusions is the correspondence of the constitutive discourse analysis to the historically real ontology espoused by critical theory and the transactional or negotiated (Guba and Lincoln 1994: 110) constituting discourse analysis of the critical theory epistemology. The presentation of conclusions here unpacks this claim, beginning with the third research question of this study:

"How is the visual communication of masculinity affected by various and ambiguous manifestations of homophobia?"

The excerpt below is taken from **Table 7,** which was used to answer the first research question in Chapter Five. It came as a surprise that image #46 generated so much discussion amongst participants across all three focus groups. It was expected that participants would quickly dismiss such an innocuous image, but instead they spoke at length about issues relating to the army, submitting to authority, being schoolboyish, being gay, being impractical and characters from popular media. In the previous chapter, I mentioned that participants in the second focus group compared a soldier who is forced to stand in this particular way with a gay person who chooses to stand like this naturally. In both cases, it can be interpreted that what participants were saying is that if performed voluntarily, the body language is not typically masculine. Even though a soldier might stand like this, he is not doing it voluntarily. He is obeying a command.

Focus Group 1	Focus Group 2	Focus Group 3
Soldier Mannequin Testing thigh gap Standing at attention Wouldn't call a soldier a pansy	Qiniso = Gay Schoolboyish Soldier Submitting to authority Qiniso stands like that naturally Obeying	Boring Awkward Impractical Sheldon from 'Big Bang Theory'

If the matrix shown in **Table 8** in Subsection 6.2 is used, image #46 could be interpreted as being acceptable, unacceptable, inauthentic, powerful, weak, or unnatural in terms of masculinity. This shows that the positions discussed above could, and in this case did, overlap: there were situational responses (first position), gendered masculinity descriptions (second position), as well 'gay' descriptions indicating masculinity deficiency (third position) all in response to one image. This presents a challenge to graphic designers and the visual communication of masculinity. It would seem that the process of visually representing masculinity is complicated by differing interpretations of body language, as well as the process of placing body language into particular contexts.

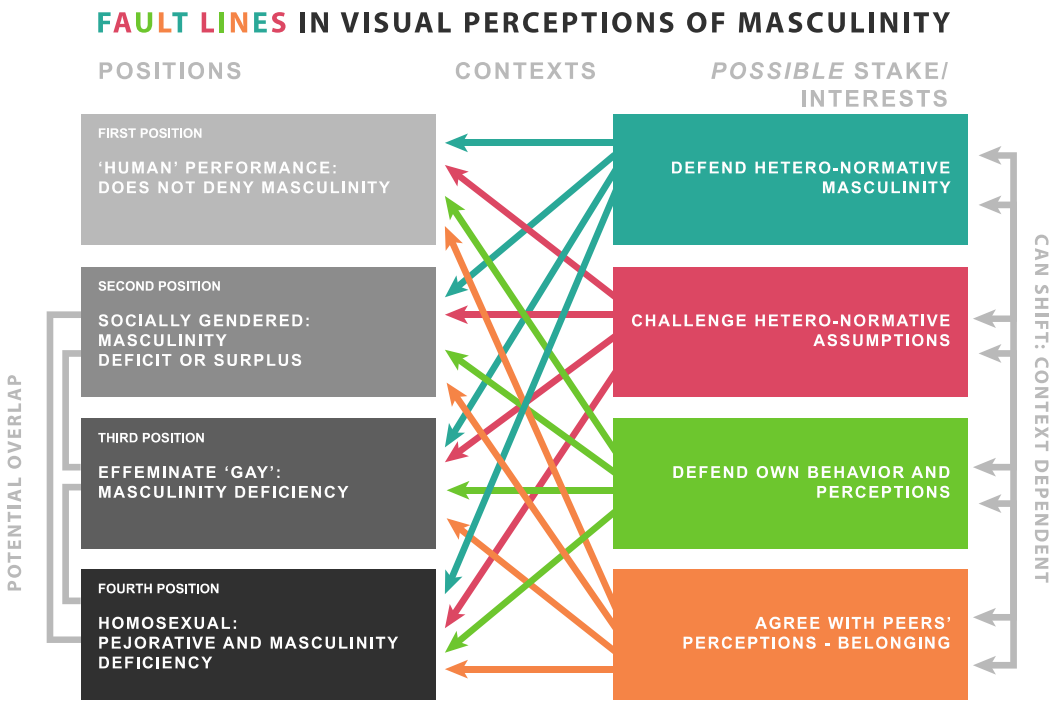


Fig. 12 *Fault Lines in Visual Perceptions of Masculinity* (Thomas 2016)

So if one or more of the positions could be referenced in relation to a particular stake or interest, and there could be multiple stakes or interests that reference the same position, then these constitute the fault lines in visual perceptions of masculinity. And these fault lines are further complicated by the context in which the body language is placed, and the context in which the perceiver themselves is situated. The diagram **(Fig. 12)** above represents this graphically. The left hand column shows the positions I have identified in this chapter. I also illustrate how the last three positions might overlap or connect with each other. The right hand column represents possible stakes or interests participants might have had in masculinity. I indicate on the right hand side of this column that their interests might change depending on storying of body language images, and social contexts. These are not the only possibilities but represent some of the possibilities for illustrative purposes. The lines that connect the positions with the possible stakes or interests represent how different contexts might result in different connections, and that in certain contexts, homophobic visual perceptions of masculinity might exist.

The thesis of this study is therefore that homophobic visual perceptions of masculinity may permeate gender performance as 'fault lines'.

Below I reflect on the two objectives of the study, which are:

1. Identify body gestures that may have come to impact on the perception of masculinity.
2. Expand on current understandings of what is meant by the term 'homophobia'.

In terms of the first objective of this study, it seems that how body language is perceived relies heavily on storying and placing the body language into a social context. This is not to say that there weren't body language images that sparked immediate responses from participants, but rather that more innocuous body language images needed to be storied before participants could make decisions about perceived levels of masculinity. Showing participants contextless images resulted in participants creating their own social contexts, and it was through this process of contextualizing the images that they negotiated meanings. The stake or interest that participants might have had in maintaining and upholding their 'masculinity' was therefore managed by the positions they assigned to the body language image. If the body language was seen as acceptable in terms of their own perceptions of masculinity, they would assign the body language to a positive position.

With regard to the second objective of the study, which is to expand on current understandings of what is meant by the term 'homophobia', it was shown in Chapter Two that the term 'homophobia' is heavily loaded with ambiguous and divergent interpretations. What this study has shown is that even without asking participants to talk about sexual orientation, they made connections between body language, masculinity, and sexual orientation. Schrock and Schwalbe's (2009) view that homophobic taunting may be used by adolescent males to signify heterosexuality – which in turn signifies masculinity – together with the manner in which participants in this study often linked sexual orientation with masculinity, seems to confirm that homophobia is about much more than just sexuality.

This study also showed that participants sometimes referenced 'gayness' in order to indicate a masculinity deficiency, but not necessarily an aversion to gay people. Other times, participants referenced gayness to indicate an aversion to gay people as well as to indicate masculinity deficiency.

Because participants placed the contextless body language images into particular social contexts, and then made decisions about perceived levels of masculinity which were often linked to the possible sexual orientation, it is plausible that the findings of this study might exist in social situations outside of a Faculty of Arts and Design, and are therefore generalizable to a variety of social life contexts.

There was also some evidence during discussions between participants that suggested acceptance of non-mainstream forms of masculinity. The excerpt below illustrates how participants considered and discussed alternative forms of masculinity. In this instance, the topic of discussion turned to

metrosexuality after the topic of sexual orientation was raised. MP 2.3 talked about men who "pamper" themselves, arguing that just because a man might use body lotion or take care of himself, it doesn't necessarily make him gay. MP 2.3's comments suggest an understanding of the complexities of gender construction and an understanding of the difference between sexual orientation and gender. These comments also indicate what Badaszewski (2014: 55) terms 'positive masculinity', where men resist and challenge gender norms, and develop "their own healthy sense of self and masculinity".

Mod:	Okay so 7
MP 2.1:	Ah it's less masculine
FP 2.3:	Less
FP 2.2:	Less
Mod:	Would you sit next to
FP 2.1:	Uh Uh this is neutral
FP 2.2:	No!
Mod:	Would you be comfortable. You said okay maybe you'd sit next to him. But would you be comfortable sitting next to him?
MP 2.1:	No. The thing is, probably three of four years ago, I wouldn't sit next to him. But now I also have a gay friend. (*MP 2.2 giggles)* So now I can relate more to him. So I (*FP 2.1 giggles*)
Mod:	So the old you would run away
MP 2.1:	Yeah! (*Laughter*)
MP 2.1:	You know?!
MP 2.2:	Ya ya
FP 2.1:	Oh wow
MP 2.2:	But that is less masculine
MP 2.1:	But, but that is less masculine. I wouldn't be comfortable, but… I wouldn't sit close.

	(*Loud laughter*)
MP 2.1:	Yeah
Mod:	K so 7 is definitely less masculine?
FP 2.1:	This is neutral for me
FP 2.3:	NO! NO!
MP 2.2:	THAT is not neutral.
Mod:	It's like you're putting neutral down for everything? (*Laughter*)
FP 2.1:	NO! No no no no no. I'm not. But that's neutral.
MP 2.3:	I… I'm straight but I sit like that.
MP 2.2:	I always sit like that
FP 2.1:	EXACTLY!
MP 2.2:	I do that all the time but I don't think that is masculine
Mod:	I see some guys cross their legs but…
FP 2.2:	It's doesn't make you gay if you sit like that.
MP 2.2:	That is right. It doesn't make you gay. But that is not masculine
MP 2.3:	It's to do with… coz I know there's… there's being like, uh… what is this? Uh.
MP 2.1:	Homophobic?
MP 2.3:	No, no. Homosexual.
FP 2.3:	Ya
MP 2.3:	There's homosexual. There's straight people
MP 2.1:	Yeah
MP 2.3:	Then there's like metrosexual (*FP 2.3: Bi*) people
MP 2.1:	Yeah
MP 2.3:	You know the people that love themselves or whatever (*MP 2.2 agrees*)
MP 2.3:	I'm thinking to myself, okay, probably this guy loves
FP 2.1:	He's metrosexual
Mod:	He loves himself a bit too much?
MP 2.3:	Loves himself. You know, um… That could be a sign of loving yourself and like nurturing yourself
MP 2.1:	Okay
Mod:	Could be, but…
MP 2.1:	I could give you a free pass for that (*Laughter*)
MP 2.1:	But other than that no ways.
MP 2.3:	You know, just because, you know, ya, yeah, like you pamper yourself, you got like some, you know, lotion and everything, doesn't mean you, you, you gay sometime. It just means you love yourself. You know. So…
Mod:	Okay.
MP 2.1:	Point taken
Mod:	That's 7
MP 2.3:	I'd give it to neutral

Although this study has shown that there is evidence of homophobic visual perceptions of masculinity within a Faculty of Arts and Design at a South African University, this is not to say that perceptions of masculinity will not change with time, as I showed in Chapter Two that the reproduction of gender is constantly contested and can change (see Butler 2008). Similarly, in Chapter Three I discussed knowledge as transactional (Guba and Lincoln 1994). Discussions about masculinity, such as those that occurred during the focus groups of this study, present opportunities for participants to challenge each other's perceptions and assumptions about gender, and in doing so, there is the potential for these perceptions to change.

6.5 Recommendations

Because there is constant instability between object and concept, signifier and signified (Kincheloe and McLaren 2011), the visual communication of masculinity might be subject to constant change. The responsibility to monitor these changes would then fall onto the shoulders of graphic designers if they are to challenge assumptions and stereotypes about gender. If masculinity, sexual orientation and homophobia are linked, as is suggested by the literature and by the findings of this study, then a change in what is considered acceptable masculine behavior might result in a change in what we consider homophobia. From a different angle, if graphic designers choose to represent masculinity in non-stereotypical ways, they could alter homophobic visual perceptions of masculinity.

In Chapter Three I discussed how discursive closure results in the establishment of 'correct' meanings and interpretations of texts and images (Kincheloe and McLaren 2011). Citizen designers who address social issues might bear this in mind. Their work has the potential to challenge power discourses and re-establish multiple meanings and interpretations of text and images. In Chapter Two I suggested that an image of a man placed in a public toilet at a rugby stadium might be perceived differently to the same image on display in an art gallery. This study confirmed this by showing the importance participants placed on such contexts, and as such, citizen designers should consider the importance of the social context in which masculinity is visually perceived.

Context emerged as an influence on participants stake and interest and this influence needs further research. Stake and interest in masculinity may depend on social context, and is not solely reliant on the individual. This is in keeping with Horkheimer's (1947) discussion about the decline of the individual, as well as the social, cultural, political, and historical processes involved in the construction of masculinity (see Herek 1986; Connell 1995).

The decline of the individual (Horkheimer1947; 1975), due to the all-consuming nature of social conditioning, leads to a mimicking of acceptable patterns of behavior in order to feel accepted into

some or other group. Where masculinity is concerned, there would then be particular behaviors and attitudes that would need to be exhibited in order for the individual in question to be considered a masculine being by other members of the same group. By the same token, however, individuality can be championed in graphic design for both commercial and more socially responsible purposes. Images that communicate more personal, individual attributes may serve well in circumstances where it is desirable to communicate non-conformism. The same may be said for so-called 'homosexual' body language, where challenging stereotypes can work as powerful visual rhetoric.

Visual representations in the media play an important part in social interaction. What is depicted as masculine has the potential to become the expectation others have of masculinity (see Hall 1997; Cover 2004; Barnard 2006; Schrock and Schwalbe 2009). In the context of graphic design, advertising, and the media, positive representations of masculinities that do not necessarily rely on stereotypical characteristics such as power and dominance need to be created. In Chapter Two, I discussed Theodore and Basow's (2008) belief that positive attributions associated with heterosexual masculinity are valued more by both boys and girls than feminine attributions. Graphic design can perpetuate or challenge these associations.

If graphic designers begin including gestures that are considered as non-masculine or effeminate into representations of masculinity, it could open up the possibility for more diverse expressions of masculinity. The same can be said for homosexuality, heterosexuality and femininity. If graphic designers begin positively representing homosexuality or 'gayness', there is the possibility that this could change public perceptions.

The Jozi Cats campaign **(Figs. 1-3)**, which I discussed in Chapter Two, illustrates how visual cues associated with heterosexual masculinity can be used to challenge assumptions about, and positively depict homosexuality. Another way of challenging homophobia could be to change the manner in which heterosexual masculinity is visually communicated. The Warwick Rowers calendar **(Figs. 5-7)** is an example of how this could be achieved.

Because South Africa is multicultural, future research could explore additional factors that impact on the visual perception of masculinity, such as the role of culture and race. It was not possible to take into account these factors in this study, as it would have required a greater amount of time and expertise to accurately explore these connections.

This study has shown that within a Faculty of Arts and Design, masculinity is sometimes visually perceived using a 'homophobic lens'. As I discussed in Chapter Four, literature suggests that institutions of higher learning play a role in shaping how students experience their gender (Gough and Peace 2000; Harris and Struve 2009). A faculty or university specific visual campaign that tackles

issues regarding homophobic visual perceptions of masculinity could therefore assist in creating awareness about such issues, which could in turn persuade graphic design students to reconsider the visual representation and communication of masculinity. This could ultimately result in a positive masculinity culture amongst university students.

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Appendix A

L E T T E R O F C O N S E N T : M O D E L

Appendix A

LETTER OF INFORMATION

Principal researcher: *Mr Nathan Thomas (BTech Graphic Design)*

Supervisor: *Dr Philippa Kethro (PhD Education, M Education, M Fashion)*

Brief Introduction and Purpose of the Study:
The study is aimed at finding out how we now think about what does and does not look masculine about ways of sitting, standing or gesturing.

Outline of Procedures:
You are asked to participate in the study. You role will be as a model, and photographs will be taken of you. You will be asked to pose in a variety of positions, indicating a variety of gestures. The photographs will be edited so that you remain anonymous throughout the research process. These photographs will be used during the research process, and will be shown to other participants.

You may, at any stage of the research process, choose to withdraw from the study, without any adverse consequences.

Confidentiality:
All participants will remain completely anonymous throughout the research process. Names will not be required during discussion groups and/ or interviews. In the case of models, faces will not be shown at any stage.

Persons to Contact in the Event of Any Problems or Queries:
Please contact the researcher, Nathan Thomas (082 492 7561), my supervisor, Philippa Kethro (031 373 6650) or the Institutional Research Ethics administrator on 031 373 2900. Complaints can be reported to the DVC: TIP, Prof F. Otieno on 031 373 2382 or dvctip@dut.ac.za.

General
Participation in this study is completely voluntary.

CONSENT

Statement of Agreement to Participate in the Research Study:

- *I hereby confirm that I have been informed by the researcher, Nathan Thomas, about the nature, conduct, benefits and risks of this study - Research Ethics Clearance Number: IREC 118/15.*
- *I have also received, read and understood the above written information (Participant Letter of Information) regarding the study.*
- *I am aware that the results of the study, including personal details regarding my sex, age, date of birth, initials and diagnosis will be anonymously processed into a study report.*
- *In view of the requirements of research, I agree that the data collected during this study can be processed in a computerised system by the researcher.*
- *I may, at any stage, without prejudice, withdraw my consent and participation in the study.*
- *I have had sufficient opportunity to ask questions and (of my own free will) declare myself prepared to participate in the study.*
- *I understand that significant new findings developed during the course of this research which may relate to my participation will be made available to me.*

_____	_____	_____	_____
Full Name of Participant	*Date*	*Time*	*Signature / Right Thumbprint*

I, Nathan Thomas, herewith confirm that the above participant has been fully informed about the nature, conduct and risks of the above study.

_____	_____	_____
Full Name of Researcher	*Date*	*Signature / Right Thumbprint*
_____	_____	_____
Full Name of Witness	*Date*	*Signature / Right Thumbprint*
_____	_____	_____
Full Name of Legal Guardian *(If Applicable)*	*Date*	*Signature / Right Thumbprint*

Appendix B

B O D Y L A N G U A G E M A T R I C E S

Table 1 Body Language Matrix 1

Body Lang./ Meaning	Confident	Dominant	Territorial	Authority	Low Confidence	Submissive	Stress	Positive/ Comfort	Negative/ Discomfort
Legs apart		•	•	•					•
Legs together						•			•
Legs crossed	•							•	
Interlocking feet (seated)							•		
Ventral front								•	
Ventral denial							•		•
Torso splay		•	•					•	
Torso bow						•		•	
Torso shield									•
Chest puffing		•	•						
Shoulder shrug (High)	•							•	
Shoulder shrug (Low/ Partial)					•				•
Weak shoulder									•
Arms behind back	•	•		•					•
Arm withdrawal							•		•
Arm restriction									•
Arms akimbo (thumbs back)		•		•					
Elbows against waist					•	•			
Hooding effect	•	•	•	•					
Arms widespread	•							•	
Steepling (fingers)	•								
Hand wringing					•		•		
Thumb display	•								
Thumbs in pockets					•				•
Genital framing		•	•						
Frozen hands							•		•
Stroking hands w. fingers							•		•
Neck touching					•		•		•
Rogatory (palms up)						•			

Table 1 Body Language Matrix 1 (Adapted from Navarro and Karlins 2008)

Table 2 Body Language Matrix 2

Body Lang./ Meaning	Confident	Dominant	Territorial	Authority	Low Confidence	Submissive	Stress	Positive/ Comfort	Negative/ Discomfort
Leg clamp (seated)									Stubborn
Leg stroke (seated, female)								Attraction	
Legs crossed (ankle/ankle)		•						Relaxed	
Legs crossed (knee/ knee)						•		Very relaxed	Effeminate
Legs crossed (ankle/knee)		•		•					Assertively relaxed
Legs twine ("This is a female posture")								Sexual, powerful	
Arms akimbo			•						Anti-social
Arms behind back	•								
Arms folded			•				•		Defensive
Head clamp (hooding)	•	•							Aggressive
Wrist flap						•			Effeminate/ Insult
Cheek support (hand on cheek)						•			"Sissy"
Fist clench (raised)		•		•				Power	
Fist clench (straight arm)	•	•						Victory	
Forefinger point									Threatening
Forefinger raise		•							
Forehead press (back of hand)						•			Camp

Table 2 Body Language Matrix 2 (Adapted from Morris 1994)

Table 3 Body Language Matrix 3

Body Lang./ Meaning	Confident	Dominant	Territorial	Authority	Low Confidence	Submissive	Stress	Positive/ Comfort	Negative/ Discomfort
Legs apart (male, standing)		•							
Foot forward (standing)								Attraction to person	Intention to leave
Leg cross (standing)						•			Defensive
Leg cross (female, standing)			•						Access denied
Leg cross (male, standing)					•				Protect masculinity
Cowboy stance (thumbs tucked, fingers showing)		•	•	•					Aggressive
Seated, knee/ ankle (Figure-Four)									Argumentative, Competitive
Seated, leg clamp									Stubborn, Competitive
Seated, arms and legs crossed									Defensive, Emotionally withdrawn
Seated, ankle lock (male, legs apart;					•		•		Fear, Uncertainty

female, legs together)									
Leg twine (female)					•				Shy
Seated, leg over arm of chair	•		•						Aggressive, Indifferent, Informal
Seated, straddling chair		•	•		•				Aggressive
Crossed arms over chest					•		•		Defensive, Insecure, Uncertain
Fists clenched, arms crossed									Hostility, Defensive
Double arm grip					•				Restrained, Insecure
Palm in palm, behind back	•			•				Superiority	
Hands clenched							•		Anxious, Frustrated
One/ both hands in pocket(s)									Non-involvement
Arm fold, thumbs up	•	•							Defensive but still cool, Self-confident but protective, Defensive but superior
Partial arm cross (female)					•				Uncomfortable, Stranger to group
Palms open/ out								Honesty	
Palm up						•		Non threatening	
Palm down		•		•					
Finger pointing		•		•					Do it or else!
Finger pointing, thumb and index finger squeezed together								Avoids intimidating audience	
Finger steeple		•						Superior, Self-assured	Smugness, Arrogance
The Face Platter (female, gay men)								Presenting face to male for admiration	
The Catapult (seated, male, hooding effect)	•	•							Used to intimidate. Usually clustered with Figure-Four or crotch display

Table 3 Body Language Matrix 3 (Adapted from Pease and Pease 2004)

Table 4 Body Language Matrix 4

Body Lang./ Meaning	Confident	Dominant	Territorial	Authority	Low Confidence	Submissive	Stress	Positive/ Comfort	Negative/ Discomfort
Stand up straight, shoulders back, chin up	•							In control	
Stand up straight, lean in a bit	•							Assertive	
Straightened posture, chin up	•								
Folded arms, tensed jaw, balled fists									Closed off, hostile, unwilling to communicate.
Lean forward, arms uncrossed								Sincere, receptive	

Table 4 Body Language Matrix 4 (Adapted from McKay and McKay 2009-2014)

Table 5 Body Language Matrix 5									
Body Lang./ Meaning	Confident	Dominant	Territorial	Authority	Low Confidence	Submissive	Stress	Positive/ Comfort	Negative/ Discomfort
Legs straight, fully extended (standing)	•								
Knee bent (standing)									Other
Legs open, upright position (seated)	•								
Ankle over knee (seated)	•								
Knee over knee (seated)									Feminine
Back slouched					•				
Shoulders expanded	•								
Arms crossed over chest									•
Arms folded, one hand on chin								Contemplative	
Hands to side								Relaxed, open	
Head, looking up									Lost
Head, looking down									Loser
Head, straight ahead	•	•							

Table 5 Body Language Matrix 5 (Adapted from King n.d.)

Appendix C

F U L L S I Z E D B O D Y L A N G U A G E I M A G E S

Thomas, N. 2016. Focus Group Slide 1: Image #01 (image).

Thomas, N. 2016. Focus Group Slide 1: Image #02 (image).

Thomas, N. 2016. Focus Group Slide 1: Image #03 (image).

Thomas, N. 2016. Focus Group Slide 1: Image #04 (image).

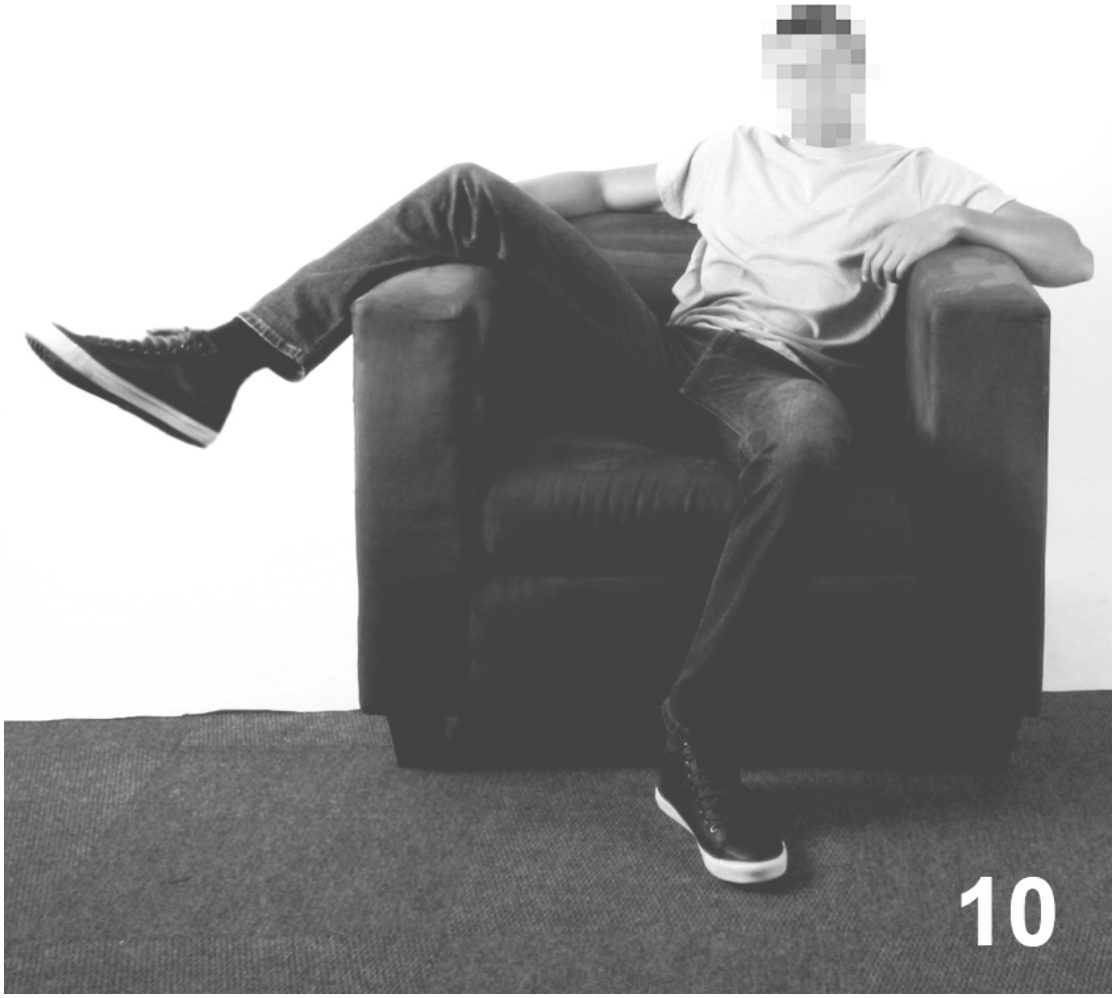
Thomas, N. 2016. Focus Group Slide 1: Image #05 (image).

Thomas, N. 2016. Focus Group Slide 1: Image #06 (image).

Thomas, N. 2016. Focus Group Slide 1: Image #07 (image).

Thomas, N. 2016. Focus Group Slide 1: Image #08 (image).

Thomas, N. 2016. Focus Group Slide 1: Image #09 (image).



Thomas, N. 2016. Focus Group Slide 1: Image #10 (image).

Thomas, N. 2016. Focus Group Slide 1: Image #11 (image).

Thomas, N. 2016. Focus Group Slide 1: Image #12 (image).

Thomas, N. 2016. Focus Group Slide 2: Image #13 (image).

Thomas, N. 2016. Focus Group Slide 2: Image #14 (image).

Thomas, N. 2016. Focus Group Slide 2: Image #15 (image).

Thomas, N. 2016. Focus Group Slide 2: Image #16 (image).

Thomas, N. 2016. Focus Group Slide 2: Image #17 (image).

Thomas, N. 2016. Focus Group Slide 2: Image #18 (image).

Thomas, N. 2016. Focus Group Slide 2: Image #19 (image).

Thomas, N. 2016. Focus Group Slide 2: Image #20 (image).

Thomas, N. 2016. Focus Group Slide 2: Image #21 (image).

Thomas, N. 2016. Focus Group Slide 2: Image #22 (image).

Thomas, N. 2016. Focus Group Slide 2: Image #23 (image).

Thomas, N. 2016. Focus Group Slide 2: Image #24 (image).

Thomas, N. 2016. Focus Group Slide 3: Image #25 (image).

Thomas, N. 2016. Focus Group Slide 3: Image #26 (image).

Thomas, N. 2016. Focus Group Slide 3: Image #27 (image).

Thomas, N. 2016. Focus Group Slide 3: Image #28 (image).

Thomas, N. 2016. Focus Group Slide 3: Image #29 (image).

Thomas, N. 2016. Focus Group Slide 3: Image #30 (image).

Thomas, N. 2016. Focus Group Slide 3: Image #31 (image).

Thomas, N. 2016. Focus Group Slide 3: Image #32 (image).

Thomas, N. 2016. Focus Group Slide 3: Image #33 (image).

Thomas, N. 2016. Focus Group Slide 3: Image #34 (image).

Thomas, N. 2016. Focus Group Slide 3: Image #35 (image).

Thomas, N. 2016. Focus Group Slide 3: Image #36 (image).

Thomas, N. 2016. Focus Group Slide 4: Image #37 (image).

Thomas, N. 2016. Focus Group Slide 4: Image #38 (image).

Thomas, N. 2016. Focus Group Slide 4: Image #39 (image).

Thomas, N. 2016. Focus Group Slide 4: Image #40 (image).

Thomas, N. 2016. Focus Group Slide 4: Image #41 (image).

Thomas, N. 2016. Focus Group Slide 4: Image #42 (image).

Thomas, N. 2016. Focus Group Slide 4: Image #43 (image).

Thomas, N. 2016. Focus Group Slide 4: Image #44 (image).

Thomas, N. 2016. Focus Group Slide 4: Image #45 (image).

Thomas, N. 2016. Focus Group Slide 4: Image #46 (image).

Thomas, N. 2016. Focus Group Slide 4: Image #47 (image).

Thomas, N. 2016. Focus Group Slide 4: Image #48 (image).

Appendix D

R E S E A R C H P O S T E R

Thomas, N. 2016. Research Poster (image).

Appendix E

L E T T E R O F C O N S E N T : P A R T I C I P A N T

Appendix A

LETTER OF INFORMATION

Principal researcher: *Mr Nathan Thomas (BTech Graphic Design)*

Supervisor: *Dr Philippa Kethro (PhD Education, M Education, M Fashion)*
Mr Piers Carey (MTech: Graphic Design, BA Hons Fine Art)

Brief Introduction and Purpose of the Study:
The study is aimed at finding out how we now think about what does and does not look masculine about ways of sitting, standing or gesturing.

Outline of Procedures:
You are asked to participate in a focus group, which will involve a discussion about images which are of young men in ordinary clothes that may look more or less masculine. These images will all be digitally altered so the person is anonymous. An example of the type of images that will be presented is included [Fig. 1].

You may, at any stage of the research process, choose to withdraw from the study, without any adverse consequences.

Confidentiality:
All participants will remain completely anonymous throughout the research process. In the case of models, faces will not be shown at any stage. A voice recorder will be used to record the focus group discussions.

Persons to Contact in the Event of Any Problems or Queries:
Please contact the researcher, Nathan Thomas (082 492 7561), his supervisor, Philippa Kethro (031 373 6650) or the Institutional Research Ethics administrator on 031 373 2900. Complaints can be reported to the DVC: TIP, Prof F. Otieno on 031 373 2382 or dvctip@dut.ac.za.

General
Participation in this study is completely voluntary. Approximately 21 participants will be required for 3 discussion groups (7 participants per group).

IMAGE EXAMPLE

[Fig. 1] *Arms Akimbo*

Thomas, N. 2016. *Arms Akimbo* (image).

CONSENT

Statement of Agreement to Participate in the Research Study:

- *I hereby confirm that I have been informed by the researcher, Nathan Thomas, about the nature, conduct, benefits and risks of this study - Research Ethics Clearance Number: 118/15,*
- *I have also received, read and understood the above written information (Participant Letter of Information) regarding the study.*
- *I am aware that the results of the study, including personal details regarding my sex, age, date of birth, initials and diagnosis will be anonymously processed into a study report.*
- *In view of the requirements of research, I agree that the data collected during this study can be processed in a computerised system by the researcher.*
- *I may, at any stage, without prejudice, withdraw my consent and participation in the study.*
- *I have had sufficient opportunity to ask questions and (of my own free will) declare myself prepared to participate in the study.*
- *I understand that significant new findings developed during the course of this research which may relate to my participation will be made available to me.*

_____	_____	_____	_____
Full Name of Participant	*Date*	*Time*	*Signature / Right Thumbprint*

I, Nathan Thomas, herewith confirm that the above participant has been fully informed about the nature, conduct and risks of the above study.

_____	_____	_____
Full Name of Researcher	*Date*	*Signature / Right Thumbprint*
_____	_____	_____
Full Name of Witness	*Date*	*Signature / Right Thumbprint*
_____	_____	_____
Full Name of Legal Guardian *(If Applicable)*	*Date*	*Signature / Right Thumbprint*