CONSTRUCTION OF MASCULINITY: A SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY OF HIGH SCHOOL BOYS IN NORTH KOLKATA

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Contents

Abstract

The present study explores the unearthed area about how masculinity is constructed among the high school boys of North Kolkata. The kernel departure point here was to explore how boys studying in XIth and XIIth standards of different schools of North Kolkata practice and construct notions of masculinity both at home through their structured and unstructured leisure activities and at school through their school activities and their interaction with school and neighbourhood peers. Despite the nascent beginning of the arena of masculinity in India, yet the issue of masculinity construction among high school going adolescents is to be considered of significance in the discipline of Sociology of Gender. It is against this backdrop, the present research involved the objectives of how parents' contribution helped in the construction of masculinity of their adolescent sons. It also finds out how these adolescent boys practice their notions of masculinity through various structured and unstructured leisure activities that they engage in along with the different types of peers that these boys interact with both at school and at neighbourhood. Methodologically, the present research has been conducted through mixed methodology involving in-depth face-to-face (unstructured) interviews of 100 high school boys of North Kolkata where the attempt has been made to reflect how family (parents from Bengali middle class) produces a significant impact in the adolescent life of youngsters through the different parenting styles adopted by them and whether any kind of changes in family structure are significant for the development of male adolescents. Such in-depth interviews also helped to explore how these adolescent boys of North Kolkata negotiate and construct masculinity by engaging in their leisure activities like attending coaching classes of Cricket and Football, usage of social networking sites, online dating, and body-building, reading magazines and story books, classical dance and music. The study also explores how peer group produces an impact in the construction of masculinity of the high school adolescent boys not only through their interaction with male and female peers, but also through their topics of discussion with their peer group along with their acceptance or marginalization from the group based on the topics they discuss and the activities they engage in school with their peers. However, more fruitful research on the construction of masculinity of adolescent boys need to be given importance so that sociologists in India can widen the horizon of academic discipline to a more enriching one.

Signature

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Historically, studies on masculinity originated during the inception of studies of gender and boyhood in the nineteenth century. Gender not only signifies power relationships but is also an element of social relations. Research in masculinity emerged and developed in academics in western societies during the 1990s. This was mainly due to the impact of the feminist movement which questioned and challenged the stereotypical conceptualization of masculinity and regarded masculinity as a gendered category. This was followed by certain transformation in traditional gender roles in the West during the late twentieth century which lead to the social construction of masculinity.

The ways by which cultural and social contexts shape gender development have always intrigued development researchers since they were interested in how gender is a socially constructed category where social status, power and patriarchal norms shape the beliefs about gender. While applying the social constructivist approach to the study of masculinity, Connell (1995) argued that social context contributes to the production of masculinities where there is a relation between idealized beliefs about masculinity and the well-being of adolescent boys in global South, especially India. (Guttentag & Secord, 1983). This signifies that it is the culture which helps in the social construction of masculinity. Masculinity involves a set of attributes, traits, behaviors and roles which are associated with boys and men. It is socially constructed since it is socially defined. It is also manifested in traditional gender roles and privileges which accept dominant position of men and subordinate position of women. This implies that masculinity implies the socially constructed traits of being a man ---- physically strong, courageous, aggression, emotionally detached, sexual potency. All of this helps boys and men to establish and maintain their superiority and control over women.

Cultural approaches to the study of masculinity have explored how culture contributions to the social construction of masculinity like machismo and also about cross-cultural variations in beliefs about masculinity as an ideology. Machismo involves a set of beliefs about masculinity which is also a cultural ideal and it legitimizes the male authority in public and

private spheres. (Cuellar, Arnold, Gonzalez, 1995; Gilmore, 1990)

Gilmore (1990) in a review of anthropological studies of masculinity identified four features of masculine beliefs which prevail in cultures: (a). aggression (b). virility (c). ability to protect family honour and resources (d). being a good provider. However, these traits are manifested and the appropriate code of masculine behaviour is determined specific cultural contexts where upbringing takes place.

Since adolescent boys are socially expected to be aggressive and macho, they are also socialized to internalize the idealized beliefs about masculinity (Gregg, 2055). Boys are also socialized to be hyper-masculine which signifies the traits that are valued and respected in an ideal man and boys feel pride in striving up to these ideal traits of being a man (Mhalingam, 2006; Spiro, 1982). In India, masculinity studies have been mostly dominated by cultural theorists who have examined the relationship between various socio-cultural factors and the construction of masculinity like cultural upbringing of boys. (Chatterjee, 1989; Osella & Osella, 2004; Nandy, 1998; Sinha, 1995). Jost and Hunyady (2005) regarded that internalizing patriarchal norms and values, especially culturally mandated expectations and internalizing idealized beliefs about masculinity is also related to the well-being of boys. (Crocker & Park, 2004)

Adolescence (defined within age group 10-19 years) is one of the most crucial of human development where construction of gender attitudes and perceptions take place. Due to the intense identity work that occurs during adolescence, it has turned into a fruitful site in contemporary society where teenage years are often the ones where youths explore and consolidate their identity (Erikson, 1959/ 1980). Thus, adolescence is a period which is constructed as a turbulent time both biologically and socially, in which teenagers work to create identity by relying more on their peers for decision-making and make the transition from childhood to adulthood (Tait, 2000). It is also a phase which is influenced by gender norms and beliefs which has implications for boys. The consequences for adolescent boys involve engaging in physical violence, high risk of substance abuse, victims of bullying and peer pressure (Blum, Mmari & Moreau, 2017). As adolescents, boys are socially constructed to abide by the hetero normative standards of masculinity by showing their physical strength and aggression, especially during their leisure activities like playing cricket and football or when they are in conversation with their peer group. They are aware of being pressurized to conform to the appropriate gender roles of society (Yu et al, 2007).

Masculinities scholars regarded that adolescent boys and their masculinity have hardly been treated as subjects of scholarly research since the 'man' as male occupies the space of 'universal, normative subject' (Louie 2002:5). Adolescent boys have been absent even in gender studies which have put them at the centre of scholarly inquiry as gendered beings. As a result of such a dearth of literature on adolescent masculinity, there has been an explosion of writings on masculinities. Since most of the research is based either in Japan or South Asia (Derné 2000; Osella et al 2004; Banerjee 2005), there have been considerably less research on the social construction of adolescent masculinities in Southeast Asia (Peretz, 1995: 102).

In the Indian context, hardly any such research has been carried out on the construction of masculinity among high school boys as compared to Western literature. In India, research work has been conducted regarding the construction of masculinity of middle-class Bengali men during colonial rule. It is against this backdrop that the present research explores how adolescent boys from North Kolkata construct their notions of masculinity through their interaction with parents, and peer groups and through the different leisure activities that these boys engage in.

1. Review of existing literature

An exploration of the sources, levels and significance of construction of masculinity among adolescent boys cannot be accomplished without acknowledging previous research in this area of study. Hence, the literature review is organized into successive phases:

Firstly, it historically reviews the emergence of social construction of masculinity; secondly it discusses the diverse forms of masculinity along with the construction of masculinity among Bengali middle class boys; thirdly, it provides a descriptive overview of researches on the construction of masculinity among adolescent boys through their family interaction, leisure activities they engage in and the impact of peer group.

Social Constructionist Perspective in Understanding Masculinity

Although masculinity has been studied systematically for many years, construction of masculinity among adolescent boys is a relatively recent concept. Today construction of masculinity is one of the most research topics in gender studies in Britain and Australia.

During 1970s, the major thrust on masculinity was given by Connell to understand class structure, culture and history of Australian politics (Connell, 1977; Connell & Irving, 1980). Connell regarded that class structure provides an impact on the social construction of masculinity. Being inspired by both feminist-socialist debates on the ways to theorize power and oppression along with the empirical evidence of secondary research, Connell applied for and received a grant of gender theory which heralded a new era to study men and masculinities (Carrigan, 1985). However, it was mainly during 1980s that Connell designed a study to understand the construction of masculinities which later formed the empirical basis for his work on *Masculinities* (Connell, 1955:85).

Masculinity which signifies tendencies and traits associated with men had its origin in Australian high schools in a debate over the role of men in Australian labor politics which mainly revolved around issues like men's bodies and framing of masculinities. The first sociologist to conduct research on men and masculinity was Raewyn Connell**.** (Connell, 1995: 15)

Masculinity as a concept is context specific, fluid and historically oriented. It is constructed within the context of gender relations. Research has shown that we 'do gender' every time we conduct conversations (Connell, 2002). Thus, masculinity is not a product of top-down socialization process but can be understood in relation to other men and women (Wetherell 1996; Connell 2002). That is why, it is essential to analyze masculinity from a social constructionist perspective.

Social Construction is a continuous process where both the individual and society play an important part. It is also shaped by the interests of particular groups and classes where the cultural values, norms, languages and ideologies are used to justify the social construction. Social construction also shapes the social norms, values, customs which are also inculcated through them. In the same way, gender is also a product of social construction where the masculine or feminine gender roles are culturally constructed and there are changes in such constructed roles with changes in social norms and values. (Chimanzi, 2016: 6).

The social constructionist perspective is opposed to biological and social essentialism----- which implies socially fixed singular core identity. Social constructionists argue that gender constructions are due to the intersecting historical, social and cultural factors at particular time period. Social constructionists argue that ideas about masculinity are fluid concepts

which are informed by cultural beliefs, traditions and religion, among other contributors. (Chimanzi, 2016: 7). Gender is displayed by boys and men in situation ally specific ways which needs to be upgraded and maintained by them in and through their interactions within social context (West & Zimmerman, 1987). The concept of masculinity is a product of social construction of gender and is constructed differently in different locations.[1] This suggests that masculinity is constructed differently in each location and epoch. Masculinity is constructed by men who use culture as a guide. Masculinity is constructed differently depending upon social conditions in which people are situated (Chimanzi, 2016: 7).

Research on masculinity suggested a multi cultural image of gender order in order to validate the attributes and attitudes for everyone (Connell, 1995). This notion is regarded as 'gender performativity' which regards gender as performance where socially sanctioned behaviour is re-enacted. Such perception of masculinity as performance shifts focus from biological origin to social inequalities and power relations in everyday practices. (Judith Butler, 1990)

It is the society which shapes people's experiences which in turn shape the society which leads to existence of gendered people in gendered society (Kimmel, 2004). Social constructionists argue that gendered individuals negotiate their identities within gendered institutions where these institutions produce the difference that is assumed as properties of individuals (Chimanzi, 2016: 8). It is the social process which sustains knowledge (Burr, 2003). Thereby, social constructionists are intrigued by social interaction between people in the course of everyday lives which are seen as practices during which shared version of knowledge is constructed (Chimanzi, 2016: 7). Masculinity, especially hegemonic masculinity at local level may vary from hegemonic masculinity at a regional or global level (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). This signifies that the construction of masculinity can vary from one are to another although they may overlap. Boys and masculinity are thus seen as a part of an effective social construction project which need to be explored (Chimanzi, 2016: 7-8).

Masculinity is not regarded as universal phenomena in every society. Since there are myriad values, norms, cultures in different societies, so the construction of masculinity takes various forms in different cultures and societies. Connell (2008:208) states that different cultures and different historical periods construct masculinities, differently. The fact that different masculinities exist in different cultures and historical epochs points that masculinity is susceptible to change and is dynamic in nature. (Chimanzi, 2016: 7-8).

Masculine identities are never stable but are in a state of flux and fluid where social institutions like family, school and peer group have helped in its construction. Since social agencies like family, school and peer group play an important role in the mediation of the construction of gender identity, so against this backdrop family and school have been chosen as an arena to understand the construction of masculinity. Family and School are important agencies and an arena for adolescent boys where they perform 'gender roles' and actively engage in gender constructions to form and perform their masculinity/masculinities (Connell, 1996, 2008). Moreover, since emotional stoicism is socially constructed as a defining feature of masculinity, emotional expressions are also gendered where being a boy is often associated with stereotypes concerning *'doing gender'* (De Visser, Smith, & McDonnell, 2009; Oransky & Marecek, 2009; West & Zimmerman, 1987). Research also shows that parental treatment of their daughters and sons are also different in terms of addressing emotions (Goldshmidt & Weller, 2000). It is due to this differential treatment and behaviour of parents along with peers, teachers which has a strong impact on the interactional nature of gender (Pleck, 1995; West & Zimmerman, 1987, 2009).

Since traditional masculinity involves attributes like physical toughness, emotional stoicism, aggression, having muscular body, so adolescent boys also assess behaviour and expressions constantly in relation to socially constructed masculine and feminine practices (Messerschmidt, 2009). This denotes that gender norms and expectations are socially constructed where the roles of masculinity and femininity are contextually specific and fluid in nature. (Barker, Ricardo, Nascimento, Olukoya, & Santos, 2009; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Tischler & McCaughtry, 2011).

Construction of Masculinity in South Asia

Since a large body of scholarship on gender in Southeast Asia emphasizes on the lives of women, any issue or question of masculinity is understood in terms of women's interaction with men ----- as husband, father, employer or agents of the state. Men are rarely treated as subjects of gender-based research due to which one's understanding about masculinity is inferred from the study of women and femininities. (Ford & Lyons, 2012: 1) However, recent literature on men and masculinity resembles feminist forebears since its cynosure involves men's own experiences followed by men's gender-specific suffering which has given birth to a new field of enquiry, "Men's Studies" (Segal: Lyons, 2012). Due to the danger of obscuring the focus on the study of gender and power, men's study may make equal claims to gender

inequality as victim of patriarchy. As a result of this, scholars working on men and masculinities have rejected the term 'men's studies' in favour of 'critical studies on men' (CSM) or 'studies of men and masculinities'. (Lyons, 2012: 2) Further, though there is a growing body of scholarship on male homosexuality in Southeast Asia including works on gay men in Indonesia followed by Jackson's (1996) work in Thailand on gay men, there has hardly been any such literature or work on hetero-normative masculinities where studies on 'straight men' are absent (Nila et al. 2009, Clark, 2010). Thus, there is also a dearth of research on how the performance of heterosexuality is related to the dominant construction of masculinity in Southeast Asia, especially India. (Lyons, 2012: 1)

In the *South Asia***,** certain stereotypes are also associated with boys in terms of their conformity to the norms of hegemonic masculinity ---------- being physically active, strong, and aggressive and assumption of leadership. In terms of playing games with peers, boys are expected to play with them outside home away from family responsibilities while girls are expected to remain close to home while playing in order to confine them to domestic sphere (Dhume, 2018: 2).

Masculinity in global South including India is a social construct of young men which provides a framework to understand the cultural rules related to their actions. Even in Indian society, those men who are unable to conform to the hetero normative masculine traits of *'aslimard'* (real man) in terms of their physical (good physical and handsome looks along with muscular body), attitudinal and behavioural attributes are subjected to social humiliation and bullying and are even stigmatised as '*emasculate*' or *'effeminate'*. These physical attributes like physical strength, toughness, aggression, courage are regarded important since they provide the mechanism for Indian boys to use their sexual prowess to attract and satisfy women (Dhume, 2018: 2). Thus, according to the socially constructed norm of masculinity, a real man is expected and socialised to be daring, courageous, violent and should possess capability in order to prove his manhood (Dhume, 2018: 2). Although there is detailed agreement regarding the role of masculinity which creates vulnerabilities among young men, there exists little information on the construction of gender identity and how such identity is enforced in young men's lives (Dhume, 2018: 3).

It is in the light of this literature and due to lack of substantial research in India that the present research attempts to explore how different forms of masculinity is constructed among the adolescent boys of North Kolkata.

Masculinity and its Diverse Forms

Since masculinity is fluid and is subjected to change in different cultural contexts and societies, so its diverse forms have been explored. In order to understand the relationship between groups of men, Connell classified masculinity into four categories: *Hegemonic or dominant, Complicit, Submissive and Oppositional/ Protest masculinities.* These categories of masculinities are fluid and subjected to change due to which membership is difficult to identify. However, the present research has explored two major forms of masculinity ---- Hegemonic and Submissive Masculinities (Pascoe, 2007: 20).

a). **Hegemonic/ Dominant Masculinity:** Hegemonic masculinity comprises one of the central concepts in the discussion about masculinity and femininity. While Antonio Gramsci applied concept of 'hegemony' in analysing class relations, Raewyn Connell applied it to study relations between men and women and between men (Groes-Green2009; Miller 2009). Research indicates that there are certain forms of masculinity which are regarded as more dominant and socially acceptable than other forms (Katerina, 2014: 142). This notion is affirmed by Raewen Connell's concept of *hegemonic masculinity.*[2] *(*Chimanzi, 2016: 6) Hegemonic masculinity is one of the most researched types since it is the dominant form of masculinity both in past and present society. Being the dominant form of masculinity, it not only positions in opposition to women, but also takes its status in relation to subordinate masculinity where the values are expressed by non-hegemonic forms having little legitimacy. Michael Kimmel defined hegemonic masculinity as *'man of power, man in power and man with power'.* This type of masculinity presents an idealised version of how real men should behave as culturally ideal. Though other categories of masculinity exist, hegemonic type can bestow power and privilege on men who own and claim it as their own. Such dominant form of masculinity is highly prevalent in present society which involves a question of relations of cultural domination (Pascoe, 2007: 20). The concept was first used in school in order to understand how adolescent boys practice masculinity at school through their co-curricular activities and their treatment by peers. It was also used to understand different ways in which boys negotiate various forms of masculinity in classroom along with the issue of bullying which takes place among male peers (Pascoe, 2007: 21).

Hegemonic masculinity is used as a major tool to understand masculine tendencies and gender identities to reveal the ways in which such hegemonic forms are formed, practiced and negotiated around traits like toughness, strength, heterosexuality and homophobia. The

multiple forms of masculinity that are socially constructed as more powerful helped to debunk the power relations within which masculinity operates along with the other (marginalized) form of masculinity. The cynosure of most research presently emphasizes on the role of family, school, sports and peer group for a better understanding on how masculinity is negotiated and socially constructed in these different spheres of society. While on one hand Raewyn Connell showed how masculinities have changed along with capitalism which has reflected the gender changes, on the other hand, Jeff Hearn analysed how men have taken power publicly. He further regarded that masculinity in public domain overshadowed the private domain as an insignificant part of development of capitalism and modernity. As pointed out by Connell, masculinity in school is reflected through sports from where school boys derive their sporting prowess, even at the unwillingness of the boys who do not develop an interest in the activity (Connell: 2005: 68).

b). Submissive masculinity: When men act like 'sissy' they are most likely to be punished or they face social humiliation by their peers if they do not conform to the soically constructed traits of masculinity ---- physical strength, toughness, expression of emotions and aggression[3]. As illustrated by O'Conor (1995, p. 99) boys are physically abused if they behave or are feminine or do not conform to the traits of hegemonic masculinity. This mainly involves name calling or bullying by stigmatising the feminine men as 'fag', sissy' or 'nerd'. Homophobic abuse is the most significant form of abuse when levelled at boys who dislike rough and tumble games and prefer gentler pursuits (Epstein, 1998 & Frosh, 2001).

Adolescent boys who failed to conform to macho stereotype and the heterosexual notion of masculinity often become victims of bullying and are labelled either as gay by their fellow mates or are stigmatized as '*effeminate'* (McGuffey and Rich, 1999). Adolescent boys who cross the boundary of binary categories of being masculine are mostly ostracized by their peers and accused of being sissy like a girl or accused of homosexuality. The means through which conventional masculine space is secured and conformed is by using terms like fag and sissy which are used to pressure the boys to devalue their behaviour. Terms like sissy, fag, gay and poof are used not to refer to a person's sexual practices but their gender since the terms denote a general form of 'non-masculine or effeminate'. The term *'sissy'* which emerged out of the body culture of mid-nineteenth century in America became an epithet used by school yard bullies. Though unmanly boys who are unable to conform to the heterosexual notion of masculinity are not the products of twentieth century, yet the meaning attached to them transformed with the politics of masculinity and changes in child rearing,

gender socialization and human development. With the onset of nineteenth century, peer group being a significant agency of socialization ostracized the sissies. To top it all, sissies during the twentieth century bore a social stigma (attached by the peer group) since conforming to the socially constructed code of boyhood became important to establish the normalcy of boys' personalities and behaviours (McGuffey and Rich, 1999).

Homosexuality in the twenty first century is no longer a social problem for men as long as the homosexual man is of the right age and gender orientation. While male homosexuality is not pathologized, gay male effeminacy is. The problem lies when there is lack of socially constructed notion of being masculine and not the sexual orientation (Eve Sedgwick, 1995; Pascoe, 2007). Therefore, due to the accepted view of masculinity in society, being unmasculine is not necessarily being feminine but is opposed to the heterosexual notion of masculinity. In this regard, feminine attributes in males do not always indicate homosexuality as there is no direct relation between how 'feminine' a man might appear and homosexuality (Phillips, 2001).

Moreover, by presenting the multiple forms of masculinities, Connell emphasizes on the dynamism of theses configurations of gender practice which is not symmetrical everywhere. Thereby, myriad forms of masculinity exist each with its individual attribute and shape. Since the multiple forms of masculinities changes over time, their shape also changes in society and these masculinities can affect society as well. This suggests that all masculinities are not powerful as social forces **(Connell: 2005:75).**

Against this backdrop, the present research explores how Bengali middle class adolescent boys of Kolkata construct their notions of hegemonic and submissive masculinities through their interaction with parents, peer group and leisure activities they engage in.

Impact of School and Media on Adolescence

Since school is also one of the most important socializing agent where boys construct their notions of masculinity, so this arena has been chosen along with family for the present research. As adolescents change from elementary to high school, it is mostly accompanied by greater social expectations for autonomy by the adolescent followed by the school and parents. During elementary school, parents are informed by the concerned teachers regarding assignments and school activities along with feedback about children's school performance (Steinberg, 1994: 25). The reliance of parents on their children is also required regarding the

school activities and studies in order to maintain a balance between autonomy and control. In order to maintain the balance, the parents not only inculcate self-direction and autonomy in the academic performance of their children, but also tries best to control and monitor the children's educational activities so that academic potential can be met (Steinberg, Lamborn, Dornbusch, and Darling, 1992).

Adolescence is a critical phase where the children are exposed to self-selected media. Any lack of vigilance by the parents leads the adolescents to participate in different recreational activities (forced by peers). As a result of this, the recreational time of the adolescents increase which involves usage of media like television, movies, magazines, Internet, especially social media (Roberts, Foehr, Rideout, and Brodie, 1999). As children step into adolescence, they regard themselves matured enough to exert control over the content of their media than younger children. It is during this time when parents find it difficult to supervise or monitor their activities. Research shows that majority boys can use and access mass media and social media within the privacy of their bedroom which makes parental supervision more difficult. (Roberts et al., 1999).

When adolescents spend their leisure time using self selected media like music, TV and social media which may not be consonant with parents' goals and values, parental vigilance becomes the only solace to stay abreast of their teen's recreational activities. Adolescents spend much of this free time utilizing self-selected mass media, such as music and TV, that may not be consonant with parents' socialization goals or values. Parents prefer monitoring in order to stay abreast of their children's activities of recreation and they also depend upon their children to keep them informed of their academic development activities. This phase of adolescence produces an impact on the physical and mental health of parents and their adolescents. (Steinberg and Steinberg, 1994). They also suffer from mid life crisis which affects their treatment of children (Farrell and Rosenberg, 1981; Levinson, 1978).

This is how generation gap gets created between parents and their adolescents during adolescence which not only affects the capability of adolescents to think about their future, but also their parents' possibilities to change which becomes limited. This is because adolescence is a time which during which both adolescents and parents undergoes developmental changes which leaves the parents perplexed and sandwiched. Thereby this phase brings a new horizon for the adolescents in family life, and it is a time for parents to come to terms with choices which they made when they were younger (Steinberg and

Steinberg, 1994). While on one hand, it is essential to understand the impact of family, school and leisure upon adolescent boys, it is equally important to understand the different parenting styles and practices to understand the relation between parenting and adolescent adjustment.

Leisure and masculinity

Another unexplored theme is leisure studies where existing literature mainly discusses the meaning and different types of structured and unstructured leisure activities along with the focus on sports as a major form of leisure activity of adolescent boys.

Meaning of leisure:

Different theorists defined leisure which varies in terms of social and cultural contexts. Leisure can also be understood as time characterized by freedom and non-work activity (Godbey, 2003; Kelly, 1999; Neumeyer & Neumeyer, 1958). Leisure can also be defined as any kind of pleasurable activities where there is freedom from work obligations, family and social time (Dumazedier 1962). This signifies that leisure can be understood as any kind of activity where there is liberty from work obligations and other non-work activities (Godbey, 2003; Kelly, 1999; Neumeyer & Neumeyer, 1958). Shaw (1985) regards that adolescents regard leisure as a form of relaxation and freedom from their routine life (studying) in terms of time and choice. Adolescents also regard leisure as a condition of easy, unstructured enjoyment where they can spend time with friends with little emphasis on their work (McMeeking & Purkayastha, 1995). However, adolescents also engage in structured leisure activities like Music and Dance which requires commitment by the adolescents and often include regular participation schedules.

Structured and Unstructured leisure among adolescent boys:

Recent research show that the sociology of leisure has come of age enriched with theoretical, empirical and methodological insights into everyday forms of leisure activities. The foundation and trace of such sociological understanding of leisure can be found in the historical emergence and development of sociology which were later institutionalized with the inception of leisure studies as a field of research during 1970s. Since then, Western and Indian scholarship on sociology of leisure has increased along multiple axes --- questioning about the social processes, actors and institutions involved in leisure where leisure has been used to understand social formation. Further, scholars were also prompted to rethink about

research on leisure and to establish link with other field of research in order to portray the impact of leisure research on mainstream sociology. Sociology of leisure being governed by assumptions about its object of study and methodological tools, gives leisure a sense of direction and sets its boundaries. (Mukherjee, June 2020)

Leisure activity can be categorized two types ---- *structured and unstructured.* Structured leisure activities are those activities which are freely chosen by the adolescents and which provides physical and mental stimulation to the teenagers. These activities require enrolment with a fee where there is supervision by parents. These activities require commitment by the adolescents and often include regular participation schedules. It also emphasizes on skill development of teenagers and involves active participation with sustained attention (Mahiney & Stattin, 2000). Research suggests that structured activities provide a range of opportunities to the adolescents to acquire and practice their physical, social and intellectual skills and also to form network with friends and adults in their life (Mukherjee, June 2020: 2)

Two types of structured activities exist for adolescent boys ---- sports and cultural activities (music, dance, and painting). Adolescent boys' shows greater interest in sports during leisure as such an activity not only helps to improve their physical and mental health but also help to provide life satisfaction (Blecker, 1990). Enrichment in any sports activity is not an obstruction to the academics of the adolescent boys. Bengali middle class parents like their adolescent sons to cultivate their talent through sports. Further, adolescents who participate in sports have a greater intimacy with their parents followed by a better self-identity (Harrison & Narayan, 2003).

Adolescence is a time when adolescents emphasize on their leisure needs. Since youngsters have more free time and opportunities with lesser responsibilities, they are restricted by lack of spending power along with parental restrictions. This portrays the stage of childhood as a period of transition where the child experiences the role of leader and plays varied roles by moving among age groups in leisure which helps them to explore the alternative world of adult authority and peer group norms. Thus, late childhood can be seen as a period of transition in rule-bound behaviour, where the individual child can experience the role of leader and follower by moving among various age-range groupings in leisure settings exploring the alternative worlds of adult authority and peer norms. It is during the stage of adolescence that youngsters ponder upon the importance of leisure in their everyday life, their attitudes towards leisure, meanings and constraints imposed upon leisure and the varied

social forces which influence and shape their involvement. Adolescents regard any form of leisure activity as significant possessing personal meaning and a means of social expression. These interests are coloured and influenced by agencies like family, educational institutions, media, peer group and social change like rise in unemployment. Thereby, the leisure of adolescents (structure/ unstructured) can be seen as an interaction of influences from within the individual and from social environment (Leo & Janet, 2005: 53-54).

All adolescents of Bengali middle class engage in some form of unstructured activities which involves 'hanging out' with friends either in their school or in their neighbourhood during weekends which is regarded as adolescent's preferred free time activity. Two components of unstructured leisure activities include --- *family and casual leisure*. While family leisure is the outcome of negotiation between Bengali middle class parents and their children where the sons watch movies approved by their parents, especially mother, for the adolescent boys, the popular/ casual leisure activities outside their homes include visiting their friends, hanging around in the street with their friends, body-building. (Roosemalan and Krahn, 1996)

Social Construction of Masculinity in India through activities like Cricket and Football

Research on Sociology of Sports in global South including India suggested that the concept of ideal male body is a product of social construction in male athletes during Sports since such body can be build during self-destructive pursuit of sports by neglecting pain and injury in the game (Young, 1991: 55). By this, the male body which socially constructed to be masculine, physically strong with the endurance of bearing excruciating physical injury is also fuelled by consumerism which has contributed to a greater for the presentation of the 'masculine body' (Featherstone 1991, Mort 1996).Such crave for ideal male body is constructed for the purpose of abiding by the standards of beautification of society and also to attain social identity which not only benefits commercial industries but also increases the demand for products related to body modifications like tattoo inscription, body piercing, cosmetic surgery and dieting (Young, 1991: 56). Further, the ideal male body required in sports also has to conform to the hetero normative standards of hegemonic masculinity ----- physical strength and toughness, muscular body, violence, emotional stoicism.

It is against this backdrop, that this sresearch has not only explored how adolescent boys practice and construct their notions of masculinity through activities like cricket and football

which helps in the social construction of ideal body, but also through their interaction with their peer group, wih whom they spend their leisure time.

Peer group and the construction of masculinity

With the dearth of Western literature on the impact of peer group in masculine construction, existing research has been conducted on social changes of children during adolescence followed by the problems faced by them through homophobia, bullying and locker-room culture. However, limited literature on the construction of masculinity by peer group in my area of study had made it an unexplored theme.

Social changes of children due to peer group during adolescence

As children step into adolescence, they start spending less time with their families and more with their peer group. This decrease of spending less time parents continues throughout the middle and high school years due to the increasing opportunities for academic, recreational and social activities outside family. Since peer relations become more important for the adolescents, they act as emotional confidantes and also serve as influential models of behaviour and attitudes for the adolescents**.** Though family continues to have primary influence on their children, yet they may find it difficult to adjust to their child's increasing interest in peer activities than family activities. As pointed out by Steinberg, parents from family can find their children seeking advice from their peers or even modelling their behaviour under the influence of peer group which can turn out to be objectionable for the parents (Buhrmester, 1996).

Though peers influence the adolescents in appositive way, it can also produce a negative impact on children by forcing them to take recourse to drugs, tobacco, alcohol as well as delinquency (Mounts and Steinberg 1995; WentzelandCaldwell1997). It is during this time that peer group become important points of reference in the social development of adolescents. The day to day behavior of adolescents is shaped by peer group and friendships which encourage them to conform to the standard norms and values. Adolescents are also helped by such groups to learn social adjustments which are useful for their acceptance in society (Katerina, 2014: 140).

Though adolescents generate major social values in life from their parents during adolescence (Ochiltree, 1990), the major trends across adolescence is towards increasing importance of

peer relationships. Peer group play a decisive role in the adolescents' life by providing vital feedback to them at times of personal and social change and enhance their communication with others as equal partners. This indicates that the major function of peer group as an agency of socialization is to provide security and assistance to the adolescents outside family setting (Steinberg, 1994: 25). Though parents play significant role in determining long-term preferences, attitudes and values during adolescence, it is relationship with peers which cause the most concern of the adolescents as they grow up. One of the significant aspect of adolescence as a stage is the search for new identity. It is during this stage that the influence of peer group torments where acceptance in the peer group helps in maintaining the identity of the adolescents while marginalization from the group produces negative impact on them (Steinberg, 1994: 30).

Friendships are based on a different set of structural relationship as compared to the relation with parents since friendships are more symmetrical, involve reciprocity and are evolutionary during teenage. At the onset of adolescence, friendships are characterized by transformation ---- with more emphasis on intimacy that includes development of more exclusive focus, debunking of self-disclosure and sharing of problems and advice. The ideology of sharing about each other's life with friends becomes a matter of prime importance during adolescence. Friends even reason together in order to organize experience and for the purpose of defining themselves as persons (Youniss and Smollar, 1985)

Adolescents tend to be dependent on their peer group and friends for help and advice with decisions and for discussing current activities whenever there is less parental interest. (Hunter, 1985). This suggests that though parents being the primary socializing agents are more influential in situations involving family values and future decision making, yet adolescents seek help from their friends only when they regard their parental attitudes as indifferent and rejecting (Larson, 1972; Smith, 1976).

The interaction of adolescents with their family and peers are shaped by certain developmental changes involving cognitive, verbal and reasoning abilities and the changes associated with puberty. Furthermore, the developmental changes of adolescence require more complex interpersonal skills which allows the adolescents to understand their friends' thought sand problems in a better way. The stable and meaningful friendships that they make allow them to understand the significance of mutuality and reciprocity (Berndt, 1982). In certain instances, while describing conflicts in authority context, adolescents regarded that

adults would win over it since adults occupied a powerful position. (Berndt, 1982). Adolescents regard peer relationship as more favorable due to equal exchange of ideas where each other's views can be heard and respected. In this way, peers can perform the function of conflict resolution by means of mutual agreement and respect (Berndt, 1982).

Peers and friends perform multiple functions in adolescents' lives. Peer group plays a dynamic role in the life of adolescents, the influence of which shifts across adolescence Adolescents are able to evaluate the perspective of others and develop self-judgment by experiencing the values and norms of the peer group. Since most groups are oriented towards fostering identity development, certain developmental changes in peer pressure supersedes the group differences. There are different activities that teenagers learn by exposure to peer models like dressing style, language use, musical interest, leisure activities along with the method of handling social relationship by observing and emulating peers. This shows that peer group offer various opportunities to adolescents both for role-taking and role-modeling. The most important aspect in adolescence is the ability of being admired, accepted and definition of one's role within the peer group (Berndt, 1982).

Social acceptance is an urgent pre requisite for most adolescents due to the importance of peers in the adolescents' lives (Berscheid and Walster, 1972). Acceptance and popularity in peer group is related to similar attitudes and perceived attractiveness (Cavior and Dokecki, 1973). A study on peer group culture and masculinity showed that in terms of the popularity of peer group, adolescents emphasize more on physical characteristics and abilities (handsome and sportive for young men and pretty and nice figure for women (Hendry and Jamie, 1978)

Since peer group also involves discussion with peers about sexual intimacy with girlfriends' in order to attain popularity among male friends, so this research also studies about locker-room culture which prevails among the high school boys in the West.

Locker-room culture and the construction of masculinity

The concept of locker-room culture is a new arena which though has been studied in Western literature, but has been a neglected arena in India[4]. During adolescence, boys interact with their peers at times in locked rooms as such discussions involve sexually aggressive and explicit talk about women. These discussions of boys with their friends can range from relationships with their girlfriends to treating them as objects of sexual pleasure. If by chance

the peer group discovers the discussion of the boys, the boys involved faces humiliation and are also ridiculed and bullied so that the speakers can reveal details about women's sexuality. For this reason, the discussion at locker room takes place silently without the notice of anyone in school. This is known as locker room culture. As a result of this culture, boys mostly discuss about their girlfriend's sexuality with their peers while keeping the emotional intimacy with their girlfriend confidential for the fear of facing humiliation, criticism and sarcasm of being ostracized by their peer group (Whitehead, 2006: 45).

Against this backdrop, the present research attempts to explore how peer group plays a significant role in the construction of masculinity of adolescent boys of northern Kolkata through bullying, homophobia and locker-room culture where boys are involved due to peer pressure.

However, to understand the construction of masculinity of adolescent boys through their family interaction, peer group interaction and leisure activities, it is important to analyze and understand the social constructionist perspective of adolescence as well. Due to limited literature in the global South on the social construction of adolescence, the present research explores this arena.

Against this backdrop, the present research studies the social construction of adolescence among the Bengali middle class boys of North Kolkata. However, research on New Sociology of Childhood and Adolescence as a new sociological arena has also emerged to understand the social construction of adolescent boys and how it challenges the traditional socialization paradigm.

Research on New Sociology of Childhood

Several scholars have regarded that early childhood studies and gender/ masculinity studies can complement each other (Bartholomaeus & Senkevics, 2015; Bhana, 2016; Blaise, 2005; Connolly, 2004; Davies, 1993; Renold, 2005; Thorne, 1993). However, neither does childhood scholars engage deeply with gender, nor do gender scholars engage with early childhood studies (MacNaughton, 2000) The reason behind the lack of collaboration between childhood and masculinity studies is due to the ways early childhood has been configured as a fixed cycle in human development (James et al, 1998). The traditional socialization paradigm regarded children as passive receivers which was challenged by New Sociology of Childhood. The new social study of childhood conceptualized the period as acultural

construct where children are active subjects rather than passive objects determined by the social world and adults around them (Ryan, 2008). Since the socialization paradigm which was one of the major feature of the sociological perspective on childhood was highly challenged and criticized, research on 'new Sociology of Childhood came into existence with the diminishing influence of the outdated paradigm (Corsaro, 1997).

Early theories of Childhood focus on the significance of socialization paradigm where any child becomes a functioning member of society by internalizing the norms and values of society through agencies like family, school, peer group, media, religion and workplace. Such concept of socialization had its influences during the twentieth century psychologists like Jean Piaget who emphasized on cognitive development of the child and Vygotsky who focused on incorporation of cultural norms and values for a better psychological development of the child (Piaget, 1968 & Vygotsky, 1978). However, such works on socialization including the concept itself was questioned by the new paradigm in Sociology of Childhood which subjected it to criticism due to its dualistic nature. The early socialization paradigm was highly criticized from 1990s by a notable social theorist Corsaro since children were the cynosure of the study in socialization paradigm. Socialization involved a process for Corsaro where the dualism existed between child and adult as the child becomes a functioning member of society only after internalization of cultural values. Furthermore, since Corsaro belonged to the new paradigm of Childhood research he regarded that the early socialization paradigm which focused on cultural internalization by Bourdieu was a deterministic model while the psychological development of child pointed out by Vygotsky and Piaget was a constructivist model. However, Corsaro rejected both the models of cultural reproduction and outlined his theoretical strategy to understand the socio-psychological development of the child through the process of 'interpretive understanding' (Corsaro, 1997).

As per the new paradigm in Childhood Research, Corsaro rejected the early socialization paradigm due to two issues involved in the new paradigm of Sociology of Childhood Research ------ Firstly, child being the agency was questioned within social science research. Secondly, as an object of research, childhood as a phase was important and not only as a phase which comes before the phase of adulthood (Corsaro, 1997).

The cynosure of these two assertions involves the interpretative understanding by children through their own meanings and interpretations since children have the ability to create a culture of their own. (Hirschfeld, 2002)

Thereby, it is the light of this literature in the global South including India that the present research explores how the Bengali middle class adolescent boys of Kolkata construct their notions of masculinity through the interaction with their family (parents), peer group and the leisure activities that they engage in.

2. Objectives of the study

The present study has explored the construction of masculinity of adolescent boys of North, Kolkata through interviews with 100 boys. I aimed to understand whether these high school boys practice and construct their notions of masculinity both at home (perception of parents) and also at school through the leisure activities that they engage in and the peers they interact with. I have looked at family, peer group, and leisure activities that the boys engage in. Though the most common social sphere was family, the other social spheres like peer groups and leisure activities have also been taken into consideration. Though a large percentage of time is spent by the individuals in these domains, researchers have ignored the domain-specific studies of the construction of masculinity among high school adolescent boys. In the light of this, I as a researcher have used a mixed-method involving in-depth face to face interviews (unstructured) in an attempt to explore the following objectives:

a. Construction of masculinity of the high school adolescent boys of Kolkata within the family (parents) ---- how parents (father and mother) contribute to the masculinity of their adolescent sons through the different parenting styles adopted by them and whether gendered parenting style continue to exist even to this day.

b. Practice and negotiation of masculinity of the adolescent boys through their different structured and unstructured leisure activities ----- Watching movies, Attending coaching classes of football and cricket, Surfing the Net and social media, Reading magazines, Body-building, swimming and cycling.

c. The impact of the peer group in the construction of masculine identity of the high school boys of Kolkata ----- how masculinity of the adolescent boys are strengthened or solidified through their interaction with their male and female peer group.

Since the present research explores how masculinity is socially constructed among the Bengali middle-class boys followed by their parental perception of middle class, so the concept of the middle class in the context of India, especially Bengali community has been explored.

In India, middle class is a very neglected and unresearched theme. Though studies exist on the emergence and origin of Indian middle class, but there is no comprehensive study, to the best of my knowledge on the construction of masculinity among the middle class men of India. The available literature on Indian middle class mainly deals with the historical perspectives of middle class which portrays the role of colonial administration as a major theme which is characterized by a shift in the relation between India and British from trade relations during 17th century to colonial rule which brought about significant structural changes in India. **(Joshi 2001, Joshi 2010, Roy 1993)**. Partha Chatterjee examined the significant role played by Indian middle class during colonial rule where middle class emerged through English education of British rule but was unable to expand economically being under colonial economic control (Leela Fernandes, 1990).

According to D.P. Mukerji, the colonial rule altered the basis of Indian social economy which was based on money and mechanical production. They not only ruined but also transformed the indigenous merchant capital, trade and commerce along with self-sufficient rural economy. On the other hand, they also introduced new land-settlement which was based on the concepts of private property and profit followed by new land-revenue system which led to the emergence of the category named absentee landlords. These landlords were separated not only from the agricultural productivity but also from their responsibility towards the villagers. Simultaneously, English education also led to the emergence of a class which was socially distant from the landlords. These two classes ---- landlords and literati formed the new middle class which was not only different form the industrial bourgeoisie in Europe but was also alienated from the culture of the people (Mukerji 1942: 82). This signifies that the British rule in India led to the formation of the spurious middle class ----- it was spurious in quality due to its impact on the social domains of education, culture, politics and economy (Mukerji 1948: 25). As British conquest increased in India, their attitude also became aloof and indifferent. The emergence of Indian middle also proceeded along similar lines. Even after Independence, the middle class continued to be culturally distant and continued to be duty bound in order to use its privileged position for the common good. As the middle class as increased in number over the decades, it has become more self-absorbed. Thus, in India, as in other developing economies, the middle class is a product of colonial baggage and came to be inhabited by those who saw their role as the shapers of national historical identity (Pandey 2009).

The emergence of Indian middle class can be traced to the contribution by environmentalists and peace activists in West Germany who came together to form 'The Green Party' in 1980 and adopt the 'Four Pillars of Green Politics' ---- social justice, ecological wisdom, democracy and ahimsa (non-violence). Two more pillars were also added as principles in 2001 at Global Greens Congress at Canberra including sustainability and respect for diversity. These green parties which characterized western countries like Western Europe, Australia, New Zealand and East Asian countries ad a sizeable middle class. This middle class was beyond the poverty line but not rich.

The 1998 National Council for Applied Economic Research Report on Indian market reports that the middle class represented one-fifth of Indian society comprising around 200 billion people. Despite of this minority status, the class sets the term of reference for Indian society not only due to its development but also due to the discourse of policy makers. The middle class, as Macaulay envisaged, has become an intelligentsia comprising of individuals who are not only socialized in their parents' tradition but are also western educated and equipped with the personnel prowess. (Jaffrelot, 2008: Natarajan, pg 15).

This implies that middle class has become an ideological construct and a primary category of social identity for a significant section of Indians which has changed post-Independence through th expansion of higher education system which created a larger section of professional, managerial and technical experts and bureaucratic class to run the state and public sector enterprises (Jaffrelot, 2008: Deshpande, 144-45). It is this section of salaried employees of public and private institutions which comprises the bulk of Indian middle class. With the onset of liberalization from the late 1980s which precipitated the era of globalization, there was influx of foreign branded consumer goods along with new forms of media. This was followed by the opening up of the economy which not only produced a growing culture of consumption within the middle class, but also reconstructed the middle class as a consuming class. In present society, the new middle class lifestyle that was being advertised through media was also produced through the market as specific mode of living, fashion and types of consumer goods bought by them. (Deshpande, 2003, 134-39)

The Economist (2009) defined the middle class as the class which would spend their income after paying for food and shelter. So they were the aspirers who were above the poverty line but the small shopkeepers and industrial or semi-skilled workers. In India, the new middle class is defined as, *'a demographic category, a potential market, or an identity associated*

with consumerist lifestyles'. However, even as a socio-political group, the new Indian middle class is differentiated from the old middle class in terms of its relationship with the state: while the old middle class was a product of anti-colonial state and asserted its leadership through managerial control of the post-colonial state, the new middle class exerted its political leadership over the state through its support for policies of liberalization, marketization and consumption (Chatterjee 2008; Ray 2009). As pointed out by Fernandes (2006), the new middle class was also different from the old middle class mainly in terms of its ideology, political and economic orientation and culture. As the middle class shifted its allegiance from the state to market, it had to re-orient itself ideologically by producing 'rhetoric about globalization' (Deshpande 2004: 150). It also had to re-invent itself and its place in the nation in its self-presentation. Increasingly, the new middle class came to define and represent the nation as a whole (2004: 150).

The rise of the new middle class can be juxtaposed with the impact of economic liberalization, globalization and neo-liberalism in Indian context (Parker 2009). The impact of globalization on Indian middle class not only helped them to declare autonomy for itself but also adopt a lifestyle that emulates the one in economically advanced countries. The historical conjuncture of the new middle class with neo-liberalism is of great significance in Indian society. The newness of the middle class was because of its identity in 'the language of liberalization' which involved being liberal along with the support for women's empowerment. Neo-liberalism-as-event helps to emphasize on the processes of significance and practice through which the constitutive elements of the event are aligned and termed as neo-liberalism. In this process, the new middle class is constituted as an expansive and aspirational force which can represent the nation in terms of neo-liberal development discourses through the ability to be trans-national or diasporic icons. (Fernandez and Heller 2006, 500).

The social landscape of different parts of India was altered by a social layer which was formed to help the British to maintain the fervour in their taste, opinions and intellect. (Macaulay as cited in Barry, 1966). Due to the association of Indian middle class with the British in terms of self-flaunting and their portrayal in mediated spheres, the Indian middle class was trapped amidst the religious dogmas along with the lure of a modern era which was foreign. Such lure of modernity and modernization not only tempered taste and lifestyles of the middle class but also initiated language and new values. However, Indian middle class is

also portrayed and valorised by the media in the context of globalization. The picture that is portrayed about Indian middle class sets an example of glocalization due to the impact of globalization followed by cosmopolitanism due to which the Indian middle class is at par with the global middle class in the contemporary economy (Brosius, 2010).

Since the present research attempts to analyze the construction of masculinity among Bengali middle class boys of Kolkata, so it is essential to understand its meaning and significance in India, especially Kolkata from the perspectives of different theorists. B.B. Mishra analyzed the growth of middle class in India. According to Mishra, middle class emerged in India after 1905 due to transformation in the social policy of the British along with the inception of new economic system and growth of new profession from the eighteenth century to modern era. Though Mishra does not provide any proper definition of Indian middle class, he defined social class as any kind of social stratification or inequalities of people in society which can be either natural or due to economic differences. He regarded that social differentiation is influenced by economic differentiation or inequality of men. Hence, he opines that social class signifies the difference in the relationship that a man bears to property and the means of production. While defining social class, Mishra defines it by relating to ownership of property along with income (Chanana, 1964: 683, 687).

For Mishra, income was an important criterion of middle class in India where he portrayed the significance of the lower and the upper middle class. However, Mishra examined that the lower middle class mainly comprised of lower income groups. While on one hand he regarded lack of proper education and land economy as leading to social inequality, on the other hand he was also concerned about class as a system of stratification. Mishra while studying the growth of Indian middle class also portrayed the rapid evolvement of the middle class in Indian context. This was also propagated by British policies which facilitated the growth of education, trade, commerce and industrial production. Thereby Mishra examined how Indian middle class emerged due to Permanent Settlement Act and the rule of primogeniture in Bengal. (Chanana, 1964: 689).

Middle class has been identified as a category of modern Indian society since it emerged with the onset of industrial development and urbanization in the West. Its emergence in India was with the introduction of Western secular education system, industrial economy followed by a new administrative system by the British during 19th century. Since then, over the years,

Indian middle class is growing gradually. Moreover, the rise of middle class has transformed the image of India and Indian families. (Jodhka, 2016:4-5)

Despite the changes in Indian middle class, its significance serves as an important instrument of social and economic growth along with a significant driver of the economy globally which was portrayed significantly by Abhijit Roy. Roy defined Indian middle class as a class which occupies the middle socio-economic position in the social hierarchy between upper and the working class with power and education as indicators. Roy in his work also substantiated how the status of Indian middle class has changed since independence through liberalization which stimulated economic growth, the impact of which continues till present society[34]. He also elucidated about the future of the Indian middle class which has been expanding in terms of market economy as well. (Roy, 2018: 32, 35)

Meaning of Bengali Middle Class

The available literature on Bengali middle class is also limited where focus is mainly on its historical emergence along with the physiological changes in Bengali middle class boys. However, hardly any research has been conducted on construction of masculinity among Bengali middle class boys.

The educated Bengali middle class lies in the middle of the social strata and not within lower strata which is associated with extreme poverty along with the upper class which was mostly dominated by Marwaris from Rajasthan[5]. During 1990s, the economy of West Bengal transformed with economic liberalization in India along with the upsurge of IT and construction sectors and the development of call centres. The middle class in India further developed with the growth in service sector along with professionals who were salaried. The striking part was noticed during the nineteenth century when the line between status and class became blurred which signified the diversified composition of the Bengali middle class (Ghosh, 2014, Pg 86).

Nineteenth century Bengal was characterized by two aspects ------ colonial rule and discourse regarding Bengalis which was reflected not only in the educational pedagogy but also in the economy and the nationalist movement of the *Bhadralok* that lead to the emergence of nationalist discourse. Brahmo movement was a movement which not only questioned the issue of children and childhood but also challenged the puritanical tradition of Bengal. Nineteenth century Bengal was also characterized by the pedagogic discourse about

childhood which was an important aspect of family against nationalism. However, the middle class of Bengal has undergone significant changes long after its emergence and the transformations increased rampantly during the last three decades. (Bose, 1995)

Though there are rural and urban middle classes in Bengal, yet urban middle class has been chosen for present research in order to analyze the construction of masculinity among the urban middle class boys of Bengal. For the urban middle class of Bengal, education was of high significance along with schooling since these were used as indictors of social status. Furthermore, gender equality was also practiced since both boys and girls were equally treated both in family and in schools with the diminishing practice of child marriage in colonial Bengal. Sen in her study on middle class portrayed the nature of Bengali middle class along with the people who comprise it which involved ambiguity. The most dominant group belonging to urban middle class in West Bengal was the professional managerial groups in terms of their remuneration, lifestyle along with their relation with other people belonging to different social strata of Bengal (Sen, 2016: 4). It is against this backdrop, that the present study explores how adolescent boys and their parents from urban-educated Bengali middle class help in the construction of masculinity.

Against this backdrop, the present research has used the concept of Bengali middle class to signify those middle income groups of North Kolkata with their income range between Rs 2, 00,000-5, 00,000 lakh per annum and those groups of people involbved in professions like lawyers, entrepreneurship and government school teachers.

3. Research Methodology

Methodological Parameters

Research Design:

The present study has attempted to use a mixed-method approach to explore how adolescent boys studying in XIth and XIIth standards of North Kolkata construct their notions of masculinity at home (parents) and in school. The mixed-method which is a new approach in social research is also known as the third methodological movement which emerged as an alternative to the dichotomy of qualitative and quantitative traditions (Teddlie, Tashakkori, 2007:04). Charles Teddlie and Abbas Tashakkori have defined the mixed method as a type of research design that uses both Qualitative and Quantitative approaches in question, inferences, and procedure[5]. In such cases, both qualitative and quantitative approaches are

used to address what, how, and why (2008:08). The depth, richness, rigor, and complexity of the study increase with the combination of multiple methodological practices, perspectives, empirical materials, and observations in a single study (Denzin, Lincoln, 2008:07).

The study uses a mixed-method approach due to its superiority over a single approach design and also because it can address confirmatory and exploratory questions where both qualitative and quantitative approaches provide stronger inferences and a greater assortment of diverse views (Teddlie, Tashakkori, 2009:33).

Thereby, in this research, I was a researcher using mixed method research so that the research problem can be understood by combining both qualitative and quantitative approaches. The study has mainly used a partially mixed concurrent dominant status design involving qualitative and quantitative data but the major emphasis has been given to Qualitative data. Nancy Leech and Anthony .J. Onwuegbuzie in their article entitled *'A Typology of Mixed Methods Research Design'* defined a partially mixed concurrent dominant status design as a status design that helps to conduct the study with two facets that occur concurrently so that there is more emphasis on either facet (2007: 268).

Mixed method design can be classified into three dimensions (Leech, Onwuegbuzie, 2007: 269):

1. Level of the mixture (fully mixed vs partially mixed)
2. Orientation of time (concurrent vs Sequential)
3. Thrust on approaches (dominant status vs equal status)

This study has given more emphasis to qualitative research (within a partially mixed concurrent dominant status design) because it aims to make sense of the issue through the participants' meaning and its interpretation followed by the focus on social experiences. A qualitative approach has been used to obtain a more naturalistic and holistic understanding of humans in society through their interaction (Todd, McKeown & Clarke, 2004: 04). This approach has mainly studied phenomena in their natural settings while making sense of and interpreting the phenomena concerning the meanings people attach to them (Banister, Burman, Parker, Taylor & Tindall, 1994; Denzin 7 Lincoln 2005).

This study uses a qualitative approach both epistemologically and ontologically where the researcher understands the social world by interpreting the world by the participants along with believing in the constructionist paradigm which espouses that social properties are the

results of interaction between individuals (Bryman, 2001: 366). Epistemologically, a qualitative interpretative approach has been used in this study to emphasize the perception of the parents and their adolescent boys regarding the construction of their notions of masculinity which means that here, the world is perceived through the high school boys' perception and experiences. Furthermore, in terms of ontology, I as a researcher have also used the constructionist method to portray that gender (masculinity) is a product of social construction. The study has used different methods of qualitative research since the qualitative approach is most suitable for this kind of exploratory study (in-depth understanding is the prima facie). (Bryman, 2001: 366).

Methods used for the research:

In this research, I as a researcher have used qualitative approaches like face-to-face in-depth interviewing following the narrative interview method and observation (to understand non-verbal behavior). The study has used a semi-structured interview schedule for conducting the interview and recording the experiences of respondents that they shared during the interview method.

Two sets of findings have been found after analysis:

a. The context and situation in which it emerges, and
b. The insight is used by people into the cultural frame to make sense of these experiences. Rigorous analysis of accounts provides two intertwined sets

When both are combined, they provide an in-depth theoretical understanding which the interview method which has been sought as the most favorable methodological tool of the qualitative researcher. When both are combined, it provides an in-depth theoretical understanding.

Marjorie L. Devault and lenda Gross in the Handbook of Feminist Research: Theory and Praxis (2012) defined qualitative in-depth interview as a method that addresses the complexity of human interaction including the flexibility and productive language power; the meanings which are conveyed through speech, gesture, and expressions of respondents; issues of translation; the stretch of interaction; the vocabularies of particular settings and groups; the use of silence and the challenges involved in listening (Hesse-Biber, 2011:206).

The researcher understands the perspectives, meanings, and interpretations given by the respondents to issues and problems. The interview method mainly involves a means of identification ----- culturally embedded explanations of events and behaviors since it represents ways in which people organize their social context. Thereby the interview method not only helps to understand the contexts and situations in which the investigated phenomena emerge but also provides insight into the socio-economic frame that people use to understand their experiences. (Orbuch, 1997).

Narrative analysis and interpretation have become an important methodological tool of qualitative research since the mid-1980s (Behar & Gordon, 1995). Furthermore, the significant way by which people make sense of their world is mainly through narratives since it allows people to tell and share their stories and experiences with themselves and others. This denotes that narratives involve a movement from starting to endpoint including sharing of story events. This method not only represents events but also the time and space during which the events occur (Cobley, 2001: 237)

Chase defined Narratives as any text or discourse within the mode of inquiry in qualitative research which emphasizes the life stories told by individuals. The present study uses narratives because it provides useful insight into the subjective experiences of adolescent boys and their parental perception of the construction of masculinity. Narratives have also been used in this research since it helps the researcher to understand the context of the research problem and to interpret it precisely.

Through narrative analysis is highly significant in humanities and social science research, qualitative researchers hardly pay attention to the narrative nature of interaction during interviews. However, the impulse to narrate, as suggested by Misher, serves as an integral part of the human experience. Such narratives and life stories can be conducted through the means in-depth interviews. Life stories signify narratives regarding life experience that is intriguing to the interviewee. Since narration establishes the relation between narrator and culture, it is also a process of embodiment regarding the accomplishment of the stories dictated by the narrators and how such accomplishment is culturally shaped (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003: 273)

Feminist, humanist, and poststructuralist theories have invigorated the current masculinity studies. Feminist research has been questioned regarding the binaries of gender that not only divide men and women but also masculine and feminine, heterosexual and homosexual along

with individual and society. This denotes that the binary categories of gender within feminist theories and masculinity of hegemonic vs alternative masculinities have been questioned. However, feminist research has emphasized one of the most significant trends in qualitative interviewing which involves consistent attention to the structure, organization of language, interaction, and discourse.

Besides the qualitative in-depth interview method, this research has also been carried out using the feminist research methodology and epistemology. By drawing insight into the leisure activities and experiences of adolescent boys and their parents regarding the social construction of masculinity, the goal of this research was to debunk the construction of masculinity in adolescent boys to reveal the prevalence of gender inequality through the perception of parents regarding their sons. Since feminists have used epistemologies of knowledge by incorporating the adolescent boys' experiences into the knowledge-building process, so it has attempted an in-depth understanding of the research problem.

Against this backdrop, I have attempted to present the demographic questions quantitatively. The demographic data has also been represented using univariate variables. As my research is particularly based on a qualitative approach, therefore the data regarding adolescent boys' meaning of boyhood, their leisure activities, and their interaction with peer groups followed by their parents' perception of the boyhood of their sons (belonging to the middle class). In this study, all the respondents' names have been changed to maintain the confidentiality of their identities.

Units of Analysis and Sampling

The primary units of analysis of this study are parents (father and mother) and the high school adolescent boys two dichotomous groups of parents and their children have been studied for the collection of authentic data. In this study, I, as a researcher chose to collect data from 100 adolescent boys including their parents on the objectives of the study. In this study of exploring the perception of middle-class adolescent boys and their parents regarding the construction of masculinity, I tried to obtain responses from the boys and their parents who are following the respondents' maturity and their socio-economic background.

Against this backdrop, this study has mainly used qualitative interpretative research since the data regarding the social construction of masculinity through the perception of the schoolboys and their parents along with the relationship between gender and class has been presented

qualitatively. In this regard, the research has maintained the confidentiality of the respondents' identities by changing their names.

The present study is an exploratory study that has been conducted by studying 100 adolescent high school boys who are aged 16-17 years of age studying in XIth and XIIth standards of schools along with their parents (father and mother) who are within 45-55 years of age with varied socio-economic (upper and middle class) and professional background, residing in areas of North Kolkata like Shyambazar, Bagbazar, Kumortuli and Shobhabazar. The age group of the school boys and their parents have been selected from their profile. These respondents have been selected from North Kolkata, West Bengal keeping in mind the objectives of the research.

In terms of sampling technique, Non-Probability Purposive and Snowball sampling methods are used for the selection of respondents for this study. Purposive sampling is used since it is based on the researcher's judgment followed by the Snow-Ball sampling technique since the present research has involved two groups of respondents due to which I have interacted with known persons fulfilling my criteria. After this, I contacted these respondents to seek their consent for the time of the interview which allowed me to conduct a face-to-face in-depth interview with the help of an interview schedule.

While in some cases I have written down the answers of the respondents, in other cases, I have recorded the interview session. While conducting the interview, I have also made field notes in a diary so that all relevant details are included in the research. I also used my social network to contact more interviewees who gave me more respondents and references who can meet the criteria of the research. Thereby, snowball sampling helped me to get the desired number of respondents and also to conduct the interview and interpretation lucidly.

Chapter Outlines:

In *Chapter Two*, the theoretical framework has been used as a guide to understanding the interpretations of the findings that the study has laid out. In *chapter three*, I provide a thorough analysis of the impact of the family (parents) on the construction of masculinity of their adolescent sons of Kolkata. The cynosure of this chapter is to understand the social construction of masculinity through the parental meaning of boyhood, their interaction with their adolescent sons, surveillance over their sons' activities within and outside the house, whether they allow them to handle housework, and also regarding the career aspirations of

these boys. *Chapter Four* reports findings from the present study on the construction of masculinity in the structured and unstructured leisure activities of adolescent boys through the types of movies they watch, the type of sports they are engaged in, different forms of social media they are using, the magazines that they read, the ways through which they beautify their bodies along with the reasons behind such forms of leisure activity.

In *Chapter Five*, I present findings from this study on the impact of peer group in the construction of masculinity among the adolescent high school boys of Kolkata. The emphasis of this chapter is on how peer group produces a significant impact on the construction and practice of masculinity among the adolescent boys of Kolkata followed by the topics hey discuss with their peers at school and at neighbourhood of Kolkata.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

1. Theories on Masculinity

Research on masculinity suggested a multi-cultural image of gender order to validate the attributes and attitudes of everyone (Connell, 1995). This notion is regarded as 'gender performativity' which regards gender as a performance where socially sanctioned behavior is re-enacted. Such a perception of masculinity as performance shifts focus from biological origin to social inequalities and power relations in everyday practices. (Judith Butler, 1990)

It is the society that shapes people's experiences which in turn shapes the society which leads to the existence of gendered people in gendered society (Kimmel, 2004). Social constructionists argue that gendered individuals negotiate their identities within gendered institutions where these institutions produce the difference that is assumed as properties of individuals (Chimanzi, 2016: 8). It is the social process that sustains knowledge (Burr, 2003). Thereby, social constructionists are intrigued by social interaction between people in the course of everyday lives which are seen as practices during which a shared version of knowledge is constructed (Chimanzi, 2016: 7). Masculinity, especially hegemonic masculinity at the local level may vary from hegemonic masculinity at a regional or global level (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). This signifies that the construction of masculinity can vary from one area to another although they may overlap. Boys and masculinity are thus seen as a part of an effective social construction project which needs to be explored (Chimanzi, 2016: 7-8).

Masculinity is not regarded as a universal phenomenon in every society. Since there are myriad values, norms, and cultures in different societies, so the construction of masculinity takes various forms in different cultures and societies. Connell (2008:208) states that different cultures and different historical periods construct masculinities, differently. The fact that different masculinities exist in different cultures and historical epochs points that masculinity is susceptible to change and is dynamic. Since acceptable and non-acceptable behaviors in men show gender attributes, a study of masculinity cannot take place outside the study of gender relations. (Chimanzi, 2016: 7-8).

Masculine identities are never stable but are in a state of flux and fluid where social institutions like family, school, and peer group have helped in their construction. Since social agencies like family, school, and peer groups play an important role in the mediation of the construction of gender identity, so against this backdrop family and school have been chosen as an arena to understand the construction of masculinity. Family and Schools are important agencies and an arena for adolescent boys where they perform 'gender roles' and actively engage in gender constructions to form and perform their masculinity/masculinities (Connell, 1996,2008). Moreover, since emotional stoicism is socially constructed as a defining feature of masculinity, emotional expressions are also gendered where being a boy is often associated with stereotypes concerning 'doing gender' (De Visser, Smith, & McDonnell, 2009; Oransky&Marecek, 2009; West & Zimmerman, 1987). Research also shows that parental treatment of their daughters and sons is also different in terms of addressing emotions (Goldshmidt& Weller, 2000). It is due to this differential treatment and behavior of parents along with peers, and teachers which have a strong impact on the interactional nature of gender (Pleck, 1995; West & Zimmerman, 1987, 2009).

Since traditional masculinity involves attributes like physical toughness, emotional stoicism, aggression, and having a muscular body, so adolescent boys also assess behavior and expressions constantly with socially constructed masculine and feminine practices (Messerschmidt, 2009). This denotes that gender norms and expectations are socially constructed where the roles of masculinity and femininity are contextually specific and fluid. (Barker, Ricardo, Nascimento, Olukoya, & Santos, 2009; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Tischler &McCaughtry, 2011).

Research in masculinity which emerged and developed in academics in Western societies during the 1990s was mainly due to the impact of the feminist movement which questioned and challenged the stereotypical conceptualization of masculinity and regarded masculinity as a gendered category. Due to this, the stereo-typification of masculinity was challenged in various debates to develop an in-depth understanding of men and masculinities and also to understand the way gender identities are formed.

The first sociologist to research men and masculinity was Raewyn Connell who became the most significant source of hegemonic masculinity. The term masculinity signifies tendencies and attitudes associated with men. As defined by R.W. Connell in Masculinities, "*hegemonic masculinity gives men a sense of superiority and entitlement to advantages over women, and*

it valorizes in men characteristics such as aggression that harm women as well as other men".

Srivastava defines masculinity as socially produced and embodied ways of being a man which are manifested through manners like behavior, speech, gestures, social interaction, and gender division of labor (men work in offices and handle the outside world while women handle housework) and a narrative that positions it as superior to its antithesis, femininity. Several sites exist where the discourse of masculinity as a superior gender position is produced which also provides impacts both men and women who do not fit or conform to the dominant heterosexual and valorized model of masculinity. These sites involve ---- state and its mechanisms, laws, and regulations, the family, religious norms, popular culture, and the media. In the family, the eldest male member (father) regulates his power by practicing his dominant discourse of masculinity through different disciplinarian practices for his children and also his spouse.

The dominant form of masculinity possesses both external (regarding women) and internal (relating to effeminate men) attributes since it stands in a relationship not only to femininity but also to alternative forms of being a man that deviates from the ideal. Connell defines such a dominant form of heterosexual masculinity as a hegemonic masculine identity (Connell, 2005). For this reason, hegemonic masculinity involves the white-collar heterosexual male who is the breadwinner of the family. This is because the entire inventory of behavior and roles that have been historically valorized as ideal masculinity are embedded in this representation. Thereby the dominant form of masculinity or modes of being a man is manufactured out of discourses on sexual orientation (heteronormativity), race, class, the function of men and women as recipients of protection with the place of emotions in the lives of women and men.

Research indicates that certain forms of masculinity are regarded as more dominant and socially acceptable than other forms. This notion is affirmed by Raewen Connel's concept of hegemonic masculinity which signifies the configuration of gender practice that justifies the dominant position of men and subordinate position of women. The concept was first used in school to understand how adolescent boys practice masculinity at school through their co-curricular activities and their treatment by peers. It was also used to understand different ways in which boys negotiate various forms of masculinity in the classroom along with the issue of bullying which takes place among male peers. (Connell, 1995)

To understand the relationship between groups of men, Connell classified masculinity into four categories: *Hegemonic or dominant, Complicit, Submissive, and Oppositional/ Protest masculinities.* These categories of masculinities are fluid and subject to change due to which membership is difficult to identify.

2. Parenting theories to understand Parenthood and Masculinity

With the theoretical understanding (already discussed) of the social construction of masculinity, it is now essential to understand the parenting theories to understand the relationship between parenthood and masculinity. Parenting is an arena that can be understood through different parenting styles and practices. Darling and Steinberg define parenting style as the emotional climate of the parent-child relationship ---- an effective context that sets the tone for parental interaction with the adolescents. This parenting climate is defined by variations in autonomy, harmony, and conflict which are assessed simultaneously. This means that just like temperature and humidity determine the nature of climate and weather conditions, similarly knowledge about different dimensions of parenting is required to understand the emotional climate of the parenting relationship (Darling and Steinberg, 1993; Steinberg, Lamborn, et al., 1992) According to Baumrind, authoritative parenting style is a style which has a positive outcome on children and adolescents like high self-esteem, good academic performance, and good emotional control. As a parenting style, it is characterized by high parental responsiveness. Since authoritative parents have high expectations from their children which involves adherence to their stringent rules, these parents are both obedience and status-oriented and expect that their order needs to be obeyed without much explanation.

Permissive parenting involves a second parenting style where parents have fewer demands from their child due to low expectations of maturity and self-control. These parents are more responsive and less demanding. Permissive parents do not favor overt control techniques and punishments or any kind of disciplinarian techniques but use control measures like compliments which serve as a means of motivation and encouragement for the children. Permissive parenting often results in children who rank low in happiness and self-regulation. These children are more likely to experience problems with authority and tend to perform poorly in school. Uninvolved parenting styles rank lowest across all life domains. These children tend to lack self-control, have low self-esteem, and are less competent than their peers. (Darling, 1999: 3).

Baumrind also explains about uninvolved parenting style which is characterized by low behavioral control (demandingness) and low parental responsiveness coupled with little communication. Parents who have traits of uninvolved parenting fulfill their children's needs and desires, yet they are generally detached from their children's lives which can even reach the extent of neglecting the needs of their children (Darling, 1999: 3).

The majority of available literature in *the global South including India* portrays that one of the major social institutions by which gender inequality is sustained and reinforced is the family. It is within the family that the children learn social values, internalize the norms and values of their parents (father and mother), and also learn about what gender means to them (Coltrane & Adams, 1997; Connell, 1987; Hearn, 1992). It is in this context that this chapter explores how adolescent boys within a family come to understand their privileged status as sons and how this male privilege equates to power (Coltrane, 1996; Kaufman, 1999).

The existing literature on Indian middle-class families has transformed the ways of treating children. Hia Sen's (2016) in her work stresses the importance of social class, especially during the nineteenth century when children lived separately from their parents. However, Sen also portrayed a dichotomous picturesque in modern childhood where children have an inseparable relationship with their parents within the family. The middle-class family was the space in which processes that changed practices of sending children away on apprenticeship' or of treating children unequally within the same family were staged. This suggests that the influence of the middle class became significant with the onset of modern childhood during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Though the class in which the children belonged had long been a matter of concern for sociologists, within the family, other agencies like school and education also became significant themes in the second half of the twentieth century to understand the debate regarding class and childhood (Robertson, 1974).

By linking cultural practices with the social class of children, social educationists have emphasized the impact of privilege on the educational achievement of the child. With Bourdieu's focus on social inequalities where he gave importance to concepts like habitus, cultural capital, and social class, these processes of cultural reproduction were used to understand that children from privileged families can use their inherited cultural resources in a better way than children who come from the poor socio-economic background. Habitus, for Bourdieu, involves the practical mastery of self where social practice is arranged in such a way that individuals can adjust to diverse social situations without considering each

adjustment as it is made. Such argument is regarded as the major focus of educational research and research on social stratification (Bourdieu, 1990: 53).

Parents are caregivers whose cultural upbringing affects their children's character, along with their physical and social competence. These competencies are influenced by external and internal factors that condition, restrict, and promote change among children. Habitus helps children to naturally and gradually develop their competencies and also to adjust themselves to the environment or the context in which their upbringing takes place. Herein comes the role of the caregivers or parents who socializes their children in terms of their gender and their children adjusts themselves to such gendered norms and practices of their parents. Such habitus is gained by socialization within family and school. During such habitus formation, some capitals are involved depending upon the context in which children live and actualize them (Dewi & Tlonaen: 2019).

One of the enigmatic concepts of Pierre Bourdieu is habitus which helps to understand his distinctive sociological approach 'field theory' along with 'philosophy of practice' which comprises his original contribution to social sciences. Habitus is a central concept in Pierre Bourdieu's sociology. He defined habitus as an *"ensemble of schemata of perception, thinking, feeling, evaluating, speaking and acting that structures all expressive, verbal, and practical manifestations and utterances of a person"* (Krais, 1988, 1993, p.169). This means that it is the system of dispositions that is a product of history and it produces practices according to the schemes engendered by history. In other words, the term habitus denotes socially acquired dispositions, forms of conduct, and skills which even include practices like manner of walking, talking, gestures, body language, and even hairstyling which mark out an individual as hailing from a social class.

The concept of habitus as a property of actors (individuals, institutions, and groups) involves a 'structured and structuring structure' (ibid: 170). Such a notion of 'structured and structuring structure' has two connotations. While on one hand habitus is structured due to one's past and present situations like family upbringing, socialization, and educational experiences, on the other hand, it is structuring since one's habitus helps to shape the present and future practices.

The family's transition during middle childhood brings with it new issues and concerns both for parents and children that arise when the interpersonal equilibrium during middle childhood is disturbed by the contextual changes associated with adolescence. Though a

majority of the families can survive such transition which involves the survival of the temporary period of disequilibrium that precedes it, it's a challenging period for the emotional resources of the most well-functioning families. Thereby, adolescence remains the crucial period of the child's development for which even parents express their apprehension and anxiety. However, if parents allow greater independence to their children where their children become victims of violence, they are regarded as culpable and responsible for such atrocities against their children since parental risk anxiety is caused by discursive construction of responsibility. (Pasley and Gecas, 1984). This signifies that since parents from family are the major agents, so their modes of thinking, feeling, and behaving which are linked to their social position (class) are internalized into their children's habitus. Thereby, the primary habitus is about 'internalizing the external'. This is the way Bourdieu regards class habitus which reflects the different social positions of people due to which they have different lifestyles, tastes, and interests among social classes (Bourdieu, 1984; Bourdieu &Darbel, 1969).

Bourdieu also emphasized that the social class of the family is also related to the social construction of gender within the family whereby gender differences operate in a highly complex and symbolic order. This symbolic order of gender differentiation has its reference point in the human activities related to sexuality. In these activities, the bodily differences between men and women play a significant role which also leads to a crucial difference between the symbolic order of gender and other social classifications like class. (Krais, 2006)

The gender classification also comes to life through habitus which is the principle that regulates improvisation which Bourdieu terms 'social practice'. This symbolic order of gender is embodied in the individual's habitus as a gendered view of society. This gender-specificity of the habitus is one of the most fundamental elements of a person's self-identity. It is this symbolic order of gender that constructs the body as a biological reality that can be categorized as male and female. This leads to the social construction of masculinity and femininity which not only shapes how the body is perceived but also forms the body's habits and possibilities for expression and even determines the individual's identity via the body—as masculine or feminine. (Krais, 2006)

According to Bourdieu, the biological deterministic understanding of gender determines the power occupied by heterosexual men. Such power relations are reinforced through the means of marriage. However, these gendered binary categories are challenged by non-binary

categories that pose threat by blurring these distinctions. The cultural capital and hegemonic masculinity depend upon the Gramscian concept of hegemony which is a powerful concept due to its fluidity (Gramsci, 2005; Williams, 1977). Gramsci defined hegemony as a cultural process of domination that organizes and restricts the ways by which ideas of valuation are established and naturalized in ways that transform the notions of common sense within the field of practice (Gramsci, 2005). However, in these works, there is no such mention of how parents help in the construction of masculinity of adolescent boys of North Kolkata.

3. Sociology of Body

Since its inception and development, sociology has mostly adopted a disembodied approach to regard the body as the sphere of another discipline or a target of social control. The body has historically been something of an 'absent presence' in sociology. It has been absent because sociology has hardly emphasized the embodied human as an object of importance. This is also because bodies were commonly regarded as natural possessions which were outside the social concerns of the discipline. It was only when sociology questioned the divide between nature and society that social theorists started conceptualizing the body as central to the human actor and sociological enterprise. This signified that body was present at the heart of sociological imagination. Though there have been limited concerns about the body in classical sociology, the significance of the body was highlighted by a growing number of sociologists since the 1980s. Their cynosure was the 'implicit' importance accorded to the body in traditional sociology along with the process of integrating the body into the discipline. As a result, this work led to the growth of theoretical and empirical studies. (Shilling, 1993)

Sociologists were unsatisfied with the naturalistic focus on the body. In this respect, historians played an important role by identifying a period before the eighteenth century when the body was regarded as a receptor of social meanings and relationships. Indeed, the perception of the body as the cynosure of reinterpretation became more plausible for sociologists than the naturalistic approach. It is this way of rejecting the negative aspects of naturalistic views which helped sociologists to also neglect how the body forms the basis of social life. It is also this aspect of the naturalistic view that led to a shift towards social constructionist accounts of the body. (Shilling, 1993)

3.1 The Socially Constructed Body

Social constructionists are opposed to biological phenomena which regard the body as a product of a naturalistic approach. Social constructionists instead share an approach that holds the character and meanings attributed to the body. However, the basic consensus remains that there are myriad social constructionist views of the body which incorporate several distinct propositions about the relationship between the body and society. (Shilling, 1993)

The social constructionist views of the body are influenced by three theorists: Mary Douglas; emphasis on power, discourse, and the body by Foucault; and the study on Presentation of self and social identity by Erving Goffman.

Of the four influences which have regarded the body as socially constructed, the theory of Mary Douglas has developed the idea of the body as not only the receptor of social meaning but also a symbol of society. Douglas summarized that since the human body is the image of a social system, so she suggested ideas that the body corresponds closely to the prevalent ideas about society (Douglas, 1970). The focus of Douglas' work is the ways by which the social body constrains how the physical body can be perceived and experienced which also sustains a particular view of society. This means that Douglas's work helps to understand the relationship between the social and individual body. However, at times both the bodies are collapsed together by reducing the phenomenology of the individual body to the ways by which people experience and perceive their bodies into categories constructed by the society (the social body). (Shilling, 1993)

The second major influence on the social constructionist perspective of the body can be seen in the work of Erving Goffman. Goffman not only helped to position the body in social interaction through his work on the presentation of self in everyday life but also argues that the management of the body is significant in social roles and relations which helps to mediate the relationship between an individual's self-identity and their social identity. By this, he conveyed that the body assumes the status of resource which can be managed in myriad ways to construct a particular version of the self. (Shilling, 1993)

3.2 Presenting the Body in Everyday Life

In comparison with Foucault who focused on the body's investigation with the power which controls individuals, Erving Goffman's workplaces more emphasis on the body as integral to human agency. He is more interested in how the body helps people to intrude in, and make a

difference, in the flow of daily life. Goffman's approach to the body is characterized by three major features -- Firstly, in comparison with the naturalistic views of the body, he argued that individuals can regulate and supervise their bodily performances to facilitate social interaction since the body is associated with the exercise of human agency which enables people to manage their appearances and movements. Secondly, Goffman argued that meanings attributed to the body are determined by shared vocabularies of body idiom which is a conventional form of non-verbal communication and the most important component of behavior in public. Goffman uses the term to include 'dress, movement, and position, physical gestures like facial decorations.' ((Shilling, 1993: Goffman, 1963).

These two characteristics of Goffman's approach to the body signify that bodes have a dual location where they are not only individual property but are also defined as significant by society. This formulation leads to the third characteristic where the body mediates the relationship between a person's self-identity and social identity. This signifies that the social meanings attached to particular bodily performances become internalized in the sense that it exerts an enormous impact on an individual's self-identity and self-esteem. (Shilling, 1993)

Goffman in his work 'The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life (1969) provides a picturesque of individuals who seek to advance their interests by staging performances, even though they are threatened by embarrassment or failure. Such molding of the body has become central to the presentation of self-image and self-identity that it has coerced individuals to cater to the socially constructed notion of keeping themselves fit through diet and body care (Featherstone, 1987; Wolf, 1991).

Though there is available Western literature on body image development in adolescent boys, the literature does not emphasize the construction of masculinity through body beautification. The ways by which beautification including body modification techniques help to construct masculinity among adolescent boys of the global South is still an unresearched theme. The perception of male body image during adolescence is mostly oriented towards both individual features (BMI, eating behavior, and family dynamics) and socio-cultural factors including media images and societal pressure to be a muscular boy. (Peterson & Williams, 2007) Such social pressure on boys to abide by the social standards of beautification and masculinity and also to be accepted by peer-group coerces them to undergo different forms of body modification like tattoos and body piercing.

The existing research on body modification among boys portrays that tattoos have also gained popularity in men's fashion advertising because of their semiotic multivalency. Tattoos which were once used to affirm masculinity were the main target was the white, middle class, heterosexual male, in contemporary culture, the market has also recognized the economic potential of gay male consumers, who tend to have an increasing interest in style and fashion along with their heterosexual counterparts. It is this very ambiguity that has increased their growing popularity within the men's fashion industry, which seeks different symbols that can be used in different forms of representations in different segments of the male market. (Negrin 2008: 98). Research also shows that men mostly undergo body beautification like a tattoo, and body-piercing to attain peer-group motivations and attain a new self-identity.

When youngsters use Social Networking Sites, they try their best to present themselves better than they are. They try to construct their online identity through the means of flaunting their physical appearances to others which is more superficial than their true self. The youngsters believe that the virtual world facilitate their self and life by increasing their self-identity which is customized for an audience. Furthermore, identity construction of youngsters also takes place through micro-blogging sites which allows messages to be viewed publicly and to diffuse through likes and shares over social media like Twitter. The short messaging style used on Twitter coupled with the categorization of themes through the means of hashtags helps in the presentation of social, and cultural interests in a consistent manner. Erving Goffman in his book *'The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life'* introduced the ways of being presentable to society. He regards that the appearance of an individual in the presence of others in public conveys an impression about him to others which also has an inherent reason for the mobilization of his activity. Goffman's Presentation of Self conveys an impression to the world which lies according to one's interest. Such outward presence is applied to the agent or the concerned individual where others form an opinion through perceptual rationality. When an individual appears in presence of others, they are perceived through their appearance and external qualities. (Goffman, 1992)

3.3 Power, Discourse, and the Body

The major influence and the third social constructionist approach to analyzing the body as a product of discourse can be seen in Michel Foucault's work which regarded the body as a receptor of social meanings. The body, for Foucault, is not only given meaning by discourse but is constituted by discourse. In this way, the body does not exist as a biological entity but

becomes a socially constructed product that is highly unstable. Thereby, for Foucault, the body establishes a relation between daily practices on one hand and organization of power on the other (Dreyfus and Rabinow, 1982).

The nature of the Foucauldian approach to the body mainly involves the substantive preoccupation with the body along with the institutions which govern it followed by the epistemological view of the body as produced by discourse. This means that the most important concept in Foucault's work is a discourse that is centrally concerned with language (Foucault, 1974; Poster, 1984).

Foucault's approach to the discursive body has also provided an important resource for sociologists who are interested to examine the body as a socially constructed phenomenon which has been used by feminist scholars to substantiate their perspective that gendered identities are fractured and subjected to change and so they are unstable. On a similar note, feminist scholars have also used his views to challenge the sex-gender division which is common in social science. This signifies that the Foucauldian approach has been used to challenge the body as a biological entity since the body is a product of social construction where power is invested and exercised in ways that produce gendered forms of embodiment. (Brown and Adams, 1979; Diamond and Quinby, 1988; Morris and Patton, 1979; Sawicki, 1991).

This further portrays that the naturalistic and Foucauldian views of the body are polarized around the issue of the relation between the natural and social. For Foucault, the social constructs are the natural where the body disappears as a phenomenon that requires historical investigation in its own right. Hence, Foucault's work examines the body as constructed by discourse. (Shilling, 1993)

A significant amount of literature has been devoted to the construction of boyhood through different leisure activities and interaction with peer groups followed by peer pressure. It is also interesting to know that body is also a site that is socially constructed through different forms of beautification of adolescent boys which turns their bodies docile. Foucault's work has been appropriate to understand this concept of the docile body in his work *Discipline and Punishment'.*

Foucault initiated the concept of the '*docile body'* in his book Discipline and Punishment. *Discipline and Punishment: The Birth of the Prison* is a book written by Michel Foucault in

1975. Foucault's book provides a detailed analysis of the ways power shifted in the 17th and 18th centuries away from the external discipline of the body to different forms of internal discipline which involves compliance of the subject concerned.

In Foucault's work, the concept of *'body'* was discovered by the classical age as an object and target of power where it was regarded as an object that can be shaped and trained as per societal rules so that it obeys, responds, and follows the dogmas of society. According to Foucault, the term "docile bodies" is created by discipline which is ideal for the politics, warfare, and economics of the industrial age. He defined 'docile body' as *"one that may be subjected, used, transformed, and improved, and that this docile body can only be achieved through a strict regimen of disciplinary acts"*. For the construction of docile bodies, the disciplinary institutions must (a) ensure that the individuality which is disciplined internalizes within the bodies which are being controlled and (b) observe the bodies and then record them which are under their control. This means, discipline must exist and bodies should be molded into their correct form through intensive observation without the usage of much force.

Foucault while explaining the process of 'discipline' in his theory on the docile body elaborates that body is socially constructed and normalized to suit the social norms and regulations. He regarded the docile body as one which can be subjected, sued, transformed, and improved as per socially constructed social expectations of beautification which are used by most adolescents.

However, in this scholarly work, there was no such mention about how the body of adolescent boys turns docile through the different modifications used by them like body-piercing and tattoo inscription since they use them to beautify their bodies to cater to the socially constructed terms of beautification of society.

3.4 Social Construction of the Gendered Body

Connell's analysis (1983, 987) of gender emphasizes the 'exterior' of the body ---- its shape, size, and musculature. He examined how men's and women's bodies are socially defined as different through various social practices such as categorization which contradict the contemporary realities of human embodiment. By this, he conveyed that social categories give a new meaning to bodies that cannot be understood regarding the biological constitution. Secondly, Connell argues that social practices also exert a direct influence on the body which transcends and transforms it. They not only change the meaning of people's bodies but alter them physically. Thirdly, he regarded that such gendered practices shape and transform men's

and women's bodies in ways that reinforce images of masculinity and femininity which eventually changes one's perspective of conceptualization of bodies in society. (Shilling, 1993)

Connell's initial argument portrays how social categories and practices define people as different by negating the similarities between their bodies. However, to speak of a contradiction between biology and social practices is insufficient since it accepts that biology is fixed and constant and not subject to change. One such implication would be to set up a dualism between biology and society as separate spheres. Another implication would be to establish a dualism between the mind and the body whereby gendered social practices exist only in the people's minds which affects their perception of male and female bodies. To ignore such problems, Connell used the term 'transcendence' to signify how social practices have the power to transform biology (in the form of the body). Such a form of transcendence recognizes the body as an object of labor that is worked and transformed by people just as other aspects of the social world. For example- gymnastics and body-building can build up and transform the physical body. Such processes of transcendence create corporeal differences in the construction of gendered bodies. In this way, the physical sense of masculinity experienced by men is derived not only from the images of power attached to the male body by popular culture but also from the ways by which social practices transform the body. Such impact of social practices gets manifested in myriad ways including the greater encouragement and social pressure that boys receive in physical exercise and maintenance of their physical bodies through the practice of football and body-building, in comparison with girls. Such preoccupation with physical exercise also focuses on the disciplined management of the body and occupation of space. Such difference accelerates during adolescence when boys are encouraged by media to be obsessed with their physical bodies along with the different ways to keep them fit and healthy, physically, in comparison with girls who are socially constructed to conform to the notion of beautification or passive decoration of their bodies through make-up and jewelry. (Connell, 1983, 1987).

Such social practices produce a profound impact on the body and these are not only confined to strength and muscle size. As stated by Lowe (1983), different types of physical activities can also lead to social stress which occurs through sports. So, the different opportunities that boys have to engage in body-building work and leisure activities can play an important role in transforming their bodies. **(Shilling, 1993)**

4. Sociology of Leisure

Since adolescent boys spend most of their time in different leisure activities, the present research explores this unexplored theme by looking into the adolescent perceptions about leisure, theoretically.

One of the major contributions to the sociology of leisure was by Stanley Parker, a British sociologist. His principal contribution in the field of leisure is how he constructed the types of work and leisure practices to theorize the relation between leisure patterns and occupations. He distinguished three types of leisure patterns---extension, opposition, and neutrality (Wyne, 1998). He portrayed a relationship between work and leisure in the extension pattern. While in oppositional patterns, leisure practices that are engaged are contrasted to those associated with work. Finally, Parker specified in the neutrality pattern how leisure is different from work as leisure practices are independent of work (Wyne, 1998).

Recent research shows that the sociology of leisure has come of age enriched with theoretical, empirical, and methodological insights into everyday forms of leisure activities. The foundation and trace of such sociological understanding of leisure can be found in the historical emergence and development of sociology which were later institutionalized with the inception of leisure studies as a field of research during the 1970s. Since then, Western and Indian scholarship on the sociology of leisure has increased along multiple axes --- questioning the social processes, actors, and institutions involved in leisure where leisure has been used to understand social formation. Further, scholars were also prompted to rethink leisure research and to establish the link with other fields of research to portray the impact of leisure research on mainstream sociology. Sociology of leisure being governed by assumptions about its object of study and methodological tools gives leisure a sense of direction and sets its boundaries. (Mukherjee, June 2020: 1-2).

Leisure activity can be of two types ---- *structured and unstructured.* Structured leisure activities are those activities that are freely chosen by the adolescents and which provide physical and mental stimulation to the teenagers. These activities require enrolment with a fee where there is supervision by parents. (Larson and Verma, 1999) These activities require commitment by the adolescents and often include regular participation schedules. It also emphasizes on skill development of teenagers and involves active participation with sustained attention (Mahiney&Stattin, 2000). Research suggests that structured activities provide a range of opportunities for adolescents to acquire and practice their physical, social,

and intellectual skills and also to form a network with friends and adults in their life (Larson and Verma, 1999).

Adolescent boys are obsessed with how their bodies can define, as proven by the hegemonic notion of masculinity (Martino and Chiarolli, 2003). The muscular body has provided a dominant metaphor for masculine virtues of strength, physical ability, and control over one's environment (Loeser 2002: 55; see also Dutton 1995). The significant markers of boys' positions within hierarchies of masculinities at school involve physicality, muscular strength, and bodily deportment which are manifested in the socio-cultural regimes of normative heterosexual masculinity (Walker, 1988; Mac and Ghaill 1994b; Connell, 1995). Thereby when men achieve such 'normal and hegemonic' physicality, it grants permission to them to harass others who have yet not achieved 'normal' boys bodies, thereby strengthening one's position in the hierarchy (Walker, 1988; Mac and Ghaill 1994b; Connell, 1995) This kind of hegemonic masculinity gets manifested in another leisure activity of adolescent boys ---- Coaching classes to practice Cricket/ Football.

When players are involved in playing Cricket/ Football, most boys are socially constructed to ignore the pain involved in injury to ignore the injurious behavior which might be a hurdle to carrying out the game. This signifies the acceptance of physical injury as normative where boys are not allowed to criticize the system for the fear of being stigmatized or labeled as 'not being a man.' Such endurance of pain and injury followed by the use of violence socializes men to regard aggression not only as a part of the game but also as an important component of masculinity. Hegemonic masculinity is displayed, practiced, and applauded through one of the major leisure activities in school, i.e sports. Masculine stratification is carried out and valorized mainly through the practice of Cricket and Football.

Boys who are effeminate (weaker, softer, and feminine) are either placed at the bottom of the hierarchy or are ostracized from the masculine terrain altogether. Boys who are positioned at the apex of the hierarchy (with the most masculine capital) are coerced to maintain their social position. Michael Kimmel terms this process of rewarding behavior which involves abiding by the hegemonic norms and chastising aberrant behavior as a form of *homo-social patrolling*. Since sports are an arena that easily escapes critical analysis, it accepts and valorizes boys who can perform with better physical capability and vigor and marginalizes boys who are effeminate *(*Hickey, 2008: 150).

School is an arena where sports remain one of the major leisure activities for boys since school is the second agency after family where adolescents spend most of their time. School also teaches co-curricular activities to adolescents through physical education and sports. A study on school sports portrayed the perception of physical education teachers as producing an impact on the student's sports attitudes and performance in the long term. The pupils which were considered by the physical education teachers as popular, physically attractive, and possessing physical strength and prowess were favorably treated and eventually had a more positive stance towards sports and were more likely to play sports at school. (Henry, 1978) A study on the hidden curriculum in school pointed out that school sports have implications of 'hidden curriculum' which produces a negative impact due to the over-emphasis on the competitiveness surrounding the game which may hasten the flight (away from sports) into alternative youth cultures. This signifies that pupils who are highly skilled, and competitive with achievement orientation favor school sports. Hence, within the school setting, evidence suggests that pupils who perform well academically are mainly the pupils who participate in extracurricular sports activities (Hendry, 1992).

Masculinity is practiced also in activities like Cricket and Football which create an ambiance for the normative acceptance of the traits of traditional masculinity like physical strength, competitiveness, and aggression (Connell: 2005: 76). All of these signify that due to the prevalence of societal-negative attributes, sports serve as the creator of masculine production across different institutions. Sports is regarded as one of the culpable institutions in the modern era which promotes individualistic, competitive, and coercive behavior. (Varda Burstyn, 1999: 170).

While hegemonic masculinity is characterized by heterosexuality, power, toughness, physical strength, and violence, femininity involves the attributes of softness, nurturant, and emotional dependence due to which it is stigmatized as 'otherness' and henceforth is regarded as subservient. Being the dominant socially constructed form of masculinity, hegemonic masculinity limits the emotional horizon and limits opportunities for involvement in all kinds of opportunities. Heteronormative masculinity exerts influence through cultural practices and is rooted in the menace of patriarchy. Though the concept of hegemonic masculinity is not equally applicable in all cultures and societies, media represents and shapes it in the 21st century. Hegemonic masculinity needs to be reconceptualized in such a way that it does not subdue subordinated masculinities but rather hybridizes them. Such hybridization has given rise to the metro sexual movement during the 21st century. This movement described men

who not only survived on the socially constructed dimensions of hegemonic masculinity but also ensured status within society. Such a dominant form of masculinity is hardly challenged by most men since it involves a cost that most men are reluctant to risk.

Most boys are socially constructed to conform to the norms of hegemonic masculinity in such a way that it discourages them from engaging in any kind of feminine behavior as it can stigmatize boys with feminine features as 'sissy' or 'effeminate'. Thereby, hegemonic masculinity is constructed by this kind of masculine construction which acts as a form of control over men. During the participation of boys in any aggressive play or game, violence is their only resort which they use even for settling disputes. Such violence and aggressive behavior in them torment to the extent of coercing them to take recourse to drugs and alcohol. (Demetriou, 2000). The impact of hegemonic masculinity upon adolescent boys is so profound, that the other forms of masculinity in the gender order are subverted by the domination of the hetero normative standards of masculinity. It is in this context that the present research attempts to understand the relation between subordinated masculinity and sports.

Since there are multiple forms of masculinity, subordinated masculinity is one of the forms that can be depicted in certain gay professional sports players. Gay athletes are exemplified by some renowned players. One of the successful sportsmen who came out as gay was Ian Roberts, a former Australian rugby player. However, research findings on his masculine identity reveal that there was more emphasis on his presentation of normative masculinity through his body than his gayness which hypothesizes that Roberts has not subordinated the way participation of women in sports are. This reveals that gay men in certain circumstances are bound to comply with the hegemonic normative masculinity or are bound to be hyper-masculine, especially in areas of traditionally male-oriented employment (Nardi, 2000). This implies that gay men most of the time are subjected to homophobia during their participation in sports as they fail to abide by the dominant traits of hegemonic masculinity.

Since masculinity is a fluid category that changes in different cultural contexts, multiple masculinities are recognized where gay masculinity is the most subverted form in the gender hierarchy. Gay masculinity is defined as a version of masculinity that helps in the description of gay identity. This implies that if hegemony can be applied to competing masculinities, it should apply to gay masculinities as well. Thereby, when gay men participate in sports, their

versatile experiences need to be acknowledged rather than subverting them in sports and also in the hierarchy of gender order. (Connell, 2005: 70)

When a boy is stigmatized as gay, the label or the stigma challenges his masculinity as a result of which most boys police or monitor their gendered behavior to cater to the norm of orthodox hegemonic masculinity. Most boys at a very early age don't intend to ask for any help from women and even tend to hide their emotions and disguise intimidation to displace any kind of homosexual suspicion. As a result of this, most men are socially constructed to fight in any challenging situation to overcome it. Pollack terms this kind of mechanism as *'boy code'* which, *"puts boys and men into a gender straightjacket that constrains not only them but everyone else, reducing us all as human beings, and eventually making us strangers to ourselves and one another."*(Hickey, 2008: 160)

The practice of Football and Cricket are such games that produce puritanical masculinity which is rigid and elusive for both the binary categories of gender --- men and women. Homophobic attitudes are highly prevalent in sports due to which heterosexual athletes maintain that hyper-masculinity which is portrayed in sports curtails the participation of boys in the activity. This denotes that sports equate homosexuality with effeminacy, physical weakness, and emotional frailty. A critical analysis of sports as a game pointed out that due to the harmful social, political, and health impact it produces both on individuals and society as a whole (Varda Burstyn, 1999: 160). Since victory is the symbolic method by which masculinity is portrayed in post-modern society, sports are valorized only when violence is projected in the name of victory. Sports are a game where violence is always normalized and institutionalized against other boys, especially in hockey or baseball games (Varda Burstyn, 1999: 165).

While on one hand, athleticism builds masculine hierarchy, on the other hand, association with femininity or traits of gay males degrades the masculine capital, whether the association is real or perceived. David Plummer points out that peer groups play a decisive role in labeling homosexual boys which creates the problem of homophobia in elementary school (Anderson, 2005: 33). Codes dictate an individual's participation in organized sports, yet it does not take into account the individual's enjoyment of the experience. Simultaneously, from a Foucauldian perspective, it's difficult to understand the enjoyment of an elite athlete who participates in physical exercise or the reasons behind the alienated individual's participation with other excluded people (Anderson, 2005: 34).

Though research has been profound on the relation between sports and masculinity in the West, it was hardly profound in the Indian scenario due to which the present research explores how adolescent boys construct their notion of masculinity in leisure activities like playing/ attending coaching classes of Cricket and Football. However, the present research also explores the usage of social networking sites by adolescent boys since adolescents spend most of their leisure time on social media usage and different beautification techniques like body piercing and tattoos.

4.1 Usage of Social Networking Sites as a form of Leisure

There has been existing literature in the global South on the usage of social networking sites among adolescent boys. However, the frequent usage of social media like Whats App and Facebook among adolescent boys of Kolkata which helps in the construction of their masculinity is still a neglected theme. Research has defined social networking as web-based services that help individuals to (1) construct a public or semi-public profile within a bounded system, (2) articulate a list of other users with whom they share a connection, and (3) view and traverse their list of connections and those made by others within the system (Ellison, 2007: 1).

An explosion of social networks added a new social dimension to the web. The rapid emergence of online interaction between groups of people through websites (WhatsApp, Instagram, Google Plus, Twitter) sharing similar interests has transformed the dynamic social content in which online social communities can be sustained through the social connection between users. However, on one hand, such networks have helped to create more networks among users, on the other hand, the problematic use of social networking sites has also produced treacherous consequences in the lives of people (Flad, 2010:8-9). Since adolescent boys spend their leisure time accessing and using social networking sites, it is essential to understand how far their usage helps in the construction of their masculine identity.

Adolescent boys spend most of their time accessing social networking sites mainly to create varied forms of social relations and also to project or portray themselves on social media. High school boys also access these sites to gain a reputation among their friends by projecting themselves in a different way than what they are in reality. Some adolescent boys also tend to form intimate relations with strangers on such sites to escape from their boredom which might turn out to be harmful to their future. Boys construct different forms of gender

identity in social media which produces a profound impact on their future (Rosland & Katherine, 2010: 2-3).

The advent of technology has led to the emergence of the Internet which is either used for business and other official purposes or entertainment. One such social networking site is Facebook which in this fast-paced world, helps its users to keep in touch with their family members, friends, and relatives virtually (Flad, 2010:8-9). Among the popular social networking sites like WhatsApp, Facebook, and Instagram, Facebook has become a new medium of communication and entertainment for youngsters. For this reason, Facebook is becoming an increasingly popular past-time of teenagers and young adults. Facebook was created in 2004 as a college networking site with limited access to universities in the United States and those who held a university email server. The ultimate aim of social networking sites is to encourage new ways to communicate and share information. The importance of Facebook is increasing for communicative purposes among adults, but teenagers are the most frequent users. Globally, teenagers and college students are spending long hours on social networking sites such as Facebook. This has resulted in a significant drop in regular healthy social interaction as well as affecting work, school, and home life. Passing time is a popular activity on Facebook as young people can play games, chat, and network. Facebook is only one social networking site and is one of the more popular worldwide. Increased internet among children results in less physical, psychological, and emotional outlets for stimulation necessary for development (Al-Jubayer, March 2013). However, such addiction to social media and interaction with peers at times also produces a negative impact on adolescent boys since they are subjected to cyberbullying by their friends over social media, especially on Facebook.

5. Peer Rejection Theory to understand Bullying among adolescent boys

Since adolescent boys are often subjected to bullying and cyberbullying in their everyday life, so the present theme explores marginalization from peer groups that lead to social solitude in the boys.

Hinde who researched social complexity in peer rejection portrays that solitude and withdrawal are contemporaneously associated with peer rejection throughout childhood and adolescence. Even the relation between social withdrawal and peer group rejection increases throughout the school years since social solitude is regarded by peer groups as deviant from

the norm (e.g., Gavinski Molina, Coplan, & Younger, 2003; Younger, Gentile, & Burgess, 1993).

Such withdrawal from peer groups followed by social solitude for being rejected by peers leads to victimization by bullies. Even exposure to bullying can also further the withdrawal from peer interaction and school-related activities. Those boys who socially withdraw themselves from being victimized on account of bullying result in naming the as 'whipping boys' (Olweus, 1993), or easy marks (Rubin, Wojslawowicz, et al., 2006), and physically weak. As a result of such victimization due to bullying, their socially constructed masculinity is questioned which coerces them to take recourse to illicit means to put their life at stake by engaging in drugs or committing suicide. For Solberg and Olweus, children who report being bullied twice or thrice a month can be categorized as victims of bullying. Research also shows that bullying results from homophobia where boys who are 'soft' and are unable to conform to the hetero normative standards of masculinity like boys who are not physically strong and are expressive of emotions, often become victims of verbal bullying by heterosexual boys.

Though homophobia as a problem among adolescent boys has been addressed in the Western scholarship, there has hardly been any existing scholarship in the global South on the construction of masculinity through homophobia. Homophobia has become a gendered notion through the use of homophobic language and meanings attached by heterosexual straight men. Adolescent boys possessing the traits of hegemonic masculinity like physical strength, toughness, capability, and aggression often marginalize and bully those peers and classmates who fail to conform to the notion of hegemonic masculine identity ---- those boys who take interest in music, classical dancing, who does not take much interest in sports or other masculine activities in school. Being the last stage of childhood, adolescence is regarded as one of the crucial phases where peer pressure torments and produces a detrimental impact on a boy's future. (Pascoe, 2007: 52) Such detrimental impact is produced on adolescent boys through the means of bullying in school or cyberbullying.

One of the major institutions and agencies of socialization where masculinity is carried out and practiced in school. Bullying is the major avenue through which boys possessing hyper-masculine traits positions other boys as inferior and assert their dominance over them by ridiculing them as 'effeminate'. Boys who display notions of hegemonic heterosexual masculinity marginalize the 'feminine' boys by throwing and stigmatizing them into

categories of 'faggot', 'sissy', 'nerds', 'geeks', and 'wimps'. (Pascoe, 2007: 54) Boys who fail to perform their masculine tasks of physical competence, toughness, strength, and sexual assertiveness are often stigmatized as 'fag' or 'faggot'. Fag serves as the discourse with which boys discipline themselves through ridicule or joking relationship with their male peers. Those who are labeled by 'fag identity' are bound to face humiliation and harassment from their male peers which go to the extent of their marginalization from their peer group. As indicated by historical and cultural research, homophobia is a modern phenomenon since there are certain social and cultural settings where homosexual practice is allowed without inciting homophobia. The countries where homophobic violence has been reported include Europe, America, and Australia which indicates that the problem of homophobia as a form of bullying is prevalent in contemporary society but traditional values are exploited to justify the problem (Pascoe, 2007: 55).

Bullying as a social problem among adolescent boys has mostly been an unexplored theme in Indian literature. Bullying signifies any form of aggression where a disparity of power is involved between the victim and the perpetrator/perpetrators. Adolescent bullying can take various forms ranging from physical bullying (pushing, hitting, kicking) to verbal bullying (name-calling, teasing, using sarcasm or criticism to ridicule the person). These forms of bullying are most prevalent among schoolboys than girls as boys are directly involved in physical or verbal bullying in school. The major targets of bullying are the boys, who are either incompetent, do not possess heterosexual prowess, and are not aggressive and these boys are bullied by their male peers who are hyper-masculine (Wang Jing, 2000: 56).

Taking a cue from these perspectives I have argued in my dissertation that peer pressure torments during adolescence due to which adolescent boys have to abide by the norms of the peer group to be accepted by the group. One such way of acceptance in peer groups is through locker-room culture. Due to a lack of public discussion about female friends within the classrooms at school, many boys also discuss them in locked rooms. However, such locker-room culture is a new arena in the global South like India due to which the present research explores this arena to understand the impact of peer groups in masculine construction. Simultaneously, adolescent boys are also subjected to verbal and physical bullying which produces a detrimental impact on them when they are ostracized by their peer group.

6. Sociology of Risk

A significant amount of academic discussion is now being devoted to the concept of risk. Ulrich Beck coined the term 'risk society' to portray how concerns about risk have encroached into everyday life affecting the family members including parents. Ulrich Beck in his theory on '*Risk Society'* argues that the western world is witnessing a historical transformation where industrial society is being replaced by new modernity that has challenged the old, scientific worldview and has evolved a new set of risks and opportunities. While modernity was characterized by the importance of rationality and scientific knowledge and expertise, late modernity is characterized as a dangerous place where people are continuously confronted with risks. These risks range from the threat of nuclear war or environmental risks to other forms of risks which need to be negotiated in the day-to-day life of individuals.

In the literature on risk, there is a difference between real and socially constructed risks. Risk society theorists are social constructionists since they regard that risks are socially constructed as they cause physical harm and are open to social construction and definition. (Beck 1992: 23) Simultaneously, Lupton adopts an asocial constructionist position which regards that any knowledge about risk is socially and culturally mediated and is culturally and historically specific. Their cynosure was on the meanings of risk and how these meanings operate as part of people's notion of subjectivity and social relations. Risk perceptions tend to form certain patterns which are shaped by social and cultural norms.

The phenomena of risk and the role it plays in contemporary social life and subjectivities are one of the most significant areas of theoretical debate in social and cultural theory. The issues of gender and generation were hardly given much attention by the theorization of risk and risk anxiety. Though there has been pervasiveness of public anxiety regarding childhood risk, hardly any such work has been carried out on childhood in this arena. In our everyday risk-oriented society with which Beck (1992) associates the democratization of risks, children's well-being is threatened.

According to Lupton, the imputation of 'specialness' to children (as perished beings) and childhood (as a cherished state of being) is central to the social construction of childhood. Children tend to become victims of risk anxiety since they are constituted as a protected species and childhood is socially constructed as a protected state: if children are safeguarded

then that entails danger at bay along with preservation of childhood which entails guarding against anything which threatens it. However, childhood and its boundaries are maintained by risk anxiety ---- the specific risks from which children must be protected which define childhood and the nature of children themselves.

Lupton (2003) recognizes the social construction of risk recognizes where any knowledge about risk is socially and culturally mediated as well as culturally and historically specific. Lupton emphasizes the dominant discourses that shape how people understand and talk about risk, danger, and trust which are created and recreated as socially constructed realities. This was also followed by a modernist notion of risk by Lupton where he discusses good and bad risks. In other words, risk can be of 'good risk' or 'bad risk' (Lupton 1999). This is how Lupton explained the concept of *risk during Childhood* whereby he regards that parents feel their children are living in an environment of increasing risks due to the unpredictability of the hazards where parents have no means of being sure where safety lies, the increasing anonymity aggravates the risk anxiety. According to Lupton (2003), the social construction of risk recognizes that any knowledge about risk is socially and culturally mediated as well as culturally and historically specific. Lupton emphasizes the dominant discourses that shape how people understand and talk about risk, danger, and trust which are created and recreated as socially constructed realities. This was also followed by a modernist notion of risk by Lupton where he discusses good and bad risks. In other words, risk can be of 'good risk' or 'bad risk' (Lupton 1999).

Against this backdrop, I was a researcher have explored how parents impose different disciplinarian practices through surveillance of adolescent sons' outdoor activities by restricting them not to staying outdoor after 7:00 pm since it is a matter of 'good risk' for them as they are concerned about the safety and security of their sons. However, the perception can be different for the adolescent boys as a matter of 'bad risk' as such vigilance of their parents tend to intervene in their personal space where they are spending time with their friends outdoor. (Lupton, 2003)

Once children came to be constructed as a protected category and childhood as a special state historically, the obverse of children and childhood could be constructed as at risk which requires particular protection and guidance. Despite such historical continuities, the end of the twentieth century was characterized by particular forms of risk anxiety. The present

society characterizes increasing risk awareness along with a utopian past where children played safely throughout a carefree childhood.

Since children are socially constructed as a protected category and face a form of risk anxiety, their parental hopes and fears for their children are also mobilized in wider, public concern about children and childhood. Protective discourse (Thomson and Scott, 1990) acts as a shield upon which increasing risk anxiety has been superimposed and within which children are located as vulnerable innocent beings to be shielded from the danger of the wider social world. Moreover, when there is a fusion of risk anxiety with protectiveness, it engenders a preoccupation with prevention (Scott and Freeman, 1995; Green, 1997) along with a need for constant vigilance for any kind of protection against potential threats to children's well-being.

7. New Sociology of Childhood

A significant amount of literature is now devoted to the New Sociology of Childhood which is essential to understanding the social construction of boyhood of adolescents.

The traditional theory of Childhood mainly involves the deterministic and constructivist models of Socialization.

a. Deterministic model: This model of socialization is regarded as deterministic since the child plays a primarily passive role characterized by functional and reproductive approaches. While on one hand, the functionalist model emphasizes preparing children to fit into and contribute to the stability and harmony of the order, on the other hand, the reproductive model focuses on social inequalities where some children have differential access to certain societal resources.

b. The Constructivist Model: Appropriation of the society by the child ----- This model is a product of social construction that involves Jean Piaget's intellectual development followed by Vygotsky's sociocultural view of Human Development. (Corsaro, 2016).

Since the traditional theory of Childhood was highly subjected to criticism, an alternative model of childhood was put forth which was similar to the concept of socialization. The term socialization has an individualistic connotation that is inescapable and so it is replaced by the notion of interpretive reproduction. The notion signifies that children being the product of society not only internalize culture and society but also contribute to cultural production and

change. This means that children and their childhoods are affected by the societies and cultures of which they are significant members, especially through the means of peer cultures. Interpretive reproduction perceives children's membership in their culture as reproductive where children interpret and make sense of their culture to participate and understand the adult world where they collectively produce their peer world and culture. For Corsaro, peer culture for children in public, collective, and performative also involves a stable set of activities or routines that children share and produces in interaction with their peers. The family also plays a significant role in the development of peer culture in interpretative reproduction. (Corsaro, 2016)

Against this backdrop, I was a researcher have analyzed how parents/ caregivers play an important role in the development of peer culture for their adolescent sons'. Further, since the adolescent boys engage in leisure activities with their peers, so peer culture for them is collective and performative since boys perform various activities or routines in interaction with their school and neighborhood peers. (Corsaro, 2016)

To conclude, I have used theoretical perspectives to examine how masculinity is socially constructed among adolescent boys of North Kolkata through their parenting practices and perception of risks followed by their leisure activities, the social construction of the male body through physical exercise, and body-building and impact of the peer group. The social constructionist perspective helps to theorize how risk is socially constructed for adolescent boys, as they attach certain meanings to their embodiment. These meanings and social constructions gain a hegemonic status that is situationally and culturally specific.

CHAPTER 3

PARENTHOOD AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF MASCULINITY

Since the present research emphasizes how masculinity is constructed within the family, so the '*doing gender'* approach has been applied to understand the construction and reconstruction of gender identity. This approach has acquired an important position since it is based on the notion that household members perform gender just as they carry out household chores and childcare (Fenstermaker Berk, 1985). The reconstruction of gender takes place through the acts which are performed. This performativity helps to create two dichotomous gender identities which lead to the reconstruction of gender identity. (Butler, 1990). According to West and Zimmerman, doing gender approach involves engaging in behavior that is at the risk of gender assessment (West & Zimmerman, 1987). This signifies that individuals are judged based on their gender which also influences the social construction of the father and mother in the family.

One of the major social institutions by which gender inequality is sustained and reinforced is the family. Out of the major agencies (school, peer group, media, neighborhood, community) which socialize children (boys and girls), family is the primary agency that helps to provide child's first exposure to social interaction. It is within the family that the children learn social values, internalize the norms and values of their parents (father and mother), and also learn about what gender means to them (Coltrane & Adams, 1997; Connell, 1987; Hearn, 1992). It is in this context that this chapter explores how adolescent boys within a family come to understand their privileged status as sons and how this male privilege equates to power (Coltrane, 1996; Kaufman, 1999).

This research has been carried out to explore how parents belonging to Bengali middle-class families use gendered/ not so gendered stereotypes while raising their sons in terms of the authority structure, regarding their restrictions on outside activities, surveillance over their sons' leisure activities, whether they are encouraging housework by their sons, whether they are providing freedom to their sons in their career choice which contributes to the construction of masculinity of the high school adolescent boys of North Kolkata.

B.B. Mishra analyzed the growth of the middle class in India. According to Mishra, a middle class emerged in India after 1905 due to the transformation in the social policy of the British

along with the inception of a new economic system and the growth of a new profession from the eighteenth century to the modern era. Though Mishra does not provide any proper definition of the Indian middle class, he defined the social class as any kind of social stratification or inequalities of people in society which can be either natural or due to economic differences. He regarded that social differentiation is influenced by economic differentiation or inequality among men. Hence, he opines that social class signifies the difference in the relationship that a man bears to property and the means of production. While defining social class, Mishra defines it by relating to ownership of property along with income[1]For Mishra, income was an important criterion of the middle class in India where he portrayed the significance of the lower and the upper-middle class. However, Mishra examined that the lower middle class mainly comprised lower-income groups. (Chanana, 1964)

This chapter explores whether stereotypically gendered parenting exists in the middle-income groups of Bengali households of North Kolkata even to this day. Since this chapter emphasizes how parents belonging to Bengali families help in the construction of masculinity of the high school adolescent boys of North Kolkata, so I try to analyze different dimensions like the kind of encouragement/surveillance that parents engage in boys' studies, to what extent the parents allow their sons to go outside, along with the restrictions imposed on their sons if they are late followed by their surveillance over the unstructured leisure activities of their sons. This chapter also explores how fathers reinforce gender stereotypes than mothers in the family which gets reflected in their treatment and discipline of their sons and also in their social interaction with their sons (Caldera, Huston, & O'Brien, 1989; Fagot & Leinbach, 1993; Lytton & Romney, 1991).

The way the adolescent boys are treated under surveillance over their activities also helps to sustain masculine ideals but also encourages behavior that reflects those ideals. In this chapter, one also understands how parents expect and encourage boys to conform to the cultural ideals of masculinity. Parents teach the boys to correlate masculinity with competition, violence, and domination. Further, this chapter helps to understand how parents define the masculinity of their sons as 'anything not feminine'. This chapter also portrays how parents define the masculinity of their sons by regarding their suppression of emotions as an act of masculinity.

To understand how masculinity is constructed within the family, it is also essential to understand about parenting of both father and mother which is explored in this chapter. Though there has been immense research on fatherhood and masculinity and how fathers help to construct notions of masculinity for their sons, hardly any such literature is available on motherhood and masculinity.

Since the present research studies different parenting styles and practices, so I have also explored different forms of parenting practices regarding the adolescent sons of North Kolkata.

To understand how fathers help in the construction of boyhood of their sons, it is important to understand the Fatherhood-Masculinity model. The term fatherhood not only denotes parental status but also parenting. Most research on fatherhood in family studies is concerned with the social construction of men's parenting that is not only witnessed in the interaction of the father with the child but also in the warmth of the relationship along with the control exerted by him as the family 'head' regarding monitoring over his son's activities and decision making. On one hand, the parenting by the father influences the son, on the other hand, reciprocal influence also exists where there is a shift from paternal involvement of the father to a relational process between the father and the son within a broader context of family relations. Furthermore, fathers make a contribution that is uniquely male and masculine since fathers have masculine characteristics due to which they understand their sons better. The impact of fatherhood on their children can be varied which can range from establishing an affectionate relationship with their children and childcare to monitoring their day-to-day activities like education and also the consent to remain outside the house after dawn. This shows that fatherhood can have a direct influence on the parenting of their sons.

However, on the other hand, due to the lack of research on motherhood and masculinity construction, hardly any literature is available to rotary how mothers also help in the construction of notions of masculinity of their sons. Recent research has pointed out documented differences in the child-related activities for which both mother and father are responsible (Bonney, Kelley, & Levant, 1999; Bryant & Zick, 1996; Fish, New,&VanCleave,1992).

In contrast to Western literature on the construction of masculinity within the family, Indian literature depicts a different scenario. The present research has been carried out among the Bengali parents from middle-income groups residing in northern part of Kolkata.

The present research has been carried out among the Bengali middle-class families residing in north Kolkata. The northern part of Kolkata was dominated by traditional building structures with street-level verandas comprising of families with long traditions or lineage behind them (bonedi bari). It mainly comprised areas like Shyambazar, Bagbazaar, Kumortuli and Shobhabazaar. The traditional part of north Kolkata was also characterized by the presence of para culture which was a neighborhood where people belonging to Bengali middle-class along with similar cultural order resided even sharing similar social values. During the colonial rule, North Kolkata was mostly dominated by the bhadraloks or babu who were renowned for their familiarity with the English language and who are college graduates and culturally refined. One of the striking features of the neighborhood was the presence of *ro'ak* or street-level verandas which used to be a place of *adda* or gossip with neighbours[8]. In the present day, Bengali men continue to carry out such 'adda' sessions with their neighbors either on ro'ak or akhara, though in a limited manner. (Ghosh, 2016).

By the end of the nineteenth century, there was a complete transformation in the socio-economic composition in the areas of North Kolkata like Bagbazar, Shyam bazaar, Kumortuli and Shobhabazaar. Due to the decline of the old aristocratic families, there were divisions within their ranks which reduced the status of descendants to middle-class professionals or clerks or even to petty shopkeepers and businessmen in the bazaar which were also joined by members of similar occupations from outside. Instead of the banians and dewans who dominated the city during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, majority of the middle-class Bengalis in the nineteenth century belonged to various occupational groups like: employees in government offices like public works and teachers in educational institutions; professionals including lawyers and attorneys; those who are engaged in financial transactions like shopkeepers. (Banerjee, 2016: 89).

North Kolkata also underwent a major transformation from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century with a few interesting socio-economic trends. Due to the consolidation of East India Company as colonial power in Bengal, a newly educated generation of Bengali government employees along with independent professionals came to constitute few of the areas of North Kolkata like Baghbazar and Shyambazaar during the nineteenth century. This led to the fragmentataion of the joint families of old Bengali dewans into separate units. With these divisions of old families, the northern part of Kolkata also got fragmented into demarcated spaces and gave birth to new lanes from the main road. So by the end of nineteenth century, this part of Kolkata had developed into a Bengali urban middle-class through re-organization

of the old space. While the traditional buildings of the dewans became dilapidated, small brick houses came up which was inhabited by the new Bengali middle-class people including lawyers, teachers and medical professionals. This new Bengali middle class mainly resided in the Baghbazar and Shyambazar streets (Banerjee, 2016: 90). With the divisions of the old aristocratic families, North Kolkata began to acquire a unique position in the religious and cultural spectrum of new Bengali middle-class society from the end of nineteenth century. The dilapidated houses and mansions were restored in order to host a new generation of Bengali middle from different professions (Banerjee, 2016: 96).

However, with the onset of the twentieth century, the northern part of Kolkata changed from a religious pilgrimage (due to its location on the banks of river Hooghly which became the spot of pilgrims to pay homage to 'Holy Ganga' followed by the emergence of Shri Ramakrishna) to a place which was partly inhabited by the descendants of feudal gentry and the remaining parts are rented out to shopkeepers and tenants. While the old trades continue to operate like small shops of grocers, tailors and carpenters along with few sweet shops, new trades have also come into existence in recent years like the ubiquitous Xerox stalls and phone booths. (Banerjee, 2016: 106). Further, the onset of the twenty-first century was marked by Metro railway station followed by two-storied departmental store run by Raymonds (clothes brand) and Sriniketan (two-storied mall) on Baghbazar Street. Though the real estate agents have not yet appeared on the scene, the traditional part of Kolkata is now opening up to different types of commercial investments. Even the mansion of Nandalal Bose remains in a decrepit condition which has now been occupied by a class of commercial entrepreneurs. This portrays how the northern part of Kolkata was transformed into a commercial hub comprising of a new Bengali middle class of lawyers, business professionals, teachers and medical professionals in the present era of globalization. Further, due to the rural pattern of allotting separate space to occupational groups, the Bengali landlords also included potters, artisans, and fishermen in north Kolkata. As a result of this, there are areas in the northern part carrying names like Kumortuli (inhabited by potters) and Dorjipara (named after tailors). (Banerjee, 2016: 109)

Nowadays, in North Kolkata, adda continues to be a session of gossip among men and women where they enjoy a pleasant time exchanging anecdotes, knowledge, and information about their everyday life. Another major feature of the northern part of Kolkata is that the local boys of the neighborhood play caram and football on the streets with their peers. The neighborhood (para) not only comprises of rich men but also middle-class people. Such a

middle class is regarded as the repository of certain social values involving sexual taboos and the consumption of liquor that neither the rich nor the poor possessed. Such a disciplinary aspect of the neighborhood culture characterizes the Bengali bhadralok of the northern part of Kolkata. The fact that the northern part of Kolkata is comprised of a traditional family lineage or bonedi could be reflected in the implicit structure of the familial authority where some individuals were deferred due to their profession of being a doctor, teacher, or lawyer or from some respectable profession. Such practice continues to exist in the northern part of Kolkata even to this day. (Ghosh, 2016)

This research which depicted the traditional part of Kolkata was also characterized by joint families where spouses lived with their children along with parents and their grandparents sharing a common kitchen and hearth. Another cynosure of North Kolkata was the celebration of Durga Puja in bonedi bari which still exist in the present society which has helped to keep the old sentiments of the traditional culture of North Kolkata alive. (Ghosh, 2016)

It is in this context that the present research explores how Bengali parents from middle-income groups of North Kolkata construct the masculinity of their sons by defining boyhood, their treatment of their sons, consent for outdoor activities followed by consent to carry out housework and freedom provided to their sons regarding the choice of career and other leisure activities like watching movies with friends, using social media (WhatsApp, Facebook, Instagram), sharing private life with their parents. Parents (father and mother) in the study belong to Bengali middle-income groups based on their income, educational qualifications, and the type of profession that they are employed and the type of assets they possess in their house.

In this chapter, I try to analyze how parents contribute to the construction of their sons' masculinities by their encouragement/ surveillance that they engage in their boys' studies along with whether these parents allow their sons to go outside followed by the time frames and other restrictions that they impose on their adolescent sons if they turn late. Historically, studies on masculinity can be traced back to the inception of studies of gender and boyhood in the nineteenth century. Though research on men and the construction of masculinities have been conducted globally, research in the Indian context hardly any such research has been carried out on the construction of masculinity among high school boys as compared to Western literature.

In this research, respondents (both father and mother) have been questioned regarding their definition of the boyhood of their adolescent sons. The departure point here is to discern whether parents help in the construction of masculinity of their adolescent sons through the way they treat and discipline their sons and whether they give consent for outdoor activities after dawn followed by consent to carry out housework. The present research also finds out whether these parents provide freedom to their sons regarding the choice of career and other unstructured leisure activities like playing games, watching movies with friends, using social media (WhatsApp, Facebook, Instagram), and sharing private life with their parents.

1. Parent's construction of boyhood

Parents are the major socializing agents within the family which produce an enormous impact on the construction of masculinity among the high school adolescent boys of NorthKolkata. The initial theme deals with how parents within the family define boyhood and masculinity and the reasons behind their definition.

The majority of Bengali fathers' defined boyhood in terms of traits like being strong, physically tough, capable, competent, emotionally detached, responsible to one's family, career-oriented, being financially independent with emotional detachment since boys are socially constructed to be inexpressive to emotions.

In this context, Sounak's father (45 years) who is a school teacher summarized,

"For me, being a boy means to be the most responsible member who will look after the family no matter how unforeseen the situation becomes. He should be capable of a struggle whenever his family lands in trouble."

By this, Sounak's father defined a boy as a person who should always be responsible for his family by looking after his family during a crisis like whenever his parents (father or mother) fall sick and faces any financial problem. For Sounak's father, a boy should be socialized in such a way by his parents that the responsibility towards his family should be incorporated into him through his family values. His meaning of boyhood is also based on how his son can struggle and help his family physically and financially. Due to this, he summarized that he wants his son to be both responsible and concerned towards his family which comprises him and his mother.

Sahil's father (54 years) who is an HR Consultant at Wipro residing summarized,

"To be a boy, I believe my son needs to be physically strong, capable, and careerist and must try his best to fulfill his familial responsibilities and duties. Also, since Sahil is close to me so he should also share all his secrets with me. Then only he will be able to be a good son, according to me."

Sahil's father defined boyhood in terms of a careerist son who is responsible for his family members, especially his parents. He also opined that to be a good boy, his son needs to share about his personal life which involves his friends, his handling of social media, and the kind of books and magazines he reads. He also regrets his son's inability to possess all such features to be a good boy ---- capable, physically strong, careerist, and emotional stoicism. This is how Connell defined 'hegemonic masculinity' whereby Sahil's father accepts the dominant traits of masculinity of being physically strong, courageous, and ambitious with no expression of emotions. (Connell, 1995 & 2005)

On the other hand, most Bengali mothers defined boyhood in terms of their sons' traits like physical strength, and emotional detachment followed by being their sons' responsibility towards family.

Rupen's mother (40 years), a teacher from Sister Nivedita School also responded,

"Boyhood for me may sound different since my son is not always physically strong to handle all situations in a manly way. He is soft-natured and does not use toughness when interacting or fighting with his friends. Due to his softness, few male friends interact with him. Also, his gait and way of talking are different due to which he has few friends."

Such kind of meaning of boyhood by Rupen's mother leads to the construction of a Subordinated form of masculinity which is also known as submissive masculinity which involves those men who are subjugated by the dominance of hetero normative masculinity ----- gay men. Since her son is soft and does not use toughness while interacting or arguing with his female and male friends followed by his gait, so his mother regards Rupen as different. This is because hegemonic masculinity is socially constructed as the dominant model of masculinity and is a concept where boys are socialized to conform to its components of being physically strong, courageous, and tough with emotional detachment. Rupen being a boy possessing traits like softness, and emotional attachment towards his friends with no aggressive attitude towards his family or friends is portrayed as Submissive (Pascoe, 2007)

Further, Rupen's mother's definition of boyhood also portrays the existence of multiple forms of masculinities (Submissive masculinity) in gender order since the meaning of masculinity varies from one culture to another and within one culture over time. (Lesko, 2005).

Neil's mother (42 years, housewife) defined boyhood as,

"For me, being a boy involves being physically strong, courageous, emotionally detached, being able to face any challenges in life, and being aggressive when the situation demands. A boy must be 'rough and tough to fight any situation easily and must not possess any feminine quality. I am glad my son Neil masters all these qualities and I think that is how every boy should be brought up since childhood."

For Neil's mother, the presence of hetero normative standards of masculinity like physical strength, courage, power, authority, and emotional detachment help in the construction of boyhood. She also takes pride in her son Neil who masters all the socially constructed traits of masculinity and also how her son deals with any troublesome situation aggressively as she believes a boy is socialized to be aggressive which is socially acceptable and valorized. This is how Nancy Lesko defines a real boy as one who possesses the socially constructed qualities of masculinity which involves being physically strong, capable, and emotionally detached followed by non-conformity to feminine qualities of being soft, polite, and non-violent. (Lesko, 2005). The way Neil's mother has defined boyhood in terms of the attributes of his son portrays that there is performance based on his gender which persists as the child grows up. His mother valorizes and accepts such social construction of gender. This is how West and Zimmerman explain the concept of 'doing gender' whereby Neil's performance of gender role by being physically tough and aggressive is normalized by his parents. (West & Zimmerman, 1987)

The parental meaning of boyhood helps in the construction of multiple masculinities among the high school boys of North Kolkata. Since both parents regard the presence of physical traits like strength, physical toughness, and financial independence as important features which help in masculine construction, such features lead to the construction of Hegemonic Masculinity which is the configuration of gender practice that accepts the dominant position of a man and subordinate position of a woman. (Connell, 2005)

Since these are masculine indicators, so I have observed and studied the parental perception of boyhood (both father and mother). I have also observed and studied non-masculine indicators to understand how masculinity is constructed by the parents ------ activities associated with masculinity and femininity have been observed like how boys interact with their friends, issues of safety, security, and risk factors by the parents for their sons, the parental supervision of their son's structured/unstructured leisure activities (use of social media, interaction with friends), any impositions regarding dress code for the boys, whether sons engage in housework, how parents encourage these activities.

Since the study explores how both parents from North Kolkata perceive their sons in terms of their meaning of boyhood, so it is essential to understand whether any difference lies between their parental perceptions:

1.1 Parenting the boys

This theme deal emphasizes the different forms of *discipline* carried out by the parents along with their perception of them their son. The treatment of both father and mother tends to be different for their son and daughter. This study emphasizes the different ways by which parents discipline their sons, supervise their studies/careers followed by supervision over their structured/ unstructured leisure activities, sharing about the private life of their sons, where on one end of the continuum is Authoritative and Authoritative-Directive parenting, on the other end is Permissive parenting. The common characteristics of parents who indulge in the same type of parenting have also been studied in this theme along with how parenting is connected with the perception of risks of their sons. This study has also observed how a continuum exists ranging from gendered to non-gendered forms of parenting.

The fact that most parents (both father and mother) of the study do not provide consent to their children to remain outdoor after dawn (7:00 pm) also conforms to the traits of Baumrind's authoritative parenting style. Most fathers have fixed rules for staying outdoor which are highly authoritative and disciplinarian in nature. Since most fathers of the study are the head of the family, their sons are bound to adhere to the rules set by their fathers. If anytime their sons turn up late, punishments are given though not violent or arbitrary.

Majority of Bengali fathers negated allowing their sons to stay away from home till late at night (7:00 p.m.) citing that society is not a secure place for men along with women. This means that fathers do not trust their son's capacity as they believe that their sons can become

victims of any violence or atrocities against men like drug addiction, and sexual assault and they feared that their sons can get involved in illegal activities like drug trafficking due to peer pressure. (Lupton, 2003) On the other hand, Bengali mothers in the study treated their sons in a friendly manner as they do not believe in impositions on their sons. They maintain a friendly bonding with their sons so that their sons can share anything about their personal life with their fathers.

Types of parenting:

1.1.1 Authoritative parenting of sons

The father of Utpal (16 years), who is a businessman by profession summarized;

"The treatment of my son is based on his behavior at home. If he is obedient and obeys my command then I treat him liberally since disobedience is not something that I like or entertain. When Utpal disobeys me or my command (which is mainly for his safety), he is punished for his deeds though such punishment is never violent."

Utpal's father disciplines his son depending on his obedience/ disobedience at his house. If his son is obedient and does studies and follows his command of returning home by 8p.m in the evening, he treats Utpal liberally. However, if his son does not listen to him by being disobedient and returning home late, then Utpal's father disciplines him in an authoritarian manner. This is how Baumrind explains *the authoritative parenting* style as a style that has a positive outcome on children and adolescents like high self-esteem, good academic performance, and good emotional control. The behavior of Utpal's father showed traits of authoritative parenting which involves being disciplinarian in such a way that children are socialized in a spirit of disciplined conformity, obedience, and adherence to the rules and regulations of the head of the family (the father). Utpal's father tries his best to satisfy the physical and emotional needs of his son and even encourages independent thinking to an extent but he fixes the rules of the house with logical sense which needs to be abided by his child. He is demanding and responsive and treats his son in an authoritarian manner and when this style is developed, it grows to fit the propagative parenting and civilization. Utpal's father is a businessman by profession who sets clear standards for his children and monitors the limits that he sets but also gives freedom to his children to develop autonomy and independence. His statement regarding the disobedience of his order can involve punishment that is measured and consistent but never violent and arbitrary. (Baumrind, 1991, p. 62). Such

a form of parenting leads to the construction of masculinity in Utpal as he is being socialized by his father to be obedient, disciplinarian, and adhere to the rigid rules and regulations of his authoritarian father.

This type of parenting style is *gendered parenting* not only because Utpal's father imposes stringent discipline on his son in terms of obedience to his decision as to the male patriarch of the family but also because such adherence to his rules and regulations is different for his son and Utpal's mother. His mother, being a house worker, not only obeys all instructions of her spouse but she is also not given time restrictions (7:00p.m) for staying outdoor either with their son or with her friends during any outing. Such gender discrimination is highly prevalent in the parenting style used by Utpal's father not only against his son but also his mother as well.

However, Marcel's father (50 years) who is a bank professional opined,

"I treat my son not in a stringent manner, yet I watch over his activities at home. He is free to be outside his house even after dawn (6:00 pm) but needs to return to his house by 10:00 pm. I allow him such liberty only on the assurance by him that he will perform well and his studies would not get hampered."

Marcel's father provides impositions on his son by setting a time frame of not allowing him to stay outside the house after 10:00 pm since he is afraid about the risks involved in the security of his son. He is scared as his son might become a victim of drug abuse by his peers or might be subjected to abduction which is why he regards it risky for his son to stay outdoors after 10:00 p.m. since his father feels that his son is living in an environment of risk where hazards are unpredictable. Due to this, as a parent, he has no means of being sure where safety lies and where the increasing anonymity aggravates risk anxiety. This is how Lupton describes risk in the phase of childhood where any knowledge about risk is socially and culturally mediated as well as culturally and historically specific. Lupton emphasizes the dominant discourses that shape how people understand and talk about risk, danger, and trust which are created and recreated as socially constructed realities. (Lupton, 2003)

This type of parenting style is *gendered parenting* because Marcel's father imposes stringent discipline on his son in terms of obedience to his decision as the male patriarch of the family and only allows Marcel to stay outdoor with his friends provided he adheres to his father's instruction of returning home within 10:00 p.m. Marcel's father gives such impositions not

only due to issues of risk and safety of his son but also because he is the male patriarch who takes family decisions and is the breadwinner of the family.

Surojit's mother (40 years, housewife) proclaimed,

"When I instruct my son not to stay outdoors with friends after dawn, he never responds. When he returns home, he screams and says he is mature enough to take care of himself. His sudden change in nature worries me. This many a times leads to conflict between him and me (at times between his father and him too).

The imposition by Surojit's mother on her son from North Kolkata regarding the time frame leads to a conflict between her and her son Surojit where her son resists her restrictions as her son believes he is mature to take care of himself. She understands that impositions can harm his son, but she still restricts knowing the present state of society which is characterized by the issue of safety and security surrounding his son as well. Surojit's mother asserted that she gives impositions on his son and gives a time frame regarding his staying outdoors with his friends as he can become victims of violence and risk which can bring new hazardous situations. As a result, she emphasizes the ways to prevent and eliminate such risks by giving time frames (7:00 pm) to her adolescent son to enter the house. This is how Ulrich Beck (1992) explains the concept of risk society where the risks are a product of late modernity which gets reflected in their daily life when they socially restrict their son and daughter to return from their outdoor activities after dawn (7:00 pm). They regard that they are liberated from the social networks and constraints of the old order and their center of concern revolves around the prevention of any kind of risks associated with the security of their children which are produced as part of modernization. Surojit's mother is concerned with a new set of risks and hazards associated with the safety and security of her child when they remain outside after dawn (Beck, 1992).

Though Surojit does not wish to be supervised by his mother, she does it to protect him from any risk involving his safety and security. This is how Lupton explained the concept of *risk during Childhood* whereby he regards that parents feel their children are living in an environment of increasing risks due to the unpredictability of the hazards where parents have no means of being sure where safety lies, the increasing anonymity aggravates the risk anxiety. According to Lupton (2003), the social construction of risk recognizes that any knowledge about risk is socially and culturally mediated as well as culturally and historically specific. Lupton emphasizes the dominant discourses that shape how people understand and

talk about risk, danger, and trust which are created and recreated as socially constructed realities. This was also followed by a modernist notion of risk by Lupton where he discusses good and bad risks. In other words, risk can be of 'good risk' or 'bad risk' (Lupton 1999). This means that the fact that Surojit's mother does not allow him to stay outdoor after 7:00 pm can be a matter of 'good risk' for her as she is concerned about the safety and security of his adolescent son. However, the perception can be different for Surojit as a matter of 'bad risk' as such vigilance of his mother tends to intervene in his personal space where he is spending time with his friends outdoor. (Lupton, 2003)

This form of parenting is an authoritative and gendered parenting practice adopted by Surojit's mother since she imposes time-bound restrictions on her son as he is not only concerned about her son's safety when he is outside, but also because Surojit at times resists such imposition on him by his mother, being an adolescent.

Since parents are the primary socializing agents, I am also exploring the supervision of parents (both father and mother) on their son's studies. This chapter also deals with how parents from North Kolkata manage to supervise their children's studies even when they are professionally employed throughout the day.

Sanyibha's father (55 years) who is a lawyer also summarized in a similar tone,

"I allow my son to stay outdoor till 7:00pm but at his reluctance. When I instruct him to return home within dawn, he tries to listen but not always. At times, he returns 30 minutes late by staying outdoor with his friends, but it is worrisome for me as his father".

Sanyibha's father summarized that though he instructs his son to stay outdoor with his friends till 7:00 p. m. his son does not always listen to him as he stays outdoor spending time with his friends. His father adopts an authoritative parenting style by using disciplinarian practice of temporal restrictions on his son which is also a matter of good risk as he is concerned about the risks associated with the safety and security of his son. However, such imposition is a matter of bad risk for Sanyibha since it intervenes in his personal life when he is spending time with his friends outdoor. (Lupton, 1995).

Father of Souvik (48 years) who is a businessman responded,

"Since I mostly stay outdoor for the official purpose (business trips), I as a parent and guardian hardly get time to supervise his studies. However, during weekends I try my best to supervise and guide him in my son's studies and clarify doubts if he has any."

Souvik's father showed concern for his son's studies and career by being a vigil over his studies during weekends due to his hectic work schedule (business trips to New Delhi and Mumbai). He supervises his career so that his son can perform well during exams which would help him to have a secure future with a lucrative job in the future. Such an uninvolved nature of Souvik's father reflects Baumrind's uninvolved parenting style which is characterized by low behavioral control (demandingness) and low parental responsiveness coupled with little communication. Though his father fulfilled his son's needs and desires, he was generally detached from his son's life which can even reach the extent of neglecting his needs. (Baumrind: Darling, 1999: 3).

Similarly, Aritra's mother (35 years) who is a school teacher expressed,

"My son is naughty and does not always focus on his studies which must be his prime interest at this age. Since I am a working woman along with his father, I hardly get much time to supervise or guide him in his studies. However, to compensate for the lack of guidance, my son attends tuition classes regularly which prepares him for his studies and also prepares him for exams like IIT-JEE."

Being a school teacher, Aritra's mother also does not get time to vigil over her son's studies due to which her son has to take recourse to tuition classes. However, Aritra's mother seems to be uninvolved in her son's studies being a working woman, though she continues to fulfil her son's desires. This is how Baumrind explained the uninvolved parenting style which is characterized by low behavioral control (demanding-ness) and low parental responsiveness coupled with little communication. Though Aritra's mother fulfilled his son's needs and desires, he was generally detached from his son's life which can even reach the extent of neglecting his needs. (Baumrind: Darling, 1999: 3).

On the contrary, Sahil's mother (private tutor) from North Kolkata shared a different perspective,

"Since I am the only guardian of my son, I always try my best to monitor his studies, activities, and whereabouts as a friend. He shares almost everything about her private life which helps me to understand his desires and interests in a better way. However, at times, my son turns aggressive and finds it difficult to focus his attention on his studies which worries me a lot."

Sahil's mother's supervision over his son's activities is a sign of parental monitoring which involves oversight of the youth's activities and whereabouts like his studies, interaction with his friends, and usages of social media like WhatsApp and Facebook. However, such monitoring can produce a negative impact on the child's behavior by restricting adolescent opportunities to risky behavior whereby she cites that due to her surveillance, her son turns aggressive as he does not like to disclose his private life to his mother always. (Stattin and Kerr, 1994). Such surveillance of Sahil's mother also helps to understand Foucault's concept of *surveillance* which he used as an instrument to regulate individual behavior through practices that would help in the construction of the individuals. However, Foucault here mainly refers to the use of disciplinary power which is carried out through various practices and techniques which are being used by the mother to regulate and supervise her son's studies and his personal life through the vigilance over his day to day activities. (Foucault, 1964)

Rishav's mother (42 years, school teacher), on the other hand, held an encouraging stance toward his son's career,

"I always encourage my son to pursue his subject of interest since it is not good to impose on him since he is in adolescence and is learning to make life decisions on his own. Whenever he feels depressed due to lesser academic grades, I act as his friend by praising his good qualities and motivating him so that he can improve his grades for a better future."

The response of Rishav's mother regarding her supervision over her son's studies signifies that parental warmth and support have positive implications on adolescent attitudes and development. Rishav's mother's encouragement for his career shows the parent's concern for her son. Her consistent support, guidance, and motivation have a positive impact on her son which can help him to improve his performance for a better future. (Masten and Coatsworth, 1998).

Since parents play an important role in sons' supervision of their activities, especially studies, they also play a decisive role in the provision of their freedom of career aspirations. I explore whether parents provide freedom to their sons and daughters if they have any regarding their career along with the reasons behind such provision or non-provision.

Fathers in this study from North Kolkata mostly granted freedom in terms of finance to their sons regarding their careers provided their sons inspired them with good academic

performance and preferred their sons to pursue Science/ Engineering/ Doctor for a better prospect.

Sounak's father (45 years) who is a government school teacher opined,

"Since my son wishes to pursue his career in music (singing) I do motivate him but with certain conditions. Since he is a 'boy', so building a career in 'classical music' will not be fruitful for him as career in Music is not lucrative for future. Further, the musical journey is not flowery but involves hardships and struggle".

Sounak's father provides freedom to his son regarding his choice of career but worries about his son's secure future in Music which cannot always be flowery as it requires hard work and struggle since a Musician's career is filled with hardships. His father also allowed Sounak to develop a career in music provided his son builds a career in studies. Further, Sounak's father regards that since his son is a boy so he has to abide by the socially constructed notion of masculinity by being in the profession where there is lucrative job and future where he can be financially secured and independent rather than being in a profession where there is hardly any secured future. This contrasts with the masculinity of Sounak since music is his passion and he wants to build a career as classical music singer. Though he has been bullied by his father for his choice of career since it deviates from the notion of 'hegemonic masculinity', yet he is firm in his decision. (Connell, 2005).

Such interpretation of Sounak's masculinity also portrays how he interprets through his own meanings and interpretations by since he has the ability to create a culture of his own through interpretative reproduction. This is how Hirschfield explained the 'New Sociology of Childhood' which involves the interpretative understanding by children through their own meanings and interpretations since children have the ability to create a culture of their own. (Corsaro, 2016; Hirschfeld, 2002)

On a similar note, Aritra's father who is a teacher in government school summarized,

"Since Aritra always wanted to become a classical dancer being interested in the profession since a young age, he even attends dance classes of the needful. However, I don't always support the idea of him being a dancer as he is a boy who not only requires a lucrative future but also need to portray his boyhood."

Aritra's father disapproves his son's interest in classical dance since practicing such dance form does not conform to the hetero-normative standards of masculinity since classical dance involves grace, softness with the absence of physical toughness and aggression. According to his father, boys who practice classical dance are not socially constructed to be a boy but conforms to the notion of Submissive Masculinity since such form of masculinity involves softness with a different body movement and gait followed by expression of emotions. This is how Connell explains the notion of submissive masculinity which involves those men whose power is oppressed by hegemonic masculinity. Simulatneously, Aritra's power as a boy was also oppressed by the socially constructed notion of hegemonic masculinity since he did not abide by its traits. (Connell, 2005). Further, career in classical dance would not promise his son a lucrative future prospect which was a matter of concern for his father too as being a boy he wants his son to choose a career prospect which would help his son to be financially independent and provide him a lucrative job in future.

On the other hand, mothers were mostly liberal to not impose any restrictions on their sons regarding their careers and allow them to pursue their desired careers.

Rohit's mother (36 years) who is a school teacher from northern Kolkata summarized,

"I provide freedom to my son regarding the choice of his career. I always support him in his career decisions in whatever he wants to pursue in the future. However, I still wish that he becomes an Engineer since it is my dream to see him shine in this profession which demands success."

Though Rohit's mother provides much freedom to his son regarding his choice of career yet she mostly wants her son to become an Engineer by profession which according to her, holds a bright secure future with proper remuneration. This is because financial security is crucial for her son as he is a Man. This is how Connell explains hetero normative standards of masculinity where a boy is socially constructed to be physically strong and financially independent so that he can be the financial support of his family anytime (Connell, 2005)

The remaining mothers of the study expressed their desire of following the stereotype of wanting their son to be an efficient and successful Doctor/Engineer since such a profession demands reverence, honor with lucrative success in society.

Table 1: Parental difference regarding freedom of choice of career of their sons:

WHICH PARENTS GAVE FREEDOM TO THEIR SONS REGARDING CHOICE OF CAREER:	NO. OF RESPONDENTS	PERCENTAGE (%)
a. Father	46	46
b. Mother	54	54
Total	100	100

Table 1 shows that 46% of fathers from North Kolkata mostly granted freedom in terms of finance to their sons regarding their career and preferred their sons to pursue Science/ Engineering/ Doctor for a better prospect. They did not want their sons to pursue a career in subjects like Music since a career in Music requires hard work and is filled with hardships. On the contrary, 54% of mothers provided the freedom to their sons regarding their choice of career --- whether he pursues a career in Science or Humanities. However, mothers also expressed their desire of following the stereotype of wanting their son to be an efficient and successful Doctor/Engineer since such a profession demands reverence, and honor with lucrative success in society.

This chapter also explores whether parents supervise their children's leisure activities like sports, usage of social media, and interaction with friends at school / tuition/ neighbourhood, watching movies, and dating. It emphasizes parental supervision over their sons in terms of taking them to tuition or a friend's place and accompanying them back to their home. It also deals with the impact of such vigilance of the parents over their sons who help in the construction of masculinity.

The majority of fathers responded that they allow their adolescent sons to be involved in sports like Football or Cricket as it helps their sons to develop their talent and also to be physically strong as a boy.

Neil's father (47 years) who is a bank manager by profession summarized,

"My son has been practicing Football since 10 years of age which he continues to practice even till date. He was one of the state-level champions in Football in his school and aspire to be a player as an ambition. Besides, he also likes playing Cricket too. Though initially I as a parent did not support his decision, later I supported and guided him to stick to his ambition.

Now I even keep a watch that he is practicing well so that he can excel in his career as a player."

The kind of guidance and encouragement that Neil received from his father regarding his playing Football and Cricket as a part of his leisure activities portray the vigilance or surveillance of his father since Neil has decided not only to develop his talent but also to build a career in Football and Cricket. His father vigils over his practice regularly so that he can excel in this field of Sports and can become a renowned player which would earn his father a good name in society. Neil and his family (father and mother) are residents of North Kolkata and he developed his passion for Football and Cricket as games since his father was also a sportive football player from a young age. Neil's father though initially did not support his son's ambition of being a sports player, however, he later agreed since he was a sportive player of the game when he was young. Being a *bhadralok* of North Kolkata, he regards football and cricket as democratic sports unlike Hockey (Ghosh, 2016).

Marcel's father (49 years) who is a lawyer by profession summarized,

"I have always encouraged my son to be involved in Sports and he has also valorized Cricket by watching the sports on television. His favorite leisure activity is Cricket and I mainly allow him to practice during weekends so that apart from studies, he can feel relaxed by being involved in a proper leisure activity like Sports which will also help him to be physically active and strong."

Marcel's father regards his son's practice of Cricket as a matter of pride for him as sports like Cricket which involves physical strength would help his son to be a strong boy in the future which also helps his son to develop his talent whenever he feels exhausted by studying. By flaunting physical prowess in Sports, Marcel's father regards that such physical strength and courage followed by aggression are traits of hetero normative standards of masculinity. (Connell, 1995)

On the contrary, most mothers in this study expressed their reluctance to any kind of supervision over their son's leisure activities due to their busy schedule and the male breadwinner of the family.

On the other hand, Rajesh's mother (40 years) who is a housewife summarized,

"Since Rajesh is closer to me than his father, I don't need any supervision over his leisure activities which mainly involve frequent usage of social media and playing online games like

PUBG. Though the frequent usage of social media worries me at times, I allow him as he communicates with his friends and teachers which is significant for his studies."

Rajesh's mother summarized that his son's frequent usage of social media like WhatsApp and Facebook does not worry as Rajesh shares everything over social media with her like interaction with his male and female friends and she regarded that her son mainly interacts with his teachers for his studies and with friends regarding Sports or plays PUBG with his friends.

Similarly, Neil's mother (40 years) who is a houseworker responded,

"I always believe boys should be involved in Sports – be it Cricket or Football since sports help boys to be physically strong and courageous during any tough situation. I am proud that I have allowed my son to excel in a sport like Football since it will help him to develop his capabilities and will also help him to reach his goal of being a player."

Such response by Neils's mother depicts that she provides all kinds of motivation and support to her son as she regards his son's involvement in sports as an important sign of the development of the socially constructed masculine traits like physical strength, toughness, and aggression which according to her can help his son to fight back whenever he falls into trouble in a public place, being subject to robbery or assault. Due to this, he keeps a watch over his practice of Football which is an unstructured leisure activity since she is proud of his son's talent in Football. (Mukherjee, June 2020: 2)This is how Connell also explained his concept of hegemonic masculinity whereby Neil's engagement in Sports is valorized by his mother as Sports symbolizes physical strength and toughness, capability, and violence. (Connell, 2005)

On the other hand, Marcel's mother (39 years) who is a school teacher reverted,

"I am glad that Marcel is interested in Cricket and practices it being his favorite sport but I make sure his involvement does not hamper his studies. Since Cricket has always been his favorite game so I have allowed him to practice though I mostly want him to be either an engineer or a doctor."

Marcel's mother though appreciates his son's involvement in Cricket for the development of talent yet she fears that too much involvement can hamper his studies since she has always aspired him to be a successful Doctor or engineer as she regards that being an engineer or Doctor can earn him a lucrative job with a secure future than his career in Sports. She regards

sports as a career that does not guarantee a secure future as it requires extreme perseverance and physical strength for which rigorous practice is required which might not be fulfilled by his son.

On the contrary, Rishav's mother (43 years) shares about the leisure activity of her son,

"I appreciate that even in today's society; Rishav takes out time to interact with his para friends. His favorite leisure involves 'adda' with his friends in the locality on the ro'ak. Though he likes playing games over mobile, his interaction with para friends gives him solace from his hectic schedule."

Being a resident of North Kolkata, Rishav's mother takes pride that his son likes to spend his leisure by interacting with his 'para' friends. Though his favorite leisure activity involves 'adda'(interaction/gossip) on the ro'ak with his neighborhood friends, he also likes surfing online games like PUBG (though not addicted). This is how para culture is sustained in the northern part of Kolkata were one of the striking features of the neighborhood was the presence of *ro'ak* or street-level verandas which used to be a place of *adda* or gossip with neighbors which was previously known as *akharas* signifying a place where young Bengali men would regularly visit for physical fitness and discuss the issues of the day with their fellows of the locality. Nowadays, in North Kolkata, adda is a session of gossip among adolescent men and women where they enjoy a pleasant time exchanging anecdotes, knowledge, and information about their everyday life. (Ghosh, 2016)

Table 2: Parental supervision over their sons' structured/ unstructured leisure activities (Multiple responses):

PARENTAL SUPERVISION OVER THEIR SONS' STRUCTURED/ UNSTRUCTURED LEISURE ACTIVITIES:	NO. OF RESPONDENTS (parents)	PERCENTAGE(%)
a. Watching movies	40 (mother- 30, father- 10)	40
b. Usage of social media like WhatsApp/ Facebook/ Instagram	15 (mother- 15, father- 15)	15
c. Playing mobile games (PUBG)	15	15
d. Gossip/ adda with neighborhood friends	20 (mother-10, father-10)	20
e. Attending coaching classes of cricket and football	10 (mother-5, father-5)	10

Table 2 depicts that the father and mother supervise their sons' structured and unstructured leisure activities differently. While 30% of mothers supervise their sons' leisure activity of watching any action/ romantic movies due to the presence of obscenity in such films, 10 % of fathers get time to supervise their sons' watching movies (total= 40), 30 % of parents (both father and mother) supervise their sons' usage of social media like WhatsApp, Facebook, Instagram along with their sons' usage of mobiles to play games like PUBG. The remaining 20% of parents (father and mother) mostly supervise their sons' unstructured leisure activity of adda that their sons engage with their neighborhood friends by escorting them to their friends' place; on the other hand, 10% of parents supervise their sons' structured activities like their involvement in Sports (football/ cricket) than 10 % of their mothers (total= 40) to make them physically strong and fit.

Table 3: Parental perception (father and mother) of their sons:

PARENTAL PERCEPTION OF THEIR SONS THROUGH----	NO. OF RESPONDENTS (parents)	PERCENTAGE (%)
a. Parenting styles adopted by parents	50 (father-40, mother- 10)	50
b. Supervision over their structured and unstructured leisure activities	30 (mother- 16, father- 14)	30
c. Supervision over their studies and career aspiration	20 (father- 10, mother- 10)	20
Total	100	100

Table 3 shows that a difference does exist between the parental perception of their adolescent sons in terms of their parenting styles, supervision over their structured and unstructured leisure activities followed by surveillance over their career aspirations. Firstly, in terms of the different parenting styles, 50 5 parents (40% father and 10% mother) perceive and discipline their sons through authoritative, authoritative-directive, and permissive styles which involve imposing temporal impositions on their sons when they are outdoor with their peers, adherence of their sons to the rules imposed by parents to be caring and responsive to their sons' needs and demands in a friendly manner, respectively. Secondly, in terms of supervision over the structured and unstructured leisure activities of their children, 16% of mothers perceive their sons as supervising over their leisure activities like watching movies and usage of social media like WhatsApp, Facebook, and Instagram followed by adda with

their 'para' peers followed by 14% fathers who supervise over their sons' involvement in the structured activity of sports like football/ cricket to make them physically strong total= 30%). This contrasts with 20% of parents where both father and mother equally perceive and supervise their sons' studies and career aspirations by keeping a vigil over their wards' studies and the kind of career their sons wish to pursue in the future.

This study also discusses and explores whether parents supervise their children's leisure activities like sports, usage of social media, interaction with friends, watching movies, and dating. It emphasizes parental supervision over their sons in terms of taking them to tuition or a friend's place and accompanying them back to their home. It also deals with the impact of such vigilance of the parents over their sons who help in the construction of masculinity.

The majority of fathers responded that they allow their adolescent sons to be involved in sports like Football or Cricket as it helps their sons to develop their talent and also to be physically strong as a boy.

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"My son has been practicing Football since 10 years of age which he continues to practice even till date. He was one of the state-level champions in Football in his school and aspire to be a player as an ambition. Besides, he also likes playing Cricket too. Though initially I as a parent did not support his decision, later I supported and guided him to stick to his ambition. Now I even keep a watch that he is practicing well so that he can excel in his career as a player."

The kind of guidance and encouragement that Neil received from his father regarding his playing Football and Cricket as a part of his leisure activities portray the vigilance or surveillance of his father since Neil has decided not only to develop his talent but also to build a career in Football and Cricket. His father vigils over his practice regularly so that he can excel in this field of Sports and can become a renowned player which would earn his father a good name in society. Neil and his family (father and mother) are residents of North Kolkata and he developed his passion for Football and Cricket as games since his father was also a sportive football player from a young age. Neil's father though initially did not support his son's ambition of being a sports player, however, he later agreed since he was a sportive player of the game when he was young. Being a *bhadralok* of North Kolkata, he regards football and cricket as democratic sports unlike Hockey (Ghosh, 2016).

Marcel's father (49 years) who is a lawyer by profession summarized,

"I have always encouraged my son to be involved in activities like Cricket/ Football and he has also valorized Cricket by watching the sports on television. His favorite leisure activity is attending coaching classes of Cricket and I mainly allow him to practice during weekends so that apart from studies, he can feel relaxed by being involved in a proper leisure activity like Sports which will also help him to be physically active and strong."

Marcel's father regards his son's practice of Cricket as a matter of pride for him as sports like Cricket which involves physical strength would help his son to be a strong boy in the future which also helps his son to develop his talent whenever he feels exhausted by studying. By flaunting physical prowess in Sports, Marcel's father regards that such physical strength and courage followed by aggression are traits of hetero normative standards of masculinity. (Connell, 1995)

On the contrary, most mothers in this study expressed their reluctance to any kind of supervision over their son's leisure activities due to their busy schedule and the male breadwinner of the family.

On the other hand, Rajesh's mother (40 years) who is a housewife from North Kolkata summarized,

"Since Rajesh is closer to me than his father, I don't need any supervision over his leisure activities which mainly involve frequent usage of social media and playing online games like PUBG. Though the frequent usage of social media worries me at times, I allow him as he communicates with his friends and teachers which is significant for his studies."

Rajesh's mother summarized that his son's frequent usage of social media like WhatsApp and Facebook does not worry as Rajesh shares everything over social media with her like interaction with his male and female friends and she regarded that her son mainly interacts with his teachers for his studies and with friends regarding Sports or plays PUBG with his friends.

Most Bengali Fathers allowed their sons to freely interact with both male and female peers as they regarded that keeping their sons isolated from their peers would not produce the desired result as most the friends are helpful and help their sons during studies and during any crisis at school like if their sons fall ill.

Father of Sounak (17 years) who is a government school teacher opined,

"I feel Sounak should limit his interaction with male and female friends as it might be fatal for him as he is immature being a teenager and also his friends can utilize him for their vested interests. I do advise him to be careful while mixing with friends but he tends to ignore my advice."

Sounak's father's concern about his son and his interaction with male and female peers portrays his fear that his friends can utilize his son by taking all help from him or by coercing him to be engaged in illicit activities like smoking, taking recourse to drugs, having intimate relationships with females ----- all of which can land him in a troublesome situation as Sounak is a teenager where issues involving safety and security of his son are involved followed by increasing anonymity and unpredictability of hazards associated with adolescence. (Lupton, 1999)

Mothers from northern Kolkata also had no issues in allowing their sons to interact with male and female friends irrespective of gender as they feel the mixture is essential to understand their peers which prove to be helpful during studies.

Soumen's mother (42 years, teacher at Better High School) asserted,

"I always motivate him to mix with both male and female friends since problems can arise if he is not given consent for interaction with peers as he spends most of his time with his peers either through face-to-face interaction or over social media like WhatsApp for studies or leisure. I also personally feel female friends are more trustworthy than male friends as most of my female peers were more helpful during school life. Also in the case of my son, I have noticed his female peers being more helpful since they always help him during his studies before an exam or any crisis."

Soumen's mother's encouragement to allow his son to freely interact with his male and female peers is mainly because she has noticed that his son spends most of the time with his peers either through face-to-face interaction or over social media like WhatsApp for homework related to studies. She also cited his son's female peers to be more helpful than male peers, especially before his exam. This kind of parent-child relationship demonstrates the quality of child-parent attachment during early childhood which in turn affects the relationship quality with peers**.** Those children who have a secure attachment with their parents are most likely to be rated as popular by their peers and possess pro-social skills in comparison with children who shares an insecure attachment with parents. Simultaneously,

Soumen's mother's liberal attitude towards his mixture with friends also portrayed the strong attachment that she shares with her son. (Cassidy et al., 1996; Moss et al., 1998; Sroufe et al., 1999)

Soumen's mother also portrayed attributes of permissive parenting since she has low expectations of self-control from his son and knows his son to be mature. She is more responsive than demanding. She tries to be lenient with his son Soumen by allowing him to mix with all types of friends, irrespective of gender. She also feels his female friends are more helpful to him and do not require mature behavior and tend to ignore confrontation. This is how Baumrind explains the permissive parenting style where permissive parents, sometimes referred to as indulgent parents, have very few demands to make of their children. These parents rarely discipline their children because they have relatively low expectations of maturity and self-control. Soumen's mother treats her son in a friendly manner by allowing her son to discuss almost everything about his private life with her like peer group, his hobbies, and his partner of admiration. So she takes on the status of a friend to her son more than that of a parent. (Baumrind, 1991)

On the contrary, Atul's father (50 years) who is a businessman by profession expressed,

"My son has a strong attachment with his friends at school and his tuition. At times he relies on them blindly and trusts them more than us which worries me since too much dependence on peer groups as a teenager can turn out to be fatal for him as friends are not always helpful and can misuse him without his awareness."

Atul's father cited his son's over-dependence and trust in his male and female peer group more than his parents due to which he believes parental influence decreases. Though he acknowledges his son's importance of his peers who help him before the exam and whenever he is in trouble serving as confidantes, he feels such over the reliance of his son on his friends at such a critical phase of adolescence can turn out to be fatal for him as his friends can take advantage of his help for their vested interests to serve their purpose and also by forcing his son to get engaged in illicit activities of smoking and drug addiction. This explains how peer relationship takes on greater importance during adolescence due to which parental influence decreases. Though parents continue to be an important influence in adolescents' lives, peers act as emotional confidantes of adolescent boys and girls who provide each other care and guidance. As a result of this, children trust their peers more than their parents (Buhrmester, 1996).

Aniket's mother (46 years), a housewife by profession from the northern part of Kolkata responded about her son's interaction with his friends at his school,

"I do allow my son to mix with male and female friends but try to advise him to limit his circle to friends from his class (middle-class). I feel it's better to restrict my son on this ground since boys coming from different classes of society can possess different traits and those boys who may come from lower class may tend to spoil others in his standard by convincing them to activities like smoking, drug addiction and doing mischievous acts like harassing teachers and friends."

Aniket's mother is skeptical about his son's interaction with both male and female peers of his school from different classes (strata) of society as she summarized that interaction with peers from all classes can land him into trouble if his son is forced to take recourse to drugs or alcohol and smoking which can be detrimental for his son's health and future. Due to this, he restricts his son to interact mostly with peers belonging to middle-income groups as his mother believes peers from middle-class families do not always encourage any mischievous acts like bullying friends, coercion to engage in activities of smoking and drug addiction. Such class-based interaction choice of Aniket's mother regarding her son helps to understand Bourdieu's concept of habitus as the system of dispositions that is a product of history and it produces practices according to the schemes engendered by history. This class-based interaction conforms to Bourdieu's concept of primary habitus where parents produce a significant impact in internalizing their modes of thinking, feeling, and behaving to their child. So Bourdieu's class habitus which is a reflection of different social positions of people in society was witnessed in Animesh's mother's response regarding her son's interaction with friends based on class. (Bourdieu, 1990)

With regard to housework carried out by adolescent boys, I have mainly explored and studied whether sons engage in household activities along with their parents or individually in North Kolkata. It also deals with the different forms of domestic activities the boys carry out along with the reasons behind carrying out such activities.

The majority of fathers allowed their sons to carry out household chores like buying household items and cleaning their rooms and even assist their mothers in housework like filling bottles and preparing tea they believe that their sons should know household duties and responsibilities which are included in housework and which can be the need of the house anytime.

Rupen's father (50 years, an advocate at Calcutta High Court)responded,

"Rupen does some form of housework along with his mother at times when he is free like cleaning his bed but I am not much concerned about such activities as these are the concern of his mother since he spends most of his time with his mother only."

Rupen's father cites his son doing housework like cleaning his bed and filling water bottles along with his mother. However, due to his busy schedule being an advocate, he is not much concerned about his son's housework as he does not like to control him and also because he regards it to be the forte of his mother. Rupen's father's parenting style reflects an Indulgent parenting style which is characterized as having few behavioral expectations from the child. In this parenting, parents are involved with their children but refrain from placing social impositions or control over them (Santrock, 2007). Simultaneously, Rupen's father though concerned about his son, was not concerned about his son's involvement in housework as he does not like to control him or provide social impositions on him.

On the other hand, Rohan's father (48 years) who is a retired government employee negated about his son handling housework by saying,

"What at all should I tell my son regarding housework? He doesn't need to do household tasks since he is a boy and needs to focus more on his career so that he can become successful and look after his family later as a breadwinner."

Rohan's father does not like to instruct his son to do housework like washing utensils or cleaning the room as she thinks he is a boy whose sole task is to build a career that would earn Rohan a lucrative job so that he can be the breadwinner of the family. Such socially constructed notion of masculinity reflects her 'doing gender' as he performs his gender role by restricting his son from housework and abiding by his gender role of being a careerist so that he can be financially secure by earning a lucrative job for his family. (West & Zimmerman, 1987)

On the contrary, mothers allowed (though not expected) their sons to handle household chores like filling bottles, preparing tea, cleaning one's room and preparing the bed, and also buying household items for daily sustenance.

Romit's mother (42 years) who is a school teacher appreciates his son doing housework,

"I am happy my son does household chores like making tea, cleaning his bed, filling bottles since just like a girl, a boy must also know a few of household activities as that is also

required if anytime my son shifts out of town for his career pursuits. Though I don't expect him to do such work often 'being a man, yet it's good for him to know some sort of housework."

Romit's mother's perception about his son being able to master housework conforms to Lesko's theory where he cited men handling women's skills like housework since household chores are socially constructed to be a feminine task. Though Romit's mother does not expect him to handle housework like washing dishes, or cooking as he is a boy who is socially constructed to hardly handle any household activities, she regards that knowing some form of housework like cooking would help his son when he shifts to another place due to his job. She also regards that competence in such housework helps his son to manage on one's own rather than being dependent on others for housework.(Lesko, 2005)

Soham's mother (40 years) who is also a housewife remarked,

"My son is extremely pampered since childhood being my only son and neither I nor any of my family members allow him to handle housework. To top it all, his board exams are knocking so I always advise him to focus on his studies for a better career in the future."

Even Soham's mother showed traits of indulgent parenting as she believes her son being pampered by family members need not carry out household tasks. Though she is concerned about his studies for a fruitful career, she is not much concerned about his household responsibilities, so do not place greater obligations on him (Santrock, 2007).

Since Soham's mother did not allow her son to handle any kind of housework like cooking, washing dishes, or cleaning, she was 'doing gender' as she was performing her gender role as per the social construction of gender. Such gender performativity of his mother portrayed her conformation to the socially constructed notion of traditional gender roles where men are mostly not allowed to handle any form of housework. (Butler, 1990; West & Zimmerman, 1987)

The fact that neither Rohan nor Soham's mother allowed their son to handle household chores reveals the social construction of gender where men and women are socially assigned to carry out tasks that are socially approved. This also conforms to Carter's research (2014) on the social construction of gender where he claims that family members are socialized into dichotomous traditional gender roles where men learn only masculine tasks and activities socially confined to their gender.(Carter, 2014)

Thus, this study shows that while fathers did not always allow their sons to handle housework as it questioned the masculinity of their sons, mothers mostly allowed their sons to handle all types of housework like cooking, washing, and cleaning.

Since we have already discussed the issue of the involvement of adolescent boys in housework, here I explore whether any conventions regarding attire are mandated by parents upon their sons. It also explores the reason behind such conventions regarding dress codes for their children.

Most sons were not given consent by their fathers to wear all kind of dresses like shorts, and the Bermudas in public places since such kinds of the dress was regarded as explicit and indecent for boys.

Sourav's father (58 years) who is a businessman by profession opined,

"I don't prefer my son to wear any indecent dress like shorts outside the home since the exposure of skin can turn out to be dangerous for him, being a teenager. Though Sourav does not like such mandate always, I do it for his safety and security."

Sourav's father besides being an authoritative parent provides imposition on his son not to wear an explosive dress like shorts when he remains outside which many times leads to a clash of interests between him and his son (Baumrind, 1991). For an adolescent like Sourav, personal choice overrides the social customs of his father. However, though his father regards such an imposition of dress code as 'good' as he is concerned about the safety and security of his son as he is an adolescent, Sourav regards it as a 'bad risk' as such vigilance of his father tends to intervene into his personal space as he enjoys no such freedom in wearing attires of his choice, during his outing with his friends. (Lupton, 1999)

On a similar note, Atul's father (51 years, businessman) also lamented,

"I allow him to wear dresses which cover his body like full pants since it is decent attire. Even Sourav does not wish to wear shorts while going outdoor as he knows that skin exposure is obnoxious and can put his life at stake in the public sphere. "

Though Atul's father allows her son to wear clothes like full sleeve shirts and pants, he does not give consent to him for wearing explosive clothes like half-pants as she regards that skin exposure is not good in public which can put him at risk. Being concerned about the safety and security of his son, he regards the dress code for his son as justified. (Lupton, 1999) Such

dress codes and impositions on dress exist for adolescent girls too since middle-class parents of India give several impositions regarding what kind of dresses they are expected to wear when they are outdoor either with their parents or friends along with restrictions on how to wear such dresses. Parents also specify their daughters the type of clothes appropriate for them which also gives rise to gender inequality in middle-class households. (Kapadia, 2017: 125)

On a similar note, Parthiv's mother (42 years, housewife) summarized,

"I usually allow my son to wear all kinds of attires in public when he is going out with friends. However, that does not mean I allow him to wear casuals like the Bermudas in public. One thing which I appreciate is Parthiv always listens to my advice and never wears explosive clothes in public."

Though Parthiv's mother allows her son to wear all types of attires like short pants to knee length in a public place, there are restrictions for him as he is not allowed to wear the Bermudas in public which can increase the risk surrounding his safety on the streets. However, she also compliments her son for following such a dress code imposed by her. From the narratives, it is also derived that 'hegemonic relations' exists between Parthiv's mother and him. The way they specifically 'do gender' never goes noticed as they hardly understand. They perform or accomplish doing gender by such authoritative activities without even understanding or without even giving a thought (West & Zimmerman, 1987).

On the other hand, Sameer's mother (45 years, houseworker) expressed about her son's attire,

"My son is very choosy about his dresses and does not prefer wearing casual clothes like Bermudas o shorts even with friends. So this serves as a relief on my part."

Imposition regarding dress code for boys continues to exist as Sameer's mother opined that his son does not like wearing revealing clothes like half pants or hot pants outdoor which is a relief for her since she too does not like his son to wear such clothes. Since her son belongs to a traditional conservative joint family, she tries to maintain and inculcate puritanical inhibitions in his son as well to maintain the legacy of conservatism.

About sharing private space with their sons, most fathers expressed that their sons share their private space with them which only includes their peer group.

On the contrary, Roshan's father (46 years) projected his son as whimsical by complaining,

"My son cannot take decisions properly-being at the stage of adolescence and tends to hide about his private life both with me and his mother. At times, I feel worried since if he does not disclose to one of his parents then he might be in danger as he is still not matured enough to handle critical situations if he faces any."

Roshan's father summarized that his son does not share his private life with either of his parents as he likes to make decisions on his own. However, he also feels his son is immature enough to decide teenager since his son does not share about his private life involving interaction with girls and teachers. Such oblivious nature of Roshan worries him as his son is not mature enough to take decisions on his own due to which he is unable to handle the critical situation, especially if he falls into trouble with his friends or when he is in a public place. His father feels that his son is living in an environment of risk where there is the unpredictability of hazards of adolescence when he is fighting with his friends or when he is alone in a public place. Due to this, as a parent, he has no means of being sure where safety lies and where the increasing anonymity aggravates risk anxiety. This is how Lupton describes risk in the phase of childhood where any knowledge about risk is socially and culturally mediated as well as culturally and historically specific. Lupton emphasizes the dominant discourses that shape how people understand and talk about risk, danger, and trust which are created and recreated as socially constructed realities. (Lupton, 2003)

Most mothers in this study willingly expressed that their sons share most of the happenings in their private space (any kind of quarrel or fight with friends, crush over any female friend or senior from school) with them as they share a friendly rapport with their sons which involves a strong affinity of trust and affection.

Since parents are the primary socializing agents, I explore the supervision of parents (both father and mother) in their son's studies. This chapter also deals with how parents from North Kolkata manage to supervise their children's studies even when they are professionally employed throughout the day.

Father of Sounil (50 years) who is a businessman responded,

"Since I mostly stay outdoor for the official purpose (business trips), I as a parent and guardian hardly get time to supervise his studies. However, during weekends I try my best to supervise and guide him in my son's studies and clarify doubts if he has any."

Souvik's father showed concern for his son's studies and career by being a vigil over his studies during weekends due to his hectic work schedule (business trips to New Delhi and Mumbai). He supervises his career so that his son can perform well during exams which would help him to have a secure future with a lucrative job in the future. Such an uninvolved nature of Souvik's father reflects Baumrind's uninvolved parenting style which is characterized by low behavioral control (demanding-ness) and low parental responsiveness coupled with little communication. Though his father fulfilled his son's needs and desires, he was generally detached from his son's life which can even reach the extent of neglecting his needs. (Baumrind: Darling, 1999: 3).

Similarly, Aritra's mother (35 years) who is a school teacher expressed,

"My son is naughty and does not always focus on his studies which must be his prime interest at this age. Since I am a working woman along with his father, I hardly get much time to supervise or guide him in his studies. However, to compensate for the lack of guidance, my son attends tuition classes regularly which prepares him for his studies and also prepares him for exams like IIT-JEE."

Being a school teacher, Aritra's mother also does not get time to vigil over her son's studies due to which her son has to take recourse to tuition classes. However, Aritra's mother seems to be uninvolved in her son's studies being a working woman, though she continues to fulfil her son's desires. This is how Baumrind explained the uninvolved parenting style which is characterized by low behavioral control (demanding-ness) and low parental responsiveness coupled with little communication. Though Aritra's mother fulfilled his son's needs and desires, he was generally detached from his son's life which can even reach the extent of neglecting his needs. (Baumrind: Darling, 1999: 3).

However, Soumya's mother (45 years, central government employee) responded,

"I am extremely busy with my work schedule along with Soumya's father. My son knows about our busy schedule and does all his studies responsibly. Though such lack of supervision worries me at times since he is in his adolescence, I know my son can handle his studies and I try my best to fulfil all his desires so that he can understand both our priorities."

Soumya's mother also showed traits of uninvolved parenting by meeting the physical needs of her son but being mentally distant and disengaged in his son's life. She does not like setting limits for her son and is mostly low in warmth and control. By fulfilling the basic

desire and needs like providing food, housing, and sanitation requisites, Soumya's mother dismisses his son's opinions by staying detached from his studies or personal life. (Baumrind, 1991)

On the contrary, Sahil's mother (private tutor) shared a different perspective,

"Since I am the only guardian of my son, I always try my best to monitor his studies, activities, and whereabouts as a friend. He shares almost everything about her private life which helps me to understand his desires and interests in a better way. However, at times, my son turns aggressive and finds it difficult to focus his attention on his studies which worries me a lot."

Sahil's mother's supervision over his son's activities is a sign of parental monitoring and authoritative parenting style which involves oversight of the youth's activities and whereabouts like his studies, interaction with his friends, and usages of social media like WhatsApp and Facebook. However, such monitoring can produce a negative impact on the child's behavior by restricting adolescent opportunities to risky behavior whereby she cites that due to her surveillance, her son turns aggressive as he does not like to disclose his private life to his mother always. (Stattin and Kerr, 1994). Such surveillance of Sahil's mother also helps to understand Foucault's concept of *surveillance* which he used as an instrument to regulate individual behavior through practices that would help in the construction of the individuals. However, Foucault here mainly refers to the use of disciplinary power which is carried out through various practices and techniques which are being used by the mother to regulate and supervise her son's studies and his personal life through the vigilance over his day to day activities. (Foucault, 1964)

Since parents play an important role in sons' supervision of their activities, especially studies, they also play a decisive role in the provision of their freedom of career aspirations. I explore whether parents provide freedom to their sons if they have any regarding their career along with the reasons behind such provision or non-provision.

Sounak's father (45 years) who is a government school teacher at Shyamaprasad School opined,

"Since my son wishes to pursue his career in music (singing) I do motivate him but with certain conditions. I provide freedom to him with the advice that if he does not shine in academics then only he can be allowed to build a career in music since the musical journey is not flowery but involves hardships and struggle and might not be lucrative as in the future".

Sounak's father provides freedom to his son regarding his choice of career but worries about his son's secure future in Music which cannot always be flowery as it requires hard work and struggle since a Musician's career is filled with hardships. His father also allowed Sounak to develop a career in music provided his son built a career in studies. Such a form of parenting reflects the authoritative parenting style of Sounak's father since he is concerned about his son's career in Music and also wants him to pursue his career in academics as a carer in Music involves hardships and fortune which might not always make his son successful as a Musician. (Baumrind, 1991)

Mothers were mostly liberal to not impose any restrictions on their sons regarding their careers and allow them to pursue their desired careers.

Rohit's mother (36 years) who is a school teacher summarized,

"I provide freedom to my son regarding the choice of his career. I always support him in his career decisions in whatever he wants to pursue in the future. However, I still wish that he becomes an Engineer since it is my dream to see him shine in this profession which demands success."

Though Rohit's mother provides much freedom to his son regarding his choice of career yet she mostly wants her son to become an Engineer by profession which according to her holds a bright secure future with proper remuneration. This is because financial security is crucial for her son as he is a Man. This is how Connell explains hetero normative standards of masculinity where a boy is socially constructed to be physically strong and financially independent so that he can be the financial support of his family anytime **(Connell, 2005)**

The remaining mothers of the study expressed their desire of following the stereotype of wanting their son to be an efficient and successful Doctor/Engineer since such a profession demands reverence, and honor with lucrative success in society.

Table 4: Parental difference regarding freedom of choice of career of their sons:

WHICH PARENTS GAVE FREEDOM TO THEIR SONS REGARDING CHOICE OF CAREER:	NO. OF RESPONDENTS	PERCENTAGE (%)
a. Father	46	46
b. Mother	54	54
Total	100	100

Table 4 shows that 46% of fathers from North Kolkata mostly granted freedom in terms of finance to their sons regarding their career and preferred their sons to pursue Science/ Engineering/ Doctor for a better prospect. They did not want their sons to pursue a career in subjects like Music since a career in Music requires hard work and is filled with hardships. On the contrary, 54% of mothers provided the freedom to their sons regarding their choice of career --- whether he pursues a career in Science or Humanities. However, mothers also expressed their desire of following the stereotype of wanting their son to be an efficient and successful Doctor/Engineer since such a profession demands reverence, and honor with lucrative success in society.

1.1.2 Authoritarian-directive parenting of sons

Rishav's mother (40 years) who is a housewife expressed,

"I stringently treat my son during studies so that he can be more focused on his career, so I do not grant excess liberty to him at this age being an adolescent. Due to this, I don't allow him to hang out with friends after 7:00 pm and supervise all his activities at home."

Even Rishav's mother who is a housewife by profession conforms to the norms of authoritative-directive parenting style since she disciplines her son to be a careerist and does not give him the liberty of going outdoor with his friends after dawn.(7:00 p.m.). This type of parenting style by Rishav's mother portrays Baumrind's authoritarian-directive parenting style where she is highly intrusive of her son Rishav's whereabouts by setting clear timing rules of staying outdoor with his friends. She also conducts surveillance of his activities at home like his studies and usage of social media like WhatsApp, and Facebook as she wants her son to be ambitious and be more focused on his studies, than on interacting with his friends. (Baumrind: Darling, 1999& Foucault, 1985)

However, Mayukh's father (49 years) who is a school teacher summarized,

"I allow my son to stay till 8:00 p.m. provided he can justify his reasons for coming late. If I am not available due to work, he needs to be answerable to his mother for the needful. Yet I hardly force my son to remain indoors after dawn since he might turn aggressive being at this stage of adolescence and can take recourse to a dangerous initiative for which we as parents have to repent forever."

The father of Mayukh who is a school teacher by profession also sets a time frame for his son only if he can give justification for coming late at home. Even in his absence, Mayukh remains answerable about his late arrival at home to his mother since his father believes he is at the critical stage of adolescence where he can become a victim of any kind of atrocities like smoking, gambling, or other illicit activities like eve-teasing. All of such atrocities can reduce a profound impact on his career. However, his father still allows his son to remain outside till late at night as he also fears not allowing his son to spend time outside with his friends can produce a negative impact on his son where he can become stubborn by taking recourse to the dangerous attempt of suicide, being adrift from the social life of friends. Such parenting practice adopted by Mayukh's father is authoritative-directive parenting since he allows his son to stay outdoor till 8:00 pm only if his son can justify his reasons for returning late at home. During his absence, he assigns such responsibility to Mayukh's mother as he regards that his son must be answerable to anyone parent for returning late to the house. Since he is authoritarian and disciplined, so he imposes such restrictions on his son.

Further, Marcel's mother (47 years) who is a school teacher opined,

"Honestly speaking, I do not allow my son to stay outdoor after 7:00 p.m. nor do I trust my son's capacity since he is at the critical phase of adolescence where he is not matured enough to handle himself if he lands into trouble. Society has also turned unsafe both for women and men so I recommend him to come back home by 7:00 pm. Though Marcel does not like such surveillance, I and his father do it to protect him from any risk".

Marcel's mother summarizes that he sets certain inhibitions for his son regarding his staying outdoor after 7:00 pm since he is an adolescent which according to her is a critical phase that can involve issues of safety and security of his son. Though Marcel does not wish to be supervised by his mother, she does it to protect him from any risk involving his safety and security. This is how Lupton explained the concept of *risk during Childhood* whereby he regards that parents feel their children are living in an environment of increasing risks due to the unpredictability of the hazards where parents have no means of being sure where safety lies, the increasing anonymity aggravates the risk anxiety. According to Lupton (2003), the social construction of risk recognizes that any knowledge about risk is socially and culturally mediated as well as culturally and historically specific. Lupton emphasizes the dominant discourses that shape how people understand and talk about risk, danger, and trust which are created and recreated as socially constructed realities. This was also followed by a modernist

notion of risk by Lupton where he discusses good and bad risks. In other words, risk can be of 'good risk' or 'bad risk' (Lupton 1999). This means that the fact that Marcel's mother does not allow him to stay outdoors after 7:00 pm can be a matter of 'good risk' for her as she is concerned about the safety and security of his adolescent son. However, the perception can be different for Marcel as a matter of 'bad risk' as such vigilance of his mother tends to intervene in his personal space where he is spending time with his friends outdoor. (Lupton, 2003) This also portrays the risk anxiety of authoritative parenting of Marcel's mother who fears that his son can be subjected to risks like drug addiction and smoking with his peers due to which she becomes more concerned about the safety of his son.

The parental regulation imposed by Marcel's mother also portrays her concern about her son's security in public space which can land her son in a troublesome situation, by being subjected to sexual assault or being involved in illicit activities like drug addiction. This is how Sur characterizes the vulnerability involved in Childhood which is a period characterized by innocence, and vulnerability while parenthood is responsible for making the right choices for ensuring the safety of children. While on one hand childhood is marked by constant parental vigilance, on the other hand, negotiation also takes place between parents and their children where children refuse to accept parental regulation in the name of safety. (Sur, 2015: 26-27)

On a similar note, Rupen's mother (40 years) who is a school teacher responded,

"I don't allow my son to remain outside the house after dawn (after 7:00 p.m.) Since public place after dawn is not safe and secure and any kind of atrocities can happen to him since he is at a sensitive stage of Adolescence.

The response of Rupen's mother regarding the safety of his son restricts her to allow him to stay outdoor with his friends after 7:00 pm since she regards that her son can become a victim of any illicit activities by being addicted to drugs like alcohol and cigarettes with friends. Such an issue of safety and security conforms to *Lupton's theory of Childhood and risk* whereby he regards that parents feel their children are living in an environment of increasing risks due to unpredictability of the hazards where parents have no means of being sure where safety lies, the increasing anonymity aggravates the risk anxiety. (Lupton, 1999) Rupen's mother summarizes that the spaces which are regarded as safe for children during daylight can be considered dangerous after dawn since such spaces tend to be associated with fear of sexual assault. (Hillman, Adams, and Whitlegg, 1990). Due to such fear of crime and

atrocities against their children, both the parents do not allow their sons to step outside the house after dawn.

Animesh's mother (41 years) whose profession involves preparing handicrafts also pointed out,

"I generally allow my son to stay outdoor only to attend any tuition class, playing outdoor games like Cricket and Football, and to hang around with his peer group only till 7 pm."

A similar response was given by Animesh's mother who allows his son to stay outdoor only for purpose of his tuition class along with spending time in leisure activities like Cricket and Football and spending time with male and female peers at shopping malls. She too allows his son to carry out such activities till 7:00 pm after which her son is not allowed to stay outdoors since she regards that her son can become a victim of any illicit activities by being addicted to drugs like alcohol and cigarettes with friends. This is also how Lupton explained the concept of risk in Childhood which is socially and culturally mediated as well as culturally and historically specific. This type of parenting also portrays *authoritative-directive parenting* since she allows her son to stay outdoor till 7:00 pm to play Cricket/ Football and also to hang around with his friends from his tuition classes. This reflects the disciplinarian nature of parenting by Animesh's mother as she and her spouse are stringent in terms of allowing their son to stay outdoor. (Baumrind, 1991).

The majority of fathers responded that they did not/would not allow their daughters to remain outside their house after dawn (7:00 p.m.) since any public place is not safe and secure for women followed by the increasing violence against women which made them fearsome about the same.

The mother (housewife) of Amitabha (16 years) expressed,

"I generally don't allow him to stay outdoor after 7:00 pm except on account of tuition, since society is not safe for him and he being at a tender stage of adolescence may become a victim of any violence. If such restriction accounts being stringent, then yes, I am so."

Amitabh's mother asserted that she gives impositions on his son and gives a time frame regarding his staying outdoor with his friends as he can become victims of violence and risk which can bring new hazardous situations. As a result, she emphasizes the ways to prevent and eliminate such risks by giving time frames (7:00 pm) to her adolescent son to enter the

house. This is how Ulrich Beck (1992) explains the concept of risk society where the risks are a product of late modernity which gets reflected in their daily life when they socially restrict their son and daughter to return from their outdoor activities after dawn (7:00 pm). They regard that they are liberated from the social networks and constraints of the old order and their center of concern revolves around the prevention of any kind of risks associated with the security of their children which are produced as part of modernization. Amitabha's mother is concerned with a new set of risks and hazards associated with the safety and security of her child when they remain outside after dawn (Beck, 1992) The concern of Amitabha's mother regarding her son's going outside after dawn involves their issues of safety and security also conforms to Deborah Lupton's concept of risk during Childhood. As stated by Lupton, there are differences in terms of context and time of day between children's and parents' perceptions of safe and dangerous spaces in their locality. Amitabha's mother believes that the spaces which are regarded as safe for children during daylight can be considered dangerous after dawn since darkness since such spaces tend to be associated with fear of sexual assault in the mindset of parents (Hillman, Adams and Whitlegg, 1990). Due to such fear of crime and atrocities against their children, his mother does not allow him to step outside the house after dawn. This means that the journey of children initiating from their activities at school to their patterns of leisure provides the context within which parental risk anxiety and children's consciousness of risks are set. (Lupton, 2003) Though Amitabha's mother uses such a form of parenting practice being concerned about his son's safety and security along with risk factors, she also adopts authoritative – directive parenting practice by being disciplinarian and imposing time-bound restrictions on her son of returning home from outdoor within 7:00 pm.

On the contrary, Sounil's mother (46 years) who is a central government employee also responded,

"I give impositions on my son regarding staying outdoor with his friends till 8:00 pm, failing which he has to be answerable about his whereabouts. Though he hardly listens to me at times he reconciles with our situation since we are his parents and instructs him for his betterment."

Souvik's mother despite being a working woman does not allow his son to stay outdoor after 8:00 pm in a public place as she regards that his son can fall prey to violence like sexual assault. Though his son hardly listens to her, he understands his mother's reason behind such

a time frame and returns home by 8:00 pm, as regulated by his mother. This is how Lupton explained the modernist notion of risk where risks can be both good and bad. Therefore the above notion of risk being both „good" and „bad" emphasizes the neutral position of risk, where the magnitude may differ. In other words, risk can be „good risk" or „bad risk" (Lupton 1999). This means that the fact that Souvik's mother does not allow him to stay outdoor after 8:00 pm can be a matter of 'good risk' for her as she is concerned about the safety and security of his adolescent son. However, the perception can be different forSouvik as a matter of 'bad risk' as such vigilance of his mother tends to intervene in his personal space where he is spending time with his friends outdoor. (Lupton, 2003) This form of parenting is also an instance of authoritative-directive parenting practice which has been adopted by Souvik's mother as she gives time-bound impositions on her son to stay till 8:00 pm with his friends outdoor. However, she claims that she gives such imposition on his adolescent son for his betterment so that he does not become a victim of any risks in society.

Hence, the present study showed that the parents (father and mother) think on similar lines about the restrictions they impose upon their sons' remaining outdoor after dawn as it involves issues of safety, security, and risk of their adolescent sons. The parents' fear of the risk to their sons forces them to set time frames for their son's outdoor activities which also involve going around with friends from school and neighborhood.

1.1.3 Permissive parenting of sons

Atul's mother (39 years) who is a school teacher also expressed,

"I treat my only son in a friendly manner being my only issue and so I try to pamper him by providing his freedom in terms of career, hanging around with friends, and letting him share about his private life with me, as his friend. I always encourage him to give his best in whatever he aspires for."

Atul's mother's treatment of her son in a friendly manner is non-traditional and lenient, which does not require maturity and allows self-regulation followed by avoidance of confrontations. She is both nurturing and communicative with his child, often taking on the status of *a friend* than being a stringent parent. This is how Baumrind explains *the permissive parenting style* whereby Atul's mother has fewer demands from his son due to low expectations of self-control. Atul's mother is warm, responsive, and caring towards his son's needs and aspirations. She is a friend to her son and also possesses the traits of being

encouraging as a parent and tends to be evasive of conflicts, harmony oriented with non-restrictive child discipline strategy which characterizes permissive parenting practice as the family hierarchy is flat with role equality between parents and children. (Baumrind: Darling, 1999)

Such form of parenting of Atul's mother conforms to the *non-gendered form of parenting style* whereby she interacts with her sons as a friend than being an astringent parent. She not only imposes lesser temporal restrictions on her son but also has fewer demands from him being responsive and caring towards his son's needs. This is also because of gender equality between Atul and her mother where the family hierarchy of patriarchy does not exist due to which there is a harmony-oriented and non-restrictive child-discipline strategy. Such a form of parenting by Atul's mother also leads to the construction of masculinity of her son as Atul regards his mother as his friend and his environment is also congenial where he can interact and share about his friends with his mother.

On a similar note, Rishav's mother (42 years, school teacher), held an encouraging stance toward his son's freedom to choose his career,

"I always encourage my son to pursue his subject of interest since it is not good to impose on him since he is in adolescence and is learning to make life decisions on his own. Whenever he feels depressed due to lesser academic grades, I act as his friend by praising his good qualities and motivating him so that he can improve his grades for a better future."

The response of Rishav's mother regarding her supervision over her son's studies signifies that parental warmth and support have positive implications on adolescent attitudes and development. Rishav's mother's encouragement for his career shows the parent's concern for her son. Her consistent support, guidance, and motivation have a positive impact on her son which can help him to improve his performance for a better future. (Masten and Coatsworth, 1998).

Such form of parenting of Rishav's mother conforms to the *non-gendered permissive form of parenting style* as his mother always encourages her son to pursue the career of his choice without imposing any of her career decisions. Since Rishav is an adolescent, so she regards that he can take decisions on his career on his own. She also interacts with her son in a friendly manner by providing him support and motivation whenever Rishav receives lesser academic grades so that he can do better in the future. Further, the family hierarchy is also

flat due to role equality between Rishav and his mother. This form of parenting style is permissive parenting since Rishav's mother has fewer demands from his son due to low expectations of self-control. She is also warm, responsive, and caring towards his son's needs and aspirations. She is a friend to her son and also possesses the traits of being encouraging as a parent by providing his son moral support and motivation during his low phase of life.

1.1.4 Uninvolved parenting

Soumen's father (47 years) who is a businessman by profession from North Kolkata shared,

"My son prefers sharing about his private life mostly with his mother as he is closer to her than me as a guardian. I don't try to intrude into his private space nor his affairs (unless he needs) as I believe in giving private space to my son as too much interference can turn out to be detrimental for him."

Soumen's father is non-interfering regarding the private life of his son which involves sharing information about his friends and intimate partner. He does not intrude into his private space nor is he interested in any of his activities due to limited communication with him. He provides freedom to Soumen to discuss his private life with her mother as he knows Soumen is closer to her. This reflects Baumrind's *uninvolved parenting style* which is characterized by low behavioral control (demandingness) and low parental responsiveness coupled with little communication. (Maccoby & Martin, 1991) Though Soumen's father fulfills his son's needs and desires, he is generally detached from his son's life as his son is closer to his mother and shares his private life with her. (Baumrind: Darling, 1999: 3).

However, Soumya's mother (45 years, central government employee) responded,

"I am extremely busy with my work schedule along with Soumya's father. My son knows about our busy schedule and does all his studies responsibly. Though such lack of supervision worries me at times since he is in his adolescence, I know my son can handle his studies and I try my best to fulfil all his desires so that he can understand both our priorities."

Soumya's mother also showed traits of *uninvolved parenting* by meeting the physical needs of her son but being mentally distant and disengaged in his son's life. She does not like setting limits for her son and is mostly low in warmth and control. By fulfilling the basic desire and needs like providing food, housing, and sanitation requisites, Soumya's mother

dismisses his son's opinions by staying detached from his studies or personal life. (Baumrind, 1991)

This means that parents (both father and mother) disciplined their sons in different ways ranging from authoritative, and uninvolved to permissive parenting when their sons share their private affairs with them.

Table 5: Parental styles/ practices adopted over their adolescent sons:

PARENTAL STYLES/ PRACTICES ADOPTED OVER THEIR ADOLESCENT SONS:	NO. OF RESPONDENTS (parents)	PERCENTAGE (%)
1.1.1 Authoritative parenting	50 (father- 40, mother-10)	50
1.1.2 Authoritative- directive parenting	30 (father- 20, mother-10)	30
1.1.3 Permissive parenting	10 (mother- 05, father- 05)	20
1.1.4 Uninvolved parenting	10 (mother- 05, father- 05)	10
Total	100	100

Table 5 depicts the different parenting styles adopted by the parents of their adolescent sons. On one hand, 50 % of parents (40 % fathers and 10 % mothers) adopt the Authoritative parenting style of imposing temporal restrictions followed by other disciplinarian norms of being of adhering to their rules; on the other hand, 30 % of parents (20% father and 10 % mother) adopt Authoritative- directive parenting style by being intrusive about their sons' whereabouts followed by their interaction with peers. This contrasts with the Permissive parenting style adopted by 10 % of parents (5% mother and 5% father) whereby mothers treat their sons in a friendly manner by being warm and responsive towards their needs and aspirations in comparison with the fathers. On the other hand, the remaining 10 % parents also adopts Uninvolved parenting style by meeting the physical needs of their sons but being mentally distant and disengaged in their sons' life.

2. Conclusion

In this chapter, we have examined how parents push boys, both interpersonally and institutionally, to follow an abstract dominant ideal of masculinity that instructs them that, to be masculine, they must avoid the feminine.

This chapter mainly focused on how the masculinity of adolescent sons is constructed through daily life experiences like ------ discipline/surveillance by parents, interaction with the peer group at school and neighbourhood, housework, career aspiration, dress code, and association with the outside world. Parents do ask their sons to perform any household chores (cleaning, cooking, etc.), but hardly ask when there is a sibling (sister) in the family.

This chapter also portrayed how parents convey gender messages to their adolescent sons where they are motivated to conform to the traits of hegemonic masculinity and the culturally valued masculine ideals. It has also shown how society places greater emphasis on the gender identity of men which reflects an andro-centric gender bias that valorizes masculine traits and behavior (Bem, 1993; Lorber, 1994).

Parents allow their sons to hang around with their friends till dawn (7:00 pm) since they don't like to impose any restrictions on their sons. They believe impositions can adversely affect their sons since they are in their adolescence where their sons are on the verge of being matured.

Regarding the interaction of their sons with their peer group, parents allowed their sons to interact freely with both male and female friends and encourage their sons to mix more with female friends since they regard females as being more helpful before their sons' exams and whenever they fall into any troublesome situation.

Fathers allowed their adolescent sons to be involved in sports like Football or Cricket as it helps their sons to develop their talent and also to be physically strong as a boy. On the other hand, mothers expressed their reluctance to any kind of supervision over their son's leisure activities due to their busy schedule and the male breadwinner of the family.

Regarding career aspiration, parents generally allow boys some freedom and space in comparison with a girl child. Parents are willing to undertake more financial burden for boys' career aspirations compared to the girl child.

As far as dresses and dispositions are concerned boys are hardly allowed to wear short dresses in both private and public spheres. Parents imposed restrictions on their sons regarding their outing after dawn as they are at the critical stage of adolescence with increasing risk and anonymity surrounding their lives.

Moreover, the nature of adolescence is defined by the way society defines and constructs the notion of masculinity than by the biological changes during the period. Though adolescents feel free to welcome such autonomy and freedom, their parents find such social transitions to be a challenge to their ability to supervise, and control behavior and other activities in their teenager lives. Thus, parents being the major socializing agents transmit the notion of masculinity as they want their sons to be socially constructed as a man.

CHAPTER 4

LEISURE STYLES OF ADOLESCENT BOYS

Sociology of Leisure was created as a sub-discipline during 1960s after the formation of International Sociological Association's Research Committee 13 (RC13) in 1970. However, sociologists had studied leisure previously either as an offshoot in the studies of workers of specific professions or in the research of *'para'* culture (neighbourhood). (Roberts, 2013)

One of the major contributions in the sociology of leisure was by Stanley Parker, a British sociologist. His principal contribution in the field of leisure is how he constructed the types of work and leisure practices in order to theorize the relation between leisure patterns and occupations. He distinguished three types of leisure patterns---extension, opposition and neutrality (Wyne, 1998). He portrayed a relationship between work and leisure in the extension pattern. While in oppositional pattern, leisure practices that are engaged are contrasted to those associated with work. Finally, Parker specified in the neutrality pattern how leisure is different from work as leisure practices are independent of work (Wyne, 1998).

Neulinger defined leisure in terms of its components like freedom, motivation, goal orientation and relation to work. Leisure can also be understood as time characterized by freedom and non-work activity (Godbey, 2003; Kelly, 1999; Neumeyer&Neumeyer, 1958).Leisure can also be defined as any kind of pleasurable activities where there is freedom from work obligations, family and social time (Dumazedier 1962).This signifies that leisure can be understood as any kind of activity where there is liberty from work obligations and other non-work activities.

However, Elias and Dunning also regards leisure as a spare time spectrum which involves three major activities: spare-time routines (eating, washing, domestic administration); intermediary activities (religious activities, voluntary work) and leisure activities (sports, theatre, partying). These activities are distinguished by a greater degree of de-routinization as such activities do not fall within the routine aspects like studies, work. (Blackshaw: Elias, 2015)

Adolescents regard leisure as a form of relaxation and freedom from their routine life (studying) in terms of time and choice. Adolescents also regard leisure as a condition of easy,

unstructured enjoyment where they can spend time with friends with little emphasis on their work (McMeeking & Purkayastha, 1995). Historically, sociological writings have mostly referred children only in reference to their socialization which was underpinned by the fact that children were of interest to sociology only when they disclosed clues about their adulthood (Alanen, 1992 &Mayall, 2013). The fact that children can also be seen as social actors having their own right were never heard within the sociology of family and education. Further, any form of information about their lives came from their parents or teachers and children were hardly included in any research project as participants (Scott, 2000). However, such scenario transformed with the onset of *'New Sociology of Childhood'* during 1980s where a new paradigm shift in the childhood research in sociology occurred. Such paradigm shift changed the focus of looking at childhood as a period of life to regarding it as permanent and structural segment of society With the advent of new sociology of Childhood, conceiving childhood changed from a biological given to a structural feature which helps to understand how experiences of childhood differ across time and space (Mukherjee, 2020).

Recent research show that the sociology of leisure has come of age enriched with theoretical, empirical and methodological insights into everyday forms of leisure activities. The foundation and trace of such sociological understanding of leisure can be found in the historical emergence and development of sociology which were later institutionalized with the inception of leisure studies as a field of research during 1970s. Since then, Western and Indian scholarship on sociology of leisure has increased along multiple axes --- questioning about the social processes, actors and institutions involved in leisure where leisure has been used to understand social formation. Further, scholars were also prompted to rethink about research on leisure and to establish link with other field of research in order toportray the impact of leisure research on mainstream sociology. Sociology of leisure being governed by assumptions about its object of study and methodological tools, gives leisure a sense of direction and sets its boundaries. (Mukherjee, June 2020: 1-2).

Leisure activity can be of two types ---- *structured and unstructured.* Structured leisure activities are those activities which are freely chosen by the adolescents and which provides physical and mental stimulation to the teenagers. These activities require enrolment with a fee where there is supervision by parents. (Larson and Verma, 1999) These activities require commitment by the adolescents and often include regular participation schedules. It also emphasizes on skill development of teenagers and involves active participation with

sustained attention (Mahiney & Stattin, 2000).Research suggests that structured activities provide a range of opportunities to the adolescents to acquire and practice their physical, social and intellectual skills and also to form network with friends and adults in their life (Larson and Verma, 1999).

Two types of structured activities exist for adolescent boys ---- sports and cultural activities (music, dance, and painting). Adolescent boys' shows greater interest in sports during leisure as such an activity not only helps to improve their physical and mental health but also help to provide life satisfaction (Blecker, 1990). Enrichment in any sports activity is not an obstruction to the academics of the adolescent boys. Bengali middle class parents like their adolescent sons to cultivate their talent through sports. Further, adolescents who participate in sports have a greater intimacy with their parents followed by a better self-identity (Harrison & Narayan, 2003).

Adolescent boys also engage in unstructured leisure activities like interaction with their male and female peers during leisure time not only in their school but also in their neighbourhood. One of the striking features of the neighbourhood of North Kolkata was the presence of ro'ak or street level verandas which used to be a place of adda or gossip with neighbours which was previously known as akhras signifying a place where young Bengali men would regularly visit for the purpose of physical fitness and discuss the issues of the day with their fellows of locality. Nowadays, in North Kolkata, adda is a session of gossip among men and women where they enjoy pleasant time exchanging anecdotes, knowledge and information about their everyday life. Another major feature was that the local boys of the neighbourhood used to play caram and football on the streets of North Kolkata with their peers. Though this is a striking feature of the para culture of North Kolkata, it has also dispersed in other parts of Kolkata as well (Dutta, 2000).

In this context, adolescent participation in structured out-of-school activities like interaction (or adda) with friends who reside in their neighbourhood or 'para' helps to enhance their social and cultural capital. Social and cultural capital involves one's network of relationships along with the values inherent in them which is an important resource to improve the social well-being of adolescents (Bourdieu, 1970).

Since middle class parents place emphasis on cultivation of children through their involvement in enrichment activities, so adolescent boys of North Kolkata also engage in

various enrichment activities like football/ cricket followed by cultural activities like music and dance classes as such activities offers them the opportunity to learn new prowess beyond the education curriculum. They engage in such enrichment activities not only in school premises but also in other public spaces like sports club. Such sports based clubs are run free of charge by the teachers of North Kolkata where boys are taught school activities like music and dance classes. (Holloway & Wilson, 2013).

All adolescents of Bengali middle class engage in some form of unstructured activities which involves 'hanging out' with friends either in their school or in their neighbourhood during weekends which is regarded as adolescent's preferred free time activity. Two components of unstructured leisure activities include --- *family and casual leisure*.

The term *'family leisure'* involves the time that children and parents spend together in free time or recreational activities. It is also a term which is used frequently by scholars in leisure studies. This shows that leisure is not an isolated aspect of life but is inter-related with the social context and daily life experiences. One of the major paradigms which have emerged to understand family leisure is the sociological family leisure / feminist paradigm which analyses the impact of gender relations on family members. It regards family as an inseparable patriarchal organization of society where family reflects the dominant hegemonic notions of masculinity and femininity and represents male power of the patriarch. (Shaw, 1997) Against this backdrop, the present research explores how family leisure is the outcome of negotiation between Bengali middle-class parents and their children where the sons watch movies approved by their parents, especially mother (Roosemalan and Krahn, 1996).

Children of Bengali middle class parents are also engaged in casual leisure activities like interaction with their friends through social media like WhatsApp, Facebook and Instagram. The adolescent boys face lesser restriction as compared to the girls by their parents. However, their lives are supervised due to the risk factor associated with childhood. (Lupton, 1999) Gaming tends to be the frequent activity for adolescent boys, especially car racing and PUBG. However, their peer group suggestion also determines what they want to watch over social media or in case of movies.

This chapter provides an in depth understanding about how high school adolescent boys studying in XIth and XIIth standards and belonging to joint and nuclear families of North Kokata define boyhood and leisure and construct their notions of masculinity in terms of their

different leisure activities both within school and outside their school premises in their neighbourhood (para). This chapter also studies how these adolescent boys negotiate and construct masculinity by engaging in their leisure activities like watching movies, sports, usage of social networking sites, online dating, and body-building, reading magazines.

There is a strong relation between sports and masculinity since sports create an ambience where traditional masculinity like competitiveness, physical prowess and violence are regarded as normative (Connell, 2005). Sports as an activity and a major means of leisure of adolescent boys of Kolkata occupy an important position not only in Western but also in Indian culture. As pointed by Connell, sports played by high school boys is the major means through which masculinity in school is practiced from where they derive their sporting prowess at the reluctance of those boys who did not develop an interest in the activity (Connell, 2005).

Violence and aggression are highly prevalent in sports since it's the only leisure activity during adolescence which helps to construct and practice notionsof masculinity and reinforce the notion of hegemonic masculinity that value physical prowess and dominance. '*Even during international cricket tournaments, sports commentators and spectator valorises the sporting hero by reinforcing the use of aggression as normal and acceptable as a part of the activity*' (Wellard, 2007).

Since the present research also explores how adolescent boys construct their notions of masculinity through their usage of social networking sites, so this chapter has also observed how high school boys of Kolkata construct and practice their notions of masculinity by not only practicing sports but also engaging and being engrossed in other forms of recreation like usage of social networking sites, body beautification and its representation through the social media, and even building intimate relations with their partners over the cyber space (online dating).

Adolescence is an age when boys spend most of their leisure time in accessing and frequent using of social networking sites. The virtual world (social media) produces a profound impact on the lifestyle of adolescent boys which helps in the construction of masculine identity. Internet is the major means of communication for adolescents which is used by them either for instrumental purpose like school work or information gathering or for the means of interacting with their peers over social media ------ email, instant messaging, blogging and

chatting. To top it all, online social networking sites are used as a means to create public or semi-public profiles, connect with other users, and traverse their list of connections which have become common online destination for adolescents.

While on one hand, there are advantages of suing social networking sites in terms of increasing sociability, there also disadvantages associated with its frequent usage, especially among adolescents. Reports indicate that frequent usage of social media by adolescents is leading them to troublesome situation and is even responsible for reducing time other activities including academic, physical and face-to-face social interaction.

The unique aspect of social network is to enable users to articulate and extend their social networks globally which results in connection between individuals. However, some of the participants in social networking sites communicate with people as a part of their social network and not to meet strangers or intimate friendship with them. Due to such networking as a significant feature of these sites, it is labelled as social network sites.

The issues addressed by internet research is myriad varying from issues regarding gender identity in online environment, that is, the identity play and experiences of women, along with the online identity management of boys and men in order to focus on the difference between gender regarding their presentation of self on personal homepages.

Since this research explores whether boys take interest in beautification and body modification, so this chapter studies and explores how high school adolescents construct masculinity by engaging in different forms of body modification and whether such body modification produces an impact on their boyhood.

1. Meaning of leisure

High school boys defined leisure as any free time activity that they utilize for relaxation in order to escape from the mundane and routine aspects of daily life. Leisure time is a time which allows them to engage in their hobbies (i.e. attending coaching classes of football and cricket and playing online games like PUBG with friends) which provides them with peace and satisfaction in life, as defined by McMeeking and Purkayastha where they showed how adolescent boys regard leisure as a condition of easy, unstructured enjoyment where they can spend time with friends with little emphasis on their work (McMeeking & Purkayastha, 1995).

Adolescent boys' meaning of leisure also signifies freedom from obligation like domestic, social and voluntary activities. They regard it as any kind of activity which is chosen for own sake and which brings intrinsic satisfaction and rhythm in daily life of individuals due to the freedom from obligations. Their leisure depends on the personal and social orientations of its usage and the satisfaction which comes from the activities they are engaged in. (Torkildsen, 1999)

1.1 Types of structured leisure activities engaged in and the reasons behind their involvement

This study explores the different types of structured leisure activities the boys are engaged in ------ body-building or gym, playing sports (cricket, football, rugby), learning Music in classes.

Majority of high school boys prefer spending their leisure time by engaging in structured activities like *body-building or gym.* They also preferred *playing different outdoor games like football, cricket during their leisure time where they are enrolled with fees,* learning Music in classes followed by Dance.

Rupen Das, (17 years, XIIth standard) summarized,

"The most preferable leisure activity for me is body-building or gym as I am obsessed with physical fitness. I have always been very much concerned about keeping my health fit due to which gym gives me solace to lead a healthy life. I also tend to ignore those boys in my school who are feminine and are unfit to practice body-building."

Atul (17 years, XIIth standard) also responded in the same way like Rupen by defining body-building as,

"Body building is my favourite activity during leisure. When I used to study in VIIth standard, I used to be thin with no muscular body and was depressed due to such an unhealthy body, whereas my friends always possessed a muscular and healthy body without any form of slimness or stoutness. Now during my XIIth standard, I love my body as now I undergo regular body building during my recess from studies. Having a toned muscular body has given me strength to upkeep with the society's demands of being fit and healthy.

Rupen Das and Atul Biswas prefer body-building or gym as the most preferable leisure activity as he is concerned about his physical fitness and a healthy lifestyle. Thier obsession with physical fitness initiated since the age of 12 years when he just started practicing body-building. Their concern about physical fitness and regime to keep a muscular, well-built body which gives him confident conforms to *'body reflexive practice'* which helps in the construction of hegemonic masculinity as much as it undermines it (Connell, 2005). Rupen is inclined towards body-building in order to abide by the traits of heterosexual masculinity (Labre, 2002; Mosley, 2009; Pope & Phillips, 2000; Smolak & Stein, 2010).

Further, Rupen Das and Atul Biswas's preference and obsession with body-building is also a form of structured leisure activity which provides physical and mental stimulation to both of them as they are enrolled in body-building with fees. These activities require commitment by theses boys and often include regular participation schedules. It also emphasizes on skill development of teenagers and involves active participation with sustained attention (Mahiney & Stattin, 2000). Both of the adolescent boys regularly visit gym which helps in their skill development and also involves active participation with sustained attention. These structured activities provide a range of opportunities to both Rupen and Atul to acquire and practice their physical, social and intellectual skills and also to form network with friends and adults in their life (Mahiney &Stattin, 2000).

Further, Rupen and Atul Biswas's obsession with body-building also reflects how body cooresponds to the present ideas about society where social body constrains how physical body can be perceived. Their passion about body-building also portrays how their bodies have been reduced to ways in which people experience and perceive their bodies into categories constructed by society. This is how Douglas summarized that since the human body is the image of a social system, so she suggested ideas that the body corresponds closely to the prevalent ideas about society (Douglas, 1970). The focus of Douglas' work is the ways by which the social body constrains how the physical body can be perceived and experienced which also sustains a particular view of society. This means that Douglas's work helps to understand the relationship between the social and individual body. However, at times both the bodies are collapsed together by reducing the phenomenology of the individual body to the ways by which people experience and perceive their bodies into categories constructed by the society (the social body). (Shilling, 1993)

By being a regular visitor of gym and being obsessed with body-building, Rupen'sobsession with physical fitness is characterized by traits like ---- narcissism, hyper masculinity, homophobia and authoritarianism. (Klein 1993, 2007). Rupen's obsession with physical fitness and gym originated due to his notion of self-love and self-idealization so that he could curtail his low self-esteem and incompetence in his life. His inclination towards gym was a clear sign of *hyper masculinity or hegemonic masculinity* which is associated with traits like physical strength, emotional detachment, independence, invulnerability and stoicism. Also, his practice of gym regularly has been socially constructed to conform to the traits of authoritarianism where a man characterizing physical toughness and aggression strive to exist and is socially constructed to be the fittest (physically) in society (Klein 1993, 2007)

However, on the other hand, the remaining adolescent boys summarized that they spend their leisure time either by listening to classical music or through classical dance.

On the contrary, Rishav's (16 years, XIth standard) leisure time is different which he summarized,

"Since I learn music since the age of 10 years, so I like practicing it during my leisure time. I am also trained under classical gharana under the titulage of Pandit Ajoy Chakraborty who has helped me to cultivate my music skills too. My parents are happy with my musical skills as they are the ones who encouraged me to learn music since a young age."

Rishav's involvement in music classes since a young age portrays his interest in enrichment activities like music. His engagement in such activity also increased due to the encouragement of his middle class parents who emphasizes on cultivation of their son's skills through his enrolment in enrichment activities like music. Rishav also regards that his parents motivates him to be involved in such activity since music offers him the opportunity to learn new prowess beyond the education curriculum. (Holloway & Wilson, 2013).

Saptak (16 years, XIth standard) on the other hand, chooses his leisure activity as Dance,

"Since I have been trained as a Kathak dancer since the age of 10 years, so I could not think of any better leisure activity than Dance. Though I wish to become a Teacher in future, yet I would like to pursue Dance and teach Kathak dance to my students too. My parents have also supported me in my decision. However, the reaction of my school friends has been disturbing

at times since they tease me for practicing a feminine activity and being enrolled under Dance club in school when most of them are actively involved in Sports under Sports club."

For Saptak, Dnace has always been his favourite structured leisure activity since he used to learn Kathak dance since the age of 10 years where he was enrolled with fees. These activities require commitment by the adolescents and often include regular participation schedules. It also emphasizes on skill development of teenagers and involves active participation with sustained attention (Mahiney & Stattin, 2000).

Being a trained dancer, Saptak was dedicated towards one of his passion. Though he chooses to be Teacher in future, he also wishes to pursue his Dancing prowess with complete support from his parents. However, his interest in Dance has been unwelcomed by his school peers who bully him at times as any form of classical/ Kathak Dance by boys has been socially constructed as a feminine activity and the boys who practice them are regarded as an 'effeminate'. This is because boys are socialized to conform to the traits of being physically strong, tough, emotionally stoic which is absent in Kathak dance. A classical dancer has to be soft, emotional and need to portray his emotions as a part of his act and need not be violent always (unless the act requires). This is how Connell also explains his concept of *submissive masculinity* where men are oppressed by the power of hegemonic/ dominant form of masculinity. Such is the situation for Saptak since he had to portray his softness, emotions during his Dnace due to which most of his school friends used to tease him and interact less with him followed by his choice of enrolment under Dance club, unlike his friends who are actively involved in Sports club which requires conformation to dominant masculine traits of physical strength, toughness and violence with emotional stoicism. (Connell, 2005).

Aritra (17 years, XIIth standard) also responded about his interest in classical dance,

"I always had interest in classical dance since a young age and used to learn dance till the age of 10 years. Though my parents were always not so supportive about my decision to be a dancer as the career is not lucrative, yet I aspire to be a Bharatnatyam classical dancer someday. My father does not support me in my decision as I am a boy."

Aritra's interest and ambition in becoming a Bharatnatyam classical dancer in future initiated since the age of 10 years. Though he did not receive much support from his parents, especially father as the career prospect of classical dancer is not lucrative, yet he aspires to be in the profession in future. Further, his father was unsupportive as he is a boy and any form of

classical dance involves softness, expression of emotions and grace which would make him submissive and deviate him from the socially constructed notion of hegemonic masculinity of showing physical strength, toughness and aggression. (Connell, 2005)

Table 6: Types of structured leisure activities engaged by the adolescent boys (Multiple responses):

DIFFERENT FORMS OF SRUCTURED LEISURE ACTIVITIES ENGAGED BY THE ADOLESCENT BOYS	NO. OF RESPONDENTS	PERCENTAGE (%)
a. Playing sports	50	50
b. Body-building	40	40
c. Learning music in music classes (cultural activity)	10	10
d. Dance (cultural activity)	10	10

Table 6 signifies that 50% adolescent boys prefer playing sports like Football/ Cricket as their preferred structured leisure activity. On other hand, 40 % boys prefer keeping themselves physically fit through body- building. The remaining 20 % either attends and learns Music in classes or prefers practicing dance as their chosen leisure activities.

1.2 Types of unstructured leisure activities engaged in and the reasons behind their involvement

This study explores how adolescent boys construct their boyhood through the different unstructured leisure activities they are engaged in ------ watching movies, playing online games (PUBG or any other preferred game of their choice), *'adda'* with their school or neighbourhood peers, using social media (Whatsapp, Facebook, Instagram), cooking, reading magazines and story books.

Majority adolescent boys regarded that their preferred unstructured leisure activities mainly include watching Action/ Thriller movies either on Netflix or Amazon Prime (as referred by their parents), playing online games (PUBG or any other preferred game of their choice), *'adda'* with their school or neighbourhood peers, using social media (Whatsapp, Facebook, Instagram), reading magazines and story books.

Rupen (17 years, XIIth standard) chooses his preferred watching movies as his leisure activity,

"For me, spending leisure time is mainly watching any kind of Action/ Thriller movies over Netflix/ Amazon Prime but only as referred by my parents, especially Mom. I like Action/ thriller movies since it gives me ideas to seek vengeance over the enemies through a critical perspective. I like watching some English romantic movies too. However, the choice of such movies depends upon my mother."

Since Rupen's preferred unstructured leisure activity is watching Action/ Thriller/ Romantic English movies, he likes to watch such movies as most action/ thriller movies helps him with ideas of vengeance over enemies and the ways to defeat them through a critical stance. He also watches English romantic movies which also portrays his aggressive and soft masculinity as well. However, he is allowed to watch only those English romantic movies which have been approved by his middle-class mother since most of such movies involve scenes which are obnoxious in nature. This is how Rupen's supervision over his unstructured leisure activity conforms to *'family leisure'* which is one of its major components. Family leisure is the outcome of negotiation between Bengali middle -class parents and their children where the sons watch movies approved by their parents, especially mother (Roosemalan and Krahn, 1996).

On the contrary, Sourav ((16 years, XIth standard) summarized his preferred unstructured leisure activity,

"I prefer playing online games over Mobile like PUBG and Mind Craft. PUBG is my favourite as it helps me to fight my enemies (without fear) and there are rewards if I win. Mind Craft helps me to hunt treasure which is hidden. I love playing these games with my school friends mostly and even challenge them. I also enjoy interacting with friends over social media like WhatsApp too."

Sourav prefers spending his leisure time in unstructured leisure activity of playing online games like PUBG and Mind Craft. These are his preferred games since PUBG helps him to defeat the enemies through militant attitude and it portrays how aggressive he can be by defeating all his enemies (friends) and winning over his friends. This is how Connell also explains hegemonic masculinity where a boy is socially constructed to conform to the traits of being physically strong, aggressive and being inexpressive to emotions. Since both the

games require physical strength for defeat with lack of emotional stoicism, so both the games have been the preferred activity for Sourav. Further unstructured leisure activity does not require any enrolment with fees due to which he can easily download the games which is free of any charge. Such activity of playing games is also a form of casual unstructured leisure for Sourav as it helps him to spend time with his friends through the games.

However, Sourav also prefers interacting with his school peers over social media like WhatsApp either for academic help or for entertainment purpose. He likes to spend his leisure time in using social media like Facebook, Whatsapp, and Instagram in order to connect with the global world and stay in touch with their friends and peers as an escape from their monotonous routine activities.

On the other hand, Debdutta (17 years, XIIth standard) regarded interacting with the peers of his neighbourhood as his preferred leisure activity,

"I like to interact and do 'adda' with my 'para friends' during my free time (at around 7:00pm during weekdays and at around 1pm on weekends) as any kind of discussion with them provides me relaxation from the mundane aspects of daily life like studying and attending tuition classes. Without interacting with my friends at least once in two days, I feel lonely and dismal. My mother often tries to supervise about my topic of discussion with my friends but it does not bother me much."

Debdutta's leisure involves interacting with his para friends which is a form of unstructured leisure activitywhich involves 'hanging out' with his friends either in their school or in his neighbourhood (para) during weekends (Roosemalan and Krahn's, 1996; Ghosh, 2014, Pg 86). Debdutta's interaction with the peers of his neighbourhood is a form of unstructured casual leisure as he discusses issues like his favourite movies, games, about his friends at school. Such casual leisure activity is often supervised by his Bengali middle class parents, especially his mother (Mukherjee, 2020).

Debdutta's interaction with his peers at his locality also helps to understand that experiences of children can change in different time and space since he stays in North Kolkata where 'adda' is the prima facie. Further, since Debdutta stays in northern part ofKolkata which is characterized by 'adda' or spending time with friends in para, so his preferred leisure activity was interaction with his neighbourhood peers on ro'ak or at his home. (Ghosh, 2016).

Such kind of casual leisure activity also contrasts with Soumen's (16 years, XIth standard) leisure activity which involves reading magazines and books,

"I generally don't like playing online games or too much interaction with my friends. My favourite leisure activity mainly includes reading magazines like Reader's Digest or Tell Me Why followed by story books like Hardy Boys and at times even Feluda series. Such reading habit has become my hobby now."

On the contrary, Soumen's reading prowess which comes under his unstructured leisure activity helps him to develop critical thinking about society. He likes reading magazines like Reader's Digest and Tell Me Why followed by story books like Hardy Boys and at times even Feluda series since such reading materials not only empowers him with proper knowledge about global affairs but also gives him a thrilling experience of developing a critical stance about reality. This is also because he is influenced by the thriller series of Feluda. Due to this, he prefers to regard his reading prowess as his hobby instead of being engaged in any online game or any interaction with his peers.

Sounak (17 years, XIIth standard) cited his leisure activities,

"During my leisure time, I like writing English poems as it is one of my hobby and I write them to my school peers in order to gather opinion about my writing style from friends. Another hobby which I engage during free time is cooking delicious cuisines like Chicken curry and eating food, especially different Bengali cuisines which I have learnt from my mother."

Sounak chooses his leisure activity as writing English poems which is an unstructured leisure activity since the age of 12 years. He also likes writing and showing to his school peers as they always encourage him to write and takes keen interest in his writing prowess (Roosemalan and Krahn, 1996; Mukherjee, 2020).Besides writing, Sounak also spends his free time by cooking different cuisines, especially Bengali cuisine like Chicken curry and sweets like rosogolla as he is a foodie. Since he takes interest in cooking, so he challenges the notion of hegemonic masculinity since activity like cooking are not socially constructed to conform to the hetero-normative standards of masculinity.

Further, Sounak's leisure time in writing and cooking are different forms of unstructured leisure activities under the category of *family leisure*. It is a form of unstructured leisure as he has acquired such skill from his mother who supervises him on how and what to cook and

even specifies the occasion when he can cook (Roosemalan and Krahn, 1996; Mukherjee, 2020).

Rishav (17 years, XIIth standard) portrays a different hobby,

"As a part of my hobby and leisure activity, I like reading magazines like Men's Health, Reader's Digest and Tell Me Why for the purpose of gathering knowledge not only about physical fitness of men but also about the world."

Rishav's interest in reading Men's Health magazines which is also his favourite leisure activity helps in the construction of masculinity. Rishav regarded that he takes interest in reading magazine like Men's Health as he likes to know about how men maintain physical fitness by physical exercise and strict diet as he also likes to maintain a healthy lifestyle. (Edwards, 1997 & Nixon, 1996). He takes keen interest in reading this type of magazine as it is oriented towards health and well being of men, yet it also discusses other topics related to men's dresses (Edwards, 1997). Rishav's interest in the magazine is also because it is geared at new younger male consumers and embraced changes in their lifestyle. He also saw magazines as a reflection of changes in masculinity (Nixon, 1996).

The remaining boys cited that they prefer beautifying their bodies either through hair styling or tattoo mainly to attain their self-identity among their school peers.

Table 7: Types of unstructured leisure activities engaged by the adolescent boys (Multiple responses):

DIFFERENT FORMS OF UNSRUCTURED LEISURE ACTIVITIES ENGAGED BY THE ADOLESCENT BOYS	NO. OF RESPONDENTS	PERCENTAGE (%)
a. Watching action/ thriller/ romantic movies (with parental consent)	45	50
b. Playing online game s like PUBG/ MIND CRAFT	35	40
c. Adda or interaction with neighbourhood peers	20	10
d. Reading magazines/ story books	08	10

Table 7 signifies that 45% adolescent spends their leisure time by watching action/ thriller/ romantic movies during leisure. On the other hand, 35% of high school boys prefer either

playing online games like PUBG/ MIND CRAFT or using social media like WhatsApp for interaction with their school peers for any academic help or for entertainment purpose. The remaining 20% boys prefer spending leisure time by interacting (adda) with their peers at their 'para' over the ro'ak or at their home, while 10% boys either likes reading magazines like *Reader's Digest, Tell Me Why* or story books like *Hardy Boys and Feluda series or* they like beautifying their bodies through tattoo or hairstyling.

2. Construction of boyhood through the preferred structured and unstructured leisure activities

This study explores how the adolescent boys construct their notions of masculinity through their involvement in their chosesd structured unstructured leisure activities --- from playing sports, watching action/ thriller movies, body-building, adda with their friends, reading magazines and story books and learning dance.

Table 8: Whether involvement in these leisure activities helps in the construction of masculinity of boys:

DOES ENGAGEMENT IN LEISURE ACTIVITIES HELPS IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF MASCULINITY?	NO. OF RESPONDENTS	PERCENTAGE (%)
a. Yes	85	85
b. No	15	15
Total	100	100

Table 8 denotes that 85 % adolescent boys of North Kolkata affirms that their engagement in both structured and unstructured leisure activities like playing sports, watching action/thriller movies, surfing social media, body-building, interacting with 'para' friends helps in the construction of boyhood as through these activities, they are socially constructed to abide by the hetero normative standards of masculinity ----- physical toughness, courage, aggression, emotional stoicism, muscular body. On the contrary, the remaining 15 % negated about constructed of their masculinity through these leisure activities like sports, watching movies, body-building. Instead, they cited other factors like interaction with friends at school and the role of the peer group which helps in the construction of their boyhood.

2.1 Construction of boyhood through activities like Cricket and Football

Since high school boys construct their notions of masculinity in different forms of leisure activities, this study explores how these boys construct and practice their masculinity by playing different forms of sports ---- Cricket, Football, Volleyball, Rugby and other preferred form.

Majority of school going adolescent boys of North Kolkata preferred to spend their leisure time in playing sports like football and cricket since they are trained in such sports since their childhood and are even socialized in watching sports in media i.e. Television. Some of the high- school boys even practice playing football as a part of leisure and hobby and playing such games help them to increase their stamina and keep them physically fit and strong as boys.

Suresh (16 years, XIth standard) also stated,

"Since I'm trained in swimming and have been a consistent winner since the age of 10 years, I prefer swimming as a sport during my leisure activity. Swimming keeps my body healthy and free from all kinds of diseases. When I feel stressed, I prefer swimming which rejuvenates my energy."

Ashish (17 years, XIIth standard) expressed about his leisure activity,

"The only activity which I enjoy doing during my leisure is cycling which is a form of sports which strengthens my body and keeps it fit. I am trained in cycling since childhood by my master, so I make it a point to practice it thrice a week."

Being trained in swimming and cycling since childhood, both Suresh and Ashish regards swimming and cycling as their preferable leisure activity as it helps them to keep physically strong, fit and confident about his body and health. Ashish regarded cycling as his preferred leisure activity which is a structured activity as he has been practicing cycling since the age of 8 years. Such structured activity not only helps to improve his physical and mental health but also help to provide life satisfaction as through the means of sports, he can have a greater intimacy with his parents followed by a better self-identity (Harrison & Narayan, 2003).

Table 9: Types of sports preferred by the high school boys:

TYPES OF SPORTS PREFERRED BY THE HIGH SCHOOL BOYS	NO. OF RESPONDENTS	PERCENTAGE (%)
a. Football	54	54
b. Cricket	34	34
c. Cycling	06	06
d. Swimming	06	06
Total	100	100

Table 9 portrays 54% adolescent boys spend their leisure by playing Football and 34% spend their elsiure time by playing Cricket since such an activity not only helps to improve his physical and mental health but also help to provide life satisfaction. The remaining 12 % prefer cycling and swimming as their preferred leisure activities since it helps them to keep physically strong, fit and confident about his body and health.

2.2 Challenges faced by boys while attending coaching classes of Cricket and Football:

Since the adolescent boys of Kolkata expressed about the relation between their participation in sports and violence, this study intends to find out the problems faced by these adolescent boys during their participation in sports held in their respective schools.

Majority of respondents affirmed about facing problems as discrimination while participating in sports which ranged from physical injuries (leg sprain) while attending coaching classes like football to sarcasm from their peers for not being to perform well in the game as a player.

Soumen (17 years, XIIth standard) cited his problem which transformed his identity as a boy,

"When I was in eighth standard, I faced body shamingdue to my body weight as I was fat and found it uncomfortable to participate in the Cricket team at school with other friends of mine, who were physically fit. This lack of participation in sports and bullying from my friendsforced me to change my weight by joining body-building. As a result, now I am in XIthstandard of school and can freelyparticipate in sports due to my increased body stamina which gifted more confidence to be at par with my other friends (players) in terms of physical strength."

Soumen's incident of how his bullying and body shaming by his school peers at the age of 10 years persuaded him to participate in sports. He cited that his bulky physique made him unfit

and uncomfortable to participate in sports like cricket. This was followed by body shaming by his peers who smirked and bullied him due to his over weight. As a result of this, he started practicing body-building in order to reduce his weight which made him physically strong and fit to participate in the cricket team of his school where his friends accept him whole heartedly. Soumen's incident of bullying portrays how bullying has become a major avenue through which boys possessing hyper masculine traits positions other boys as inferior and assert their dominance over them by ridiculing them as 'effeminate'. The way his friends used to bully him due to his over-weight and stigmatized him into categories like 'faggot', 'sissy', 'nerds', 'geeks' and 'wimps'. (Pascoe, 2007: 54)

Due to the significant impact of mass media and social media followed by the social standards of beautification, adolescent boys are coerced to idolize 'an ideal body' which is muscular.While boys who are able to conform to such socially constructed notion of ideal body are acceptable in society, those boys who are 'feminine' and effeminate are shamed due to their body and looks. Similarly, Soumen was also influenced by the concept of 'ideal body' being bullied by his peers for being bulky. As a result, he acquired low self-esteem, body dissatisfaction and depressive symptoms which coerced him to practice gym in order to conform to the heterosexual standards of masculinity by building a muscular and physically fit body (according to him) (Gam, Kumar, Manar& Gupta, April 2020).

Asish (16 years, XIIth standard) stated his challenge,

"When I don't perform in the sports at school, my friends sarcastically comments and bullies me as 'fag' which affects me mentally. They ostracized me from peer group due to my non-participation in sports. Though such statements of my peers affect me negatively, yet it also encourages me to perform in a better way."

Asish's participation in sports like football in school is also an impact of peer group. He cited of being bullied by his friends when he does not play well during sports event. Since Asish did not participate in sports and failed to perform his masculine tasks of physical competence, toughness, strength and sexual assertiveness involved in the game,he was often stigmatized as *'fag' or 'faggot'*. Fag serves as the discourse with which boys discipline themselves through ridicule or joking relationship with their male peers. Being labeled by 'fag identity',he was bound to face humiliation and harassment from his male peers which went to the extent of his marginalization from his peer group.(Pascoe, 2007: 55). However, his peers accepted him when he re-involved in sports which encouraged him to perform in a better way and to improve his mistakes in performance.

The remaining school boys did not face any such problem while participating in sports as they regarded that any kind of social humiliation sarcasm does not bother them to socially construct their bodies as per the hegemonic standards of masculinity.

3. Attitude of heterosexual boys towards boys who are not masculine

In the present study, I explore the attitude of these adolescent heterosexual boys towards those boys who are not hyper masculine in Sports along with the reasons behind their participation in sports like Football/ cricket.

Majority of high-school boys affirmed their awareness about homosexual boys and responded that homosexual boys have the right to participate in sports like heterosexual boys because they possess the same talent and physical ability like the boys who conform to the hetero normative standards masculinity.

Soumen (17 years, XIth standard) responded,

"Yes boys who are soft and not hyper masculine can participate in any sports, be it cricket or football along with heterosexual boys but they can face humiliation due to their sexual orientation since they do not possess the masculine traits like physical strength, toughness and aggression just like we heterosexual boys possess."

Soumen regards that boys who are not hyper masculine and prefers to be soft and emotional can participate in sports be it football or cricket. However, he also points out that homosexual boys can face humiliation in sports as they do not conform to the hegemonic ideal of masculinity --- physical strength, muscular body, courageous, aggression and inexpressiveness to emotions. (Connell, 2005).

Agnibesh (17 years, XIIth standard) on the other hand, negated about the participation of such boys in sports by asserting,

"I personally do not believe that heterosexual boys who are not masculine can participate in sports (like rugby and football) like heterosexual boys as these boys have sexual orientation which is non-binary and their attitude can distract the heterosexual players which can create problem and affect the game."

On the other hand, Agnibesh asserted firmly that homosexual boys cannot participate in sports like heterosexual boys as they come under non-binary category of gender and also because their homosexual attitude can distract the heterosexual players during the game. His

statement conforms to the concept of *'doing gender'* where he performs his socially constructed gender role of masculinity according to the gendered expectations of society and also to the concept of hegemonic masculinity which accepts and naturalizes the social construction of masculinity through traits like physical strength, capability, aggression (required most during sports) and rejects any kind of homophobic attitude among boys. (Connell, 2005; Davies, 2003; Butler, 1995; West & Zimmerman 1987).Hegemonic masculinity is used as a major tool to understand masculine tendencies and gender identities to reveal the ways in which such hegemonic forms are formed, practiced and negotiated around traits like toughness, strength, heterosexuality and homophobia (Connell: 2005: 68).

Agnibesh's notion about non-participation of boys who are not hyper masculine in sportscan be read as a cultural index of what it means to be a "real boy," while not to be involved in sport and its associated "lad" subculture is to be a "bit of a poof" (homophobic term).He summarizes that homosexual boys are feminine in nature and are regarded as *effeminate* which signifies "weakness, softness and inferiority".(Connell: 2005).

4. Social media and masculinity

4.1 Adolescent boys' idea of social networking sites:

This study explores how high school adolescent boys of Kolkata define social networking sites as a form of leisure activity.

Most of the high school adolescent boys defined Social Networking Sites or Social Media as a form or platform where any person can define him/ herself to others, especially to their friends who are connected through different forms of social media like WhatsApp, Facebook, Instagram or Twitter to explore themselves through their hobbies to other friends and also to stay connected with their friends and family members globally.

RupenBasu (17 years, XIIth standard) defined social media,

"For me, social media which includes WhatsApp, Facebook and Instagram is a forum where people can either be popular to their friends, family and strangers or stoop down to a large extent like harassing their friends in Facebook only as a means of entertainment or pleasure."

Rupen defined social media as a platform which helps to keep in touch with family and friends but also provides a fake virtual identity to enhance his popularity among his group of

close kins (family, friends) and also strangers. Social media platforms like WhatsApp and Facebook also serves as a medium to harass anyone, besides being a medium of entertainment or pleasure.**(Flad, 2010:8-9).**

4.2 Types of social media accessed and used by boys:

Since the high school going boys of Kolkata defined social networking sites or social media in terms of staying connected with their friends and family members, the present study analyzes whether the school boys use any form/ forms of social networking sites followed by their chosen types of social media.

Majority of the high school adolescent boys preferred using Whatsapp as social media most of the time, followed by Facebook or Instagram.

Sourav (16 years, XIth standard) negated using any forms of social media,

"I personally don't like using social networking sites like WhatsApp, Facebook and Instagram to a large extent as I like to spend time by being involved in my hobbies like cooking and also because excessive usage of such sites produces negative impact and often leads to addiction among youngsters."

Though Sourav is an adolescent boy, yet he negated using social networking sites like WhatsApp and Facebook as he prefers spending leisure time in cooking and also regards that social media can produce negative impact on him as a teenager by inviting risks involved with his identity. (Flad, 2010:8-9).

4.3 Reasons behind usage of social networking sites:

Since I, as a researcher have already discussed the different types of social networking sites (Whatsapp, Facebook and Instagram) used by the high school adolescent boys of North, Kolkata, the present study explores the reasons behind the usage of these forms of social media by the school going adolescents.

Adolescent boys mostly use Whatsapp in order to stay connected with their friends regarding sharing of study materials and also to keep in touch with their school teachers who informs them about any news regarding school curriculum. These high school adolescents also use Facebook as aform of social media mainly as a means of entertainment along with the eagerness to stay connected with their friends and family. (Al-Jubayer, March 2013). The remaining adolescent boys of Kolkata uses Instagram in order to flaunt their prowess like

photography since Instagram provides a platform to post pictures clicked by them which serves as a means to increase their popularity.

In contemporary society, adolescent boys do not only seek to manage their impression face-to-face but also in computer-mediated environments especially in social media in order to enhance self-esteem. Managing self-presentation in online communities is an integral part of private and professional life. When these adolescent boys become members of a community, they select the relevant and appropriate pieces of information for their self-presentation to be consistent with the profile of the group. Boys mainly flaunt their bodies in social media all in a bid to increase their reputation among their peers which not only enhances their self-esteem but also increases their craze and reputation among female peers resulting in the formation or construction of masculine identity (Goffman, 1959).

Adolescent boys' uses social media like WhatsApp and Facebook in order to convey an impression to others about his/her interests. This is how Goffman defines impression management as *'the goal-directed conscious or unconscious attempt to influence other's perceptions about a person, object or event by controlling or managing the exchange of information in social interaction'* (Goffman, 1959).

Marcel (17 years, XIIth standard) cited his reason behind frequent usage of social networking sites,

"For me, leisure activity involves using social networking sites like Facebook and Instagram not only to interact with friends but mainly to post pictures flaunting my body since I like body-building and showing the same over the social media. This helps me to attain a self-identity in the form of self-presentation through the comments by my friends. It also increases my popularity in my peer-group at school."

Marcel responded that his self-presentation through flaunting his body muscles over social networking site like Face book helps him to attain self-esteem among his friends. His online identity is constructed in his self identity which is more utopian. This construction of online identity through the means of flaunting his physical appearances to others is more superficial than his true self. The virtual world also facilitates his self and life by increasing self-identity which is customized for an audience. This is how Goffman explained the concept of 'self' in his work on Presentation of Self in Everyday Life.(Goffman, 1959)

Aniket(16 years, XIth standard) cited his reason behind frequent usage of social networking sites,

"I mainly use social media like WhatsApp to talk to my friends and teachers from school regarding my progress in academics and sharing of class notes for examination".

When Aniket uses social media to interact with his teachers and friends regarding academics and sharing of class notes for examination, it is a strategic use of social media to build their image as an academic among the community of academics on social media which conforms to online social capital where wide range of people can be reached instantly online (Bourdieu, 1970).

Table 10: Whether usage of social media leads to the construction of masculinity of the adolescent boys:

DOES USAGE OF SOCIAL MEDIA (WhatsApp, Facebook, Instagram) HELP IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF MASCULINITY?	NO. OF RESPONDENTS	PERCENTAGE (%)
a. Yes	60	60
b. No	40	40
Total	100	100

Table 10 depicts 60% high school boys of North Kolkata agreed that they practice/ construct their notions of masculinity by using social media like WhatsApp and Facebook where the construction of online identity through the means of flaunting their physical appearances (self-presentation) to others is more superficial than their true self. The virtual world also facilitates their self and life by increasing self-identity which is customized for an audience. On the contrary, the remaining 40% do not affirm in constructing their boyhood through the means of self-presentation through social media.

4.4 Relation between leisure and social networking sites

This study intends to find out whether the high school adolescent boys of Kolkata show any relation between leisure and their usage of social networking sites.

Most adolescent boys affirmed about a strong relation between leisure and usage of social networking sites. Using Social networking sites such as Whatsapp& Facebook serves as a

means of entertainment from the mundane aspects of life. By connecting the school adolescents with their peers and close family members, social media serves as a means of recreation through verbal (interaction over WhatsApp call or video call, call or video call over Facebook) and non-verbal interaction (interaction through emoticons, online stickers) over social media.

4.5 Intimacy and social media

As it was already discussed about the types of social media used by the adolescent boys, the cynosure of this study analyzes whether the school going boys of Kolkata engage into any intimate relationship over their chosen social networking sites (Whatsapp, Facebook and Instagram) along with the reasons behind their involvement in online dating over the social media.

Adolescent boys denied establishing or being in any intimate relationship with any stranger over social media as they expressed their reluctance in trusting any stranger over social networking sites like Whatsaap and Facebook where actual identity is hardly disclosed and there are chances of being duped.

Animesh (16 years, XIth standard) disclosed,

"I have been in an intimate relationship with my ex-partner over Facebook, but due to family problems, my relationship did not work out. Since then, I did not get engaged with anyone over social media. However, if situation allows and if I meet my suitable partner either in Facebook or WhatsApp, I may engage into intimate relationship with her".

Animesh, a high school adolescent boy cited that he was into an intimate relationship with his ex-partner whom she has met over face book which resulted for a short time-period. This incident cited by him involves Bauman' concept of liquid love where love relation has turned fragile and where people, especially adolescents can commit and omit bonds.(Bauman, 2008: 25). He mainly emphasizes on the frailty of human bonds and the feeling of instability and insecurity caused by such frailty. This signifies frailty of human bonds where Animesh being an adolescent boy engages in various intimate relationships where they hardly swear their present relationship to be their last. He as an adolescent reduces his demands towards love and so is willing to go through several love-relationships under the impact of communicative technologies (social media like Facebook). Communicative technologies in the context of

cyberspace enable its users to commit and omit bonds as per their choices which is altogether transforming the nature of dating and intimacy among adolescent boys which contributes to a form of liquid love. (Bauman, 2008)

5. Beautification and masculinity

5.1 Willingness to beautify one's body

The present study intends to explore whether the high school adolescent boys of Kolkata construct their notions of masculinity by their willingness to beautify their body through various means of body modification --- Tattoo and Body-peircing.

The adolescent boys expressed their willingness to beautify their bodies since any kind of beautification helps to enhance their self-identity by increasing their sense of appeal to their friends and other individuals in society.

The cynosure of the response came from Soumen (17 years, XIIth standard) who proclaimed,

"I like to beautify my body through the means of body-building in order to keep myself physically fit and strong which also acts as means of attraction towards girls."

Soumen's preferred beautification involves body building as maintain a well-built body helps him to keep physically fit and strong and lead a healthy lifestyle. Further, his body-building nature also serves as a means to attract girls in his school.

Suren (17 years, XIIth standard) also summarized,

"I love beautifying my body either through tattoo or body piercing. I like the way my friends respond to my changed self after beautification which attract more female friends too."

Suren's interest and obsession with beautification of his body through tattoo and body piercing not only helps him to attain a better self-identity but also to look more appealing and become popuar among his female friends. Suren undergoes tattoo and body piercing all in abid to acquire his self-esteem as he likes to work on the presentation of self and body in society which helps to mediate the relationship between an individual's self-identity and their social identity. This is the way by which Goffman also helped to position the body in social interaction through his work on the presentation of self in everyday life but also argues that the management of the body is significant in social roles and relations which helps to mediate

the relationship between an individual's self-identity and their social identity. By this, he conveyed that the body assumes the status of resource which can be managed in myriad ways to construct a particular version of the self. (Shilling, 1993)

RupenBasu (16 years, XIth standard) denied about undergoing any kind of beautification

"I personally don't like to beautify my body through any means since body beautification does not interest me and I emphasize more on any person's inner beauty which is more noticeable in society than outside appearance."

Rupen's notion of beautification has nothing to do with external appearances or looking after his body as he focuses more on a person's inner beauty and nature while interacting with anyone ---- be it his school friends or acquaintances.

Table 11: Whether boys engage in beautification of their bodies to construct their boyhood:

DO ADOLESCENT BOYS ENGAGE IN BEAUTIFICATION OF THEIR BODIES TO CONSTRUCT THEIR BOYHOOD?	NO. OF RESPONDENTS	PERCENTAGE (%)
a. Yes	70	70
b. No	30	30
Total	100	100

The above table (Table 11) shows that 70% high school boys prefers beautifying their bodies through tattoo, body-piercing, body-building or hair styling in order to be accepted in their peer group and also to affirm to the socially constructed standards of beautification of adolescents. The remaining 30% boys do not prefer any form of beautification since they are concerned with their and other person's inner beauty and nature ---- be it school friends or acquaintances.

5.2 Adolescent boys' preferred beautification and the reasons behind such preference:

Since the high school boys expressed their willingness to beautify their body as a fashion orientation, this study explores how these high school boys of Kolkata practice their masculinity by different forms of beautification of their body ---- hair styling, tattoo inscription, body piercing, cosmetic surgery or any other form preferred by the boys.

Hairstyling was the preferred way to beautify the bodies of most adolescent boys since it is trend which helped them to look appealing to others and increase their self-esteem.

Sahil (17 years, XIIth standard) prefers using tattoo as a form of beautification because,

"Tattoo as a form of body beautification is a kind of fascination for me since it is the latest trend among all my friends. SoI like inscribing different tattoos in my different body parts like hands and legs in a bid to attain self-identity and increase popularity among my friends."

Sahil (17 years, XIIth standard) prefers using tattoo as a form of beautification and body modification as his appearance in the presence of his friends in public conveys an impression about him to others which also has an inherent reason for mobilization of his activity. (Goffman, 1959). Further, Sahil's tattoo inscription on his arms also turns his body docile since being an adolescent; he is socially constructed to conform to the standards of beautification like tattoo. This is how Foucault explains the process of 'discipline' on his theory on docile body where he elaborates that body is socially constructed and normalized to suit the social norms and regulations. He regarded docile body as one which can be subjected, sued, transformed and improved as per socially constructed social expectations of beautification. (Foucault, 1975)

The remaining boys expressed their disinterest in any modern ways of beautification like tattoo and body piercing as they prefer projecting their bodies in a simple way which mainly involves their everyday activities of combing hair, washing face and keeping themselves clean and hygienic by taking bath regularly.

5.3 Impact of beautification on boyhood

As the high school boys specified their preferred form of beautification, I have analyzed how beautification of the body produces an impact on these high school adolescent boys of North Kolkata and how it helps them to construct their masculine identity.

Beautification for most school boys produces significant impact on boyhood as through any means of beautification, they can be more appealing and popular along their peers, especially among girls for physical attraction.

As cited by Sounak (17 years, XIIth standard),

"Beautification does not produce any impact either one me or on boyhood as boyhood involves flaunting physical prowess and toughness through the means of body-building and Sports. Beautification has nothing to do with the construction of boyhood."

For Sounak, beautification does not produce any significant impact on boyhood as boyhood for him involves showcasing one's physical strength and toughness through body-building and sports like football or cricket. Boyhood for him is constructed through such physical activities rather than beautification.

6. Conclusion

Boyhood, for the high school adolescent boys of North Kolkata implies the ability to portray one's strength, power, and heterosexuality, sexual assertiveness followed by the hiding of emotions which is often regarded as a 'feminine' trait and unmanly. The teenage boys spend their leisure time by watching movies i.e. Action thriller & suspense. They also preferred playing different outdoor games like football, cricket during their leisure time. High school boys also spend their leisure time by surfing internet especially by accessing social media like Facebook, Whatsapp and Instagram. Body building/ Gym was chosen as one of the preferable leisure activities by most boys. The remaining boys prefer reading magazines like Reader's Digest and Tell Me Why.

Attending coachng classes of Cricket and Football is one of the major forms of leisure activity and also one of the major means of expression of masculinity for the adolescent boys of North Kolkata since playing sports provides both physical and mental strength -------physical prowess being one of the major socially constructed traits of being masculine. Such physical prowess helps the boys to conform to the notions of *hegemonic masculinity* ----strength, physical toughness, capability, aggression. Among sports, high school adolescent boys spend their leisure time in playing sports like football and cricket since they are trained in such sports since their childhood and are even socialized in watching sports in media i.e. Television. Since the high school adolescents attending coaching classes of Football and Cricket as their preferred form of leisure activity, they regarded its as most important structured leisure as such activities not only improves their physical and mental health but also provides them life satisfaction.

These high school youngsters also encountered problems while participating in sports at their respective schools which ranged from physical injuries (leg sprain) while playing sports like football to sarcasm from their peers for not being to perform well in the game as a player.

Adolescent boys also affirmed their awareness about homosexual boys of Indian society with the expression that homosexual boys have the right to participate in sports like heterosexual boys because they possess the same talent and physical ability like the boys who conform to the hetero normative standards masculinity.

The high school going boys defined Social Networking Sites or Social Media as a form or platform where any person can define him/ herself to others, especially to their friends who are connected through different forms of social media like Whatsapp, Facebook, Instagram or Twitter to explore themselves through their hobbies to other friends and also to stay connected with their friends and family members globally.

As another preferred form of leisure activity, these adolescent boys of North Kolkata frequently uses social networking sites like Whatsapp and Facebook in order to communicate with their friends, acquaintances and even their lovers. They engross or engage most of their leisure time in accessing these two social networking sites which helps them to reduce proximity with its varied features (video calling) and also acts as a solace to escape from the loneliness, mundane and hectic schedule of life. Self-presentation in the form of clicking selfies or beautifying themselves through the means of tattoo or body piercing are the various means of enhancing their self-identity in order to attain a higher status and reputation among their peers and also to attract more female friends. Since hegemonic heterosexual masculinity involves portraying the socially acceptable and dominant form of masculinity like strength, muscular, power, so high school boys engage in these forms of self-presentation in social networking sites in order to enhance their self-identity which helps in the construction of their masculine identity or masculinity. These school going adolescents also portrayed a strong relation between leisure and usage of social networking sites since social networking sites such as Whatsapp & Facebook serves as a means of entertainment from the mundane aspects of life. By connecting the school adolescents with their peers and close family members, social media serves as a means of recreation through verbal (language) and non-verbal interaction (through emoticons, online symbols and stickers) over social media.Though social media like WhatsApp, Facebook and Instagram provides a forum to develop and build intimate relationship with strangers, yet high school adolescent boys denied establishing or

being in any intimate relationship with any stranger over social media as they expressed their reluctance in trusting any stranger over social networking sites like Whatsaap and Facebook where actual identity is hardly disclosed and there are chances of being duped.

In terms of beautification of body, the adolescent boys of North Kolkata also expressed their willingness to beautify their bodies since any kind of beautification helps to enhance their self-identity by increasing their sense of appeal to their friends at their respective schools and other individuals in Indian society. Hairstyling was the preferred way to beautify the bodies of the adolescent boys since it is a trend which helped them to look appealing to others and increase their self-esteem followed by inscription of tattoos in different body parts. These high school adolescents undergo different forms of beautification in order to attain a self-identity which helps them to construct their notions of masculinity. Regarding the relation between gender and body beautification, these school going adolescents asserted that everyone irrespective of their gender had the right to be presentable in society and beautify their concerned bodies which helps to boost their self-confidence. Finally, beautification for most school boys produces significant impact on boyhood as through any means of beautification, they can be more appealing and popular along their peers, especially among girls for physical attraction which helps them to construct their notions of masculinity.

Thereby, it can be concluded that the high school adolescent boys practice and construct their masculinity through the means of different forms of structured and unstructured leisure and enrichment activities ----- sports, body- building, listening music or practicing dance, adda with their neighbourhood peers, online games, usage of social networking sites (WhatsApp, Facebook and Instagram), beautification of their bodies along with reading magazines like *Men's Health, Readers Digest and Tell Me Why along with reading books like HARDY BOYS and FELUDA series.*

CHAPTER 5

PEER GROUP AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF MASCULINITY

Peer group is a major agency through which both boys and girls learn to accept their gender roles both in their family and school. Its impact initiates in school and continues as the child progresses beyond the social world. School is an important institution where boys negotiate and practice masculinity by interacting with their peers and engaging in different activities with them. The impact of peer group culture increases as the boys enter adolescence where they construct their notion of masculinity by participation in their peer group. Adolescent boys are accepted in their peer group if they conform to the group norms and accept its styles and values. Similarly, if any boy fails to abide by the group norms, then he is bound to face social humiliation and is often ostracized by the group. This signifies that masculinity is determined by the adolescent boy's status in the peer group (Katerina, 2014: 141).

Male peer group serves as a powerful context that promotes gendered selves involving compliance with hegemonic heterosexual identities and relationships (Frosh et al., 2002; Gilbert & Gilbert, 1998; O'Donnell & Sharpe, 2000). The hegemonic masculine norm in adolescence involves conforming to the practice of heterosexuality, physical toughness, aggression, athleticism, emotional stoicism, and homophobia which provides pathways to achieve or maintain status among his peer group (Phillips, 2005, p. 219). This signifies that adolescent boys perform their masculinity in compliance with the hetero normative standards and hegemonic norms. Since the influence of peer group torments during adolescence, they often control and supervise their members and ostracize them who deviate from the norms of the group. Further, boys who abide by the dominant hegemonic norm of masculinity are not only accepted in their peer group, but they also enjoy the privilege of being at the apex of group hierarchy, while those who do not obey the peer group norms are marginalized. In any other case one puts oneself at risk of exclusion, as peer groups control and monitor their members and punish those who deviate from the norms they set. (Kehily & Nayak, 1997, p. 70) Adolescent boys who fail to obey the hetero normative standards of masculinity are regarded as outsiders through practices like verbal abuse, harassment, bullying, and humiliation. (Martino, 1997)

Four different aspects are involved to understand the importance of peer relations: first is a complex network of adolescent social relations involving peer groups, and romantic relationships. The impact of adolescent peer relations is deeper than social relations in other stages of life which involves the second aspect. Thirdly, two mechanisms are also involved in adolescent peer group ---- acceptance in the peer group and its impact upon adolescents. Finally, the kinds of risk behaviors where the adolescents are involved like drinking alcohol, smoking, use of drugs, and unprotected sex. The involvement of adolescents in this behavior is determined by their peer relations. (Crosnoe McNeely, 2008: 71)

Masculinity is constructed by the peer groups which torment during adolescence. Peer pressure increases during adolescence since it's a critical phase where most boys rely more on their friends or close peers to seek decisions rather than on their parents. Peer group serves as an arena where most boys feel a sense of belonging with their peers which helps them to practice hegemonic masculinity. It is this male peer pressure that has been recognized as a major social concern for adolescents. Within a peer group, peers use their dominant discourses to prove to each other their 'manhood'. However, the peer group is often cited as a treacherous place for boys since they are under continuous pressure and threat from the other members of their group to renegotiate to prove their masculinity (Katerina, 2014: 140).

The importance of peer groups continues from later childhood and reaches its peak till the onset of adolescence. Peers who are of central importance provide companionship and entertainment and even help in solving problems with peers and during studies. Peers also provide emotional support and personal validation to the adolescent boys and also help in the foundation for identity development. In addition to this, boys who engage in positive activities with their peers experience emotional well-being, belief about themselves, and even excel at their academic activities than those who experience problems mixing with peers (Katerina, 2014: 142).

With the onset of adolescence, boys who study in XIth and XIIth standards construct and practice their boyhood by their participation in the peer group. Peer pressure increases since the teenager is a critical phase as most boys rely more on their friends or close peers to seek decisions rather than on their parents which turns out to be fatal for them. Peer pressure also results in a troublesome situation for the adolescent boys of Kolkata. However, adolescent boys even feel a sense of belongingness in the peer group which helps to practice hegemonic masculinity ----- boys can flaunt their strength, capability, toughness, aggression, and courage (Connell, 2005).

This means that peers within a peer group use their dominant discourses (fights, topic of discussion, acceptance or negligence of certain peers, dependence on their friends) to prove to each other their 'manhood' of being strong, powerful, tough, and aggressive. (Gault, 1942) However, this chapter also studies whether the high school adolescent boys of Kolkata, India regards peer group as a treacherous place that imposes a threat on them to renegotiate to prove their masculinity.

Against this backdrop, this chapter explores how peer group produces an impact on adolescent boys who are aged 16-17 years and study in high schools of North Kolkata, West Bengal, India. It also explores and analyzes how adolescent boys include the importance of their friends in their leisure activities. The cynosure of the chapter is how these high school adolescent boys belonging to Bengali middle-class families treat their male and female peers, whether they accept or ostracize them along with the reasons behind their acceptance or marginalization.

This chapter also helps to understand how peer group produces an impact on the construction of masculinity of the high school adolescent boys of North Kolkata not only through the means of their interaction with their peers but also through their topic of discussion with their peer group, interaction with those peers who do not conform to the notion of hegemonic masculinity along with the importance of peer group in their daily lives which helps to understand its impact in the construction of masculinity in India.

Adolescent boys are aged 16-17 years and they study in XIth and XIIth standards located in North Kolkata, West Bengal, India. They belong to nuclear and joint families of the middle class in Kolkata, West Bengal, India. Peer group is regarded by adolescent boys studying in high schools of Kolkata as one of the most important agencies of socialization that helps to regulate culturally acceptable notions of masculinity and femininity. It is mainly through peer groups that boys and girls learn to accept their gender roles after the family. The significant impact of peer group initiates in school and continues as the child progresses and extends beyond the social world (Katerina, 2014: 141).

Despite research on peer groups and masculinity in Western scholarship, hardly any kind of research has been conducted in Indian scholarship. As a result of this, this chapter explores how adolescent boys residing in the northern part of Kolkata construct their notions of masculinity by interacting with their peers.

1. Meaning of boyhood

1.1 Adolescent boys' construction of boyhood

Since peer group is also an important agency of socialization after school, I, in this study explore how high school adolescent boys studying in XIth and XIIth standards of North, Kolkata understand boyhood in terms of hanging out with their friends outdoors.

The majority of boys define boyhood in terms of certain characteristics, like being physically and mentally strong, followed by proficiency in sports, which gets reflected in their aggressive nature. They also responded that boys are socially constructed to be provided with more freedom in terms of hanging out with friends outdoors in comparison with girls. The remaining boys emphasize the physical and mental anatomy between boys and girls in terms of physical strength coupled with boys being more instinctive with innate intelligence as compared to the girls.

Souvik (17 years, XIIth standard) expressed,

"Being a boy denotes being physically different than girls since both the brains of gender differs for me. While men are instinctive and are good at special intelligence, women are good at the remembrance. I being a boy am more rough and tough while my female friends are more gentle and soft. For this reason, being a boy is different from that of a girl."

Souvik's meaning of boyhood draws a comparison between a boy and a girl in terms of their intelligence level. Souvik's definition of boyhood conforms to the hetero-normative standards of hegemonic masculinity----- being physically strong, tough, courageous, capable, aggressive, and capable of subverting women. His meaning of boyhood can be related to the social construction of gender which signifies how males and females are socially constructed to abide by the traits of masculinity and femininity. This is how Connell defines the concept of *hegemonic masculinity* which signifies the configuration of gender practice that accepts the dominant position of men and subordinate position of women (Connell, 2005).

Souvik (17 years, XIIth standard) responded,

"Being a boy, I can define boyhood as being physically strong, having a muscular body along with the ability to handle all kinds of situations, especially securing a lucrative job for a secured future of his family along with respect for women. The fact that I can prowess all the qualities of a boy is an achievement for me too."

For Souvik, being a boy involves being able to conform to the socially constructed traits of hegemonic masculinity--- being physically active, flaunting a muscular body, inexpressiveness to emotions along with finding a lucrative job to support his family which is a major achievement for him since he feels he as a boy has always been socialized to acquire prowess in these qualities. (Connell, 2005)

Rishav (16 years, XIth standard) defines boyhood as,

"Being a boy is the ability to handle all kinds of situations, especially securing a lucrative job for a secured future of his family along with respect for women."

By this, Rishav meant a boy is someone who can handle all kinds of situations ---- be it tough or violent. He also defined a boy as one who needs to be financially independent to secure a lucrative job to look after his parents and also be respectful towards women, be it in his family or society. (Connell, 2005)

Rupen (16 years, XIth standard) gives his understanding of boyhood,

"Being a boy involves certain attributes like strength, courage, physical toughness and not behaving softly and being sissy as such behaviour marginalized me from my friends."

Rupen summarized that as a boy he tries his best to conform to the hetero normative traits of masculinity like physical strength, courage, and violence and does not portray traits of being soft, docile, and behaving sissy with others which labels him as *'emasculate'*. This is how Pascoe explains the concept of 'effeminate' where adolescent boys who display notions of hegemonic heterosexual masculinity marginalize the 'feminine' boys by stigmatizing them into categories of *'faggot', 'sissy', 'nerds', 'geeks'*. Fag or faggot serves as the discourse with which boys discipline themselves through ridicule or joking relationship with their male peers. Those who are labelled by *'fag identity'* are often bound to face humiliation and harassment from their male peers which go to the extent of marginalization of such boys from the peer group. (Pascoe, 2007: 54)

Table 12: The most important indicator of Boyhood/ Masculinity (Multiple responses):

THE MOST IMPORTANT INDICATOR OF BOYHOOD/ MASCULINITY	NO. OF RESPONDENTS	PERCENTAGE(%)
a. Physical strength	45	45
b. Courageous	20	20
c. Aggression	35	35
d. Emotional detachment	10	10

Table 12 shows that 45% of adolescent school boys pointed out physical strength as the most important indicator of boyhood/ masculinity as physical strength followed by muscular body help them to portray their boyhood. The remaining 35% school boys regarded aggression and violence as one of the most important indicators of masculinity while the other 30% included courage and emotional detachment as major indicators of masculinity sine being a boy gets reflected in showing their courage, capability followed by inexpressiveness to emotion in front of their family and friends.

2. Adolescent boys' idea of peer group

This study explores how adolescent boys define peer group and whether peer group plays a decisive role in the construction of masculinity among the adolescent boys. It also explores how peer group produces a positive or negative impact on teenage boys which helps in the construction of their boyhood.

For the majority of school-going boys, peer group plays a significant role in the construction of masculinity since peer group is most helpful during good and bad times of life which inspires these boys to develop trust in these peers. These youngsters also cited the importance of their peers in different ways in terms of their friendship with peer group helps to increase their interactive skills; new friends could help to bring new experiences in their lives. Further, friends with similar mentality and attitudes help to increase and reciprocate knowledge with each other.

Peer group also plays a decisive role for these schoolboys as their peers are not toxic and harmful but inspire these boys to attain physical and mental strength which serves as a means of motivation to excel in academic and non-academic activities (co-curricular activities like singing).

However, Marcel (17 years) studying in XIIth standard pointed out the existence of peer groups for a different purpose,

"Peer group should exist, for me, for bullying and teasing my juniors (which I also engage in) as a means of entertainment and teach a lesson to those juniors who mistreat their female peers or women at large and discuss their sexuality in locked rooms."

Marcel cited that the importance of peer group lies only to bully his junior classmates at school (which he engages in often) since these juniors mistreat their female peers by teasing them in a sexually explicit manner. He also added that he engages in policing the behavior of his juniors as most of them discuss their female peers' sexuality in locked rooms. This is how Whitehead describes *'locker-room culture'* whereby adolescent boys interact with their peers at times in locked rooms as such discussions involve sexually aggressive and explicit talk about women. These discussions of boys with their friends can range from relationships with their girlfriends to treating them as objects of sexual pleasure. If by chance the peer group discovers the discussion of the boys, the boys involved face humiliation and are also ridiculed and bullied so that the speakers can reveal details about women's sexuality. For this reason, the discussion in the locker room takes place silently without the notice of anyone in school. (Whitehead, 2006: 45).

2.1 Interaction with different types of peers at neighbourhood and school

This study explores the type of peers the adolescent boys interacts with, at their schools and in the neighbourhood of North Kolkata.

The majority of High school boys interact with both male and female peers in school while the remaining boys preferred mixing with mainly male peers due to sharing of similar mentality (regarding the choice of games like PUBG and topics involving body-building) and association with the same gender.

Sounak (17 years, XIIth standard) responded,

"I like mixing with both of my male and female friends since both help me in providing notes and books during studies and also in solving any form of problem regarding my fight with other friends in school. I don't discriminate since the support and encouragement for my academic performance are mutual irrespective of gender. I love being around both my male and female peers."

Sounak regards that he interacts with both boys and girls in his peer group in school since all his friends irrespective of gender, help him during troublesome situations like during his fight with any of his classmates. Sounak who regards his friends as pillars of strength socially interact through the means of both verbal and non-verbal communication which helps them to interact with their peers. For this reason, peer relation helps in the internalization of social interaction. Furthermore, from the perspective of interpretative reproduction, children's

activities and social interaction with their peers are matters of high significance because peer culture affects the adult-child routine in the family and cultural spheres (Mead, 1934).

Sounak interacts with both male and female peers as both of them help him during his fight with other classmates at school. He receives rewards from his peers who help him in maintaining his friendship with them (Kelley, 1983). He also summarized that his relationship with his male and female friends is symmetrical as they are of the same age so they have similar thoughts and attitudes. This is how interdependency in peer-group relationships has been enunciated in Social Exchange Theory which occurs in an everyday context. (Laursen & Graziano, 2002)

Sourav (17 years, XIIth standard) summarized,

"I love interacting with my male peers in my 'para'. After returning from tuition at 7:00p.m, I love to have 'adda' with my peers regarding my favourite movie, games, and friends at school, which give me solace and relief from any stress of life."

Sourav's interaction with his para (neighborhood) friends involves 'hanging out with his friends during weekends. (Roosemalan and Krahn, 1996; Ghosh, 2014, Pg 86). His interaction with the male peers of his neighborhood involves topics like his favorite movies, and games, about his friends at school. Such leisure activities provide him solace from any mundane aspects of life like any fight with his peers at school or rebuke from his parents. (Mukherjee, 2020). Simultaneously, since Sourav stays in North Kolkata which is characterized by 'adda' or spending time with friends in para, so he likes interacting with his neighborhood peers, instead of being engaged in structured activities like sports. (Ghosh, 2014, Pg 86).

The cynosure of all responses came from Rupen (16years, XIth standard) who asserted,

"Though I treat both male and female peers equally, I keep distance from female friends as girls are complicated as they interact indifferently and are not as helpful as boys."

Rupen's response regarding his interaction with male and female peers is different since he regards women as complicated by nature since most women interact differently with him. For Rupen, women mostly adopt the tendency of being flirtish and femme fatale with men due to which he fears that he can land in a troublesome situation in school. For all these reasons, he tends to limit his interaction with female peers in his class.

Atul (16 years, XIth standard) lamented,

"In my class, I interact with both male and female friends but since I am more comfortable with my male peers so I keep a distance from most female friends as they behave in a silly manner during any kind of conversation. Being a boy, I try my best neither to act silly nor sissy as my male friends can bully me as 'feminine' since interaction with female friends can challenge my masculinity."

Atul interacts mostly with his male peers at school since the topic of discussion mostly involves sports, movies, and gossip about women. He tries to stay away from female peers as he has been socialized to believe that any girl behaves in a silly manner while interacting with a boy. He even summarized that his female peers at school are sissy too as they don't get involved in any responsibilities of the class like doing work of the teacher concerned due to which the female peers turn oblivious of what is happening in the classroom. Further, Atul regards that his male peers might bully him as an 'effeminate' as his interaction with his female peers can challenge his masculinity. (Pascoe, 2007: 54)

Atish (16 years, XIth standard) summarized,

"I like staying on my own since I don't want to interact with either male or female friends. I am an introvert by nature and only interact if my classmates wish to talk to me for any purpose."

Being an introvert, Atul regards that he refrains from interacting with either male or female friends at school since he likes to stay in his own company which mainly involves spending time in the library by reading storybooks like Agatha Christie, Hardy Boys, and admiring nature. Despite his limited interaction with his male and female peers, he receives all kinds of support and helps from his friends in the class in terms of study materials whenever he turns absent.

The majority of high school boys affirmed about getting all kinds of assistance ranging from help during studies to academic help like sharing notes given by teachers in class, assistance in solving problems of their personal life, emotional support from peers when the boys were marginalized, and ignored by other peers.

On a similar note, Rohan (17 years, XIIth standard) affirmed,

"The school where I study has a congenial environment for me. Teachers always encourage frequent interactions with other classmates by giving group discussions, and class assignments and teaching us through games which increases our interaction with our peers in class. As a result of this, I who used to be an introvert have also learned to be social and interact more with my friends in my class who always try their best to help me either in my studies by providing materials or books when required providing me emotional guidance.

For Rohan, the school, where he studies, provides a comfortable environment where he finds teachers to help him and guide him in every possible way in-class assignments and group discussions and games through which the interaction with his peers in class improves. This has transformed him from being an introvert into an extrovert since now his friends help him in his studies and he can rely on his friends too whenever he requires help in studies or faces problems in class like during an argument with his friends. (Watson, Solomon, Battistich, Schaps, & Solomon, 1989).

2.2 Interaction with peers who takes interest/ practices music and dance:

In this study, I, as a researcher explore whether high school-going boys of North Kolkata interact with their male and female peers at school who takes interest and participates in singing and dancing co-curricular at their schools along with the reasons behind such mixture with their friends.

The majority of schoolboys interact closely with their peers who take interest in both singing and dancing as most boys like listening to music from their peers which serves as a form of relaxation for them. However, some boys do not interact intimately with peers having an interest in music as they treat such peers differently and regard them as *'effeminate'*.

Anish (17 years, XIIth standard) shared his experience of ostracism from peer groups,

"I am always fond of playing flute and have been learning to play since I was 10 years old. Initially, my friends used to interact with me without maintaining closeness since my passion was playing flute and disengaging in Sports. When I started participating in sports, my friends accepted me wholeheartedly. My passion for music abandoned me since most of my friends used to tease me for being a passionate lover and not having the passion to play sports being a boy."

In this narrative, Anish cited his incident of playing flute since the age of 10 years due to which his friends and classmates did not interact with him closely as he did not participate in sports like football too. His friends accepted him as a part of their peer group when he participated in Sport in XIth standard as involvement in sports conforms to the notion of hegemonic masculinity --- physical toughness, courage, valorization of violence, inexpressiveness to emotion. (Connell, 2005 & Wellard, 2007)

2.3 Acceptance/ marginalization from peer group:

In this study, I as a researcher explores whether adolescent boys are accepted or marginalized by their male and female peer group in the schools where they study and how these high school boys studying in XIth and XIIth standards of different schools of North Kolkata respond to such acceptance or ostracism. It also explores the impact of such acceptance and marginalization on high school adolescents.

Adolescent boys are accepted by their peer group since they are helpful to their friends and share similar attitudes towards life like friends and even known their peers since childhood.

Aritra (17 years, XIIth standard) cited about his reason of marginalization from his group of peers,

"Since I take interest in classical dancing and have learnt the dance since the age of 10 years, so whenever I discuss about the dance with my peers, they either ignore the topic or they exclude me in the peer group at school. The mostly discuss about Cricket and Football followed by their body-building classes which does not interest me much."

Aritra's interest in classical dancing does not allow him to be accepted in his peer group at school since classical dance is a dance form which involves softness, grace with proper expression of emotions. Such form of dance, according to the peer group, can make Aritra 'submissive' by challenging his masculinity. His friends expected him to discuss about topics related to Sports like Cricket and Football and body-building as boyhood implies conforming to the socially constructed hetero normative standards of masculinity by showing physical strength, courage, muscular body and violence. Since Aritra's interest in these activities were absent followed by his staunch interest in dance, so his group of peers ostracized him in school as they regard that Aritra has failed to be a *'man'* by showing interest in classical dance and not in activities like Sports and body-building. This is how Connell also explains his notions of hegemonic and submissive masculinity of boys where the traits of hegemonic

masculinity have the power to oppress or subdue the power of those men possessing the traits of submissive masculinity. (Connell, 2005)

Soumen (16 years, XIth standard) also narrated a similar incident due to his interest in classical singing,

"My interest in classical singing has been since the age of 8 years where I have learnt Gharana too. With minimal support from parents, especially father, I faced exclusion from my peer group both at school and my neighbourhood as my friends regard that boys who listen to such form of music and practice classical singing cannot be accepted in their group. They at times laugh and bully me for my choice of songs as they mostly listen to rock music bands. I have tried my best to explain them but they did not show interest. Due to this, I only interact with those peers who encourage me in my interest."

Soumen's interest in classical music and his training in the same never helped him to be accepted by his parents or peer group. Though he received minimum support from his parents, his school and neighbourhood peers would tease and bully him by imitating him as according to them, his interest in classical music would deviate him from the socially constructed standards of being a *'boy'* by making him soft and submissive as such kinds of music involves softness with hardly any kind of usage of physical prowess and toughness. Due to this, his peers marginalize him from the peer group and Soumen also kept his friend circle confined to those peers who listens to his songs and his interst in music. (Connell, 2005)

Simultaneously, Sarad (16 years, XIth standard) also cited a similar incident, though for a different topic of discussion,

"Though I discuss about topics on coaching classes of Cricket and Football, yet my favourite topic of discussion with my friends is regarding story books like Feluda Series, Agatha Christie, Sherlock Holmes and magazines like Readers Digest and Tell Me Why. My friends also like to discuss about different books that I love to read but if I don't participate in any discussion on games like Cricket and Football, they tend to avoid me at times. I also feel disheartened when they do this, but not so often."

Sarad's interest in reading books like Feluda Series, Agatha Christie, Sherlock Holmes and magazines like Readers Digest and Tell Me Why do not always allow him to be accepted by

his friends at school. Though his friends never bully him for his interests and takes interest in the books he reads, yet if Sarad does not participate in games like Cricket and Football or any topic related to these activities, then his peer group ignores him due to which he has to take interest in these activities. Such marginalization from his peer group due to Sarad's interest in story books also signifies how peer group rejection can produce a negative impact on the boy through depression and humiliation. It also portrays how peer pressure torments during adolescence which do not accept those boys who deviates from the socially constructed notion of 'boyhood' by showing interest in reading books and not being engaged in masculine activities like Football and Cricket since such activities requires physical prowess and capability followed by emotional stoicism which remains absent during reading any story book where expression of emotions becomes the prima facie, depending upon the story line. (Kindermann, 2015; Connell, 2005).

However, marginalization from peer group was also evident as stated by Ashish (17 years, XIIth standard) who shared his experience of ostracism,

"I was a victim of marginalization from my peer group which happened when I was over-weight at the age of 13 years during the eighth standard. As a result of such weight, I had to face bullying from my friends whose neglect and ostracism negatively affected me due to which I was bound to join body-building and become physically strong to be accepted by my peers. Presently, my peer group accepts me whole-heartedly as I have turned physically strong like them."

Ashish's story about bullying took place when he was in his eighth standard for being overweight. His friends used to ignore him for being bulky and hardly interacted with him which coerced him to join bodybuilding. Since now he has a well-built body so his friends have accepted him in their peer group since according to them he has acquired physical strength confirming the hetero normative standards of masculinity. This is how Connell explained the concept of hegemonic masculinity where any boy who does not conform to its traits of being physically active, having a muscular body, courageous failed to a man. (Connell, 1995). Since Ashish also failed to obey the hetero normative standards of masculinity, he was ostracized from his peer group through practices like verbal abuse, harassment, bullying, and humiliation. (Martino, 1997)

In the same way, when Ashish was marginalized by his peer group for being fat and overweight, such peer rejection affected his reputation and so to abide by the socially constructed standards of masculinity, he had to modify and reframe his body through body-building. This helped him to regain his reputation and identity in his peer group which accepted him for being able to conform to the socially constructed norms of masculinity. This is how Hinde explained peer group rejection which affects the quality of social exchange and relationships (Kindermann, 2015).

Ashish's incident of bullying portrays how bullying has become a major avenue through which boys possessing hyper-masculine traits positions other boys as inferior and assert their dominance over them by ridiculing them as 'effeminate'. The way his friends used to bully him due to his overweight and stigmatized him into categories like 'faggot', and 'nerd'. (Pascoe, 2007: 54)

Soumen (16 years, XIth standard) asserted that their class in a school comprised of two peer groups -------

"One peer group comprised of arrogant boys who verbally abuses other boys and another peer group which behaves properly with the class. Since I am from proper well-educated family background, I don't like any form of nuisance and henceforth I belong to the latter group and try to ignore any kind of misbehavior from the former group."

Soumen's belongingness to a well-mannered peer group in class at his school portrays that he as a member of the group overemphasizes the positive attributes of his group while pointing out differences with the other group which according to him creates nuisance in a class by creating misbehavior with his group. Such characterization pointed out by him helps in the reinforcement of group identity and group solidarity and unity (Tajfel, 1981).

Suresh (17 years, XIIth standard) shared his experience of marginalization from a peer group in his class,

"I try to stay away from most peers in class as they mostly engage in misbehavior by bullying their classmates and imitating teachers which even goes to the extent of bullying me for their entertainment. For this reason, I interact with few friends in class who express normative social behavior and don't misbehave in class."

Suresh expressed that he rejects any kind of non-normative behavior with his friends like bullying his classmates and imitating teachers and so he is ostracized by his peer group. So when he reinforces culturally appropriate and competent behavior, his peer group tends to be small including friends who don't carry out these activities (Bandura, 2012). Since he does not conform to the normative standards of masculinity by not participating with his friends at school in bullying his classmates, so he is marginalized from his peer group as he has failed to abide by the group norms due to which he faced social humiliation. This signifies that masculinity is determined by the adolescent boy's status in the peer group (Katerina, 2014: 141).

2.4 Boys' experiences of bullying and cyberbullying

As a researcher, I have explored how high school adolescents understand bullying by their peer group at the schools where they study. This study also explores what these adolescent boys understand about cyberbullying by their peer group and how it is different from the concept of bullying.

Schoolboys defined bullying as a form of aggressive behavior which is carried out against others to cause harm to them and also as a means of entertainment. Cyberbullying was defined by school-going boys as any kind of aggressive behavior to cause mental harassment to boys and girls over social media like Facebook, Whatsapp, and Instagram through body-shaming, trolls, or memes as a means of entertainment.

In this study, I as a researcher also analyze whether the high school adolescent boys from North Kolkata encounter or have experienced any form of bullying by their peer group at their schools. It also explores the experiences of such bullying by these adolescent boys. This study also analyzes whether these teenage boys of Kolkata have experienced any kind of cyberbullying by their peers followed by their experiences of such form of bullying over cyberspace.

Most high school boys shared versatile incidents of bullying in their school life. Adolescent boys have been largely bullied by their peers at school for being overweight due to which they had to join body-building to come to shape and turn slim to conform to hetero normative notions of masculinity. As a result, their peer group also accepted them wholeheartedly. Another notable experience by one the adolescent boy was when he was in XIIth standard of

his school where he was bullied by his seniors who coerced him to dance in front of all his schoolmates which was embarrassing for him and produced a negative impact on him.

Another way by which bullying was carried out was shared by Rupam, 16 years from XIth standard,

"When I kept my hair very short when I was in XIth standard, I was highly bullied with sarcastic comments which were a means of entertainment for my peers who labeled me with the name 'Taak' meaning bald."

Rupam's incident of bullying portrays how bullying has become a major avenue through which boys possessing hyper-masculine traits positions other boys as inferior and assert their dominance over them by ridiculing them as 'effeminate'. The way his friends used to bully him due to his short hair and stigmatized him into categories like 'Taak' ostracized him not only from his peer group but also from other classmates at school. This is how Pascoe explains the concept of 'effeminate' where adolescent boys who display notions of hegemonic heterosexual masculinity marginalize the 'feminine' boys by stigmatizing them into categories of *'faggot', 'sissy', 'nerds', 'geeks'*. Those men who fail to perform their masculine tasks of physical competence, heterosexual prowess, strength, and sexual assertiveness are often stigmatized as 'fag' or 'faggot'. Fag or faggot serves as the discourse with which boys discipline themselves through ridicule or joking relationship with their male peers. Those who are labeled by *'fag identity'* are often bound to face humiliation and harassment from their male peers which go to the extent of marginalization of such boys from the peer group. (Pascoe, 2007: 54)

The cynosure of all incidents came from Rishav, a XIIth standard adolescent boy who shared his gruesome experience of bullying,

"When I was studying in IXth and Xth standards of Holy Child School, I became a victim of bullying by the teachers and classmates of the school due to my previous schooling in St. Xaviers, due to which my teachers regarded me as snobbish. I was astonished to notice my teachers treating me in a disrespectful manner which adversely affected my personality due to which I was in severe depression for few years until I changed my school."

Rishav's gruesome bullying by his classmates at his previous school (Holy Child) which coerced him into depression emphasized the impact of bullying and peer rejection on

adolescents. Such marginalization by peer groups faced Rishav in his previous school followed by social solitude increased his victimization by bullying. Due to such bullying, Rishav questioned his socially constructed masculinity due to which he was bound to change his school after two years of schooling at Holy Child School. This is how Olweus explains the concept of bullying of adolescents at school which was faced by Suresh which coerced him to take recourse to illicit means to put his life at stake by engaging in drugs or committing suicide (Olweus, 1993).

The cynosure of the impact of bullying was experienced by Animesh (17 years, XIIth standard),

"I was bullied with abusive gestures and verbal abuses during X^{th} standard in my school as a result of which I decided to resist such misbehavior against my classmates at school. Presently, such bullying has impeded the intervention of my family and teachers at school. For this reason, I've stopped any kind of peer interaction as instructed by my parents."

Being a victim of bullying, Animesh cited that he faced abusive behavior which involved sarcastic comments for being bulky by his classmates and peer group at school. Though such peer bullying has impeded due to the intervention of his parents and teachers at school, he resists any kind of interaction with his friends to avoid this kind of abusive treatment by his classmates at school. He also summarized that such bullying by his friends and classmates lead to his victimization in his peer group which ostracized him as it threatened the group harmony. (Bukowski and Sippola, 2001).

Anmol (16 years, XIth standard) also cited his bullying experience on social media,

"Since I'm an avid social media user of Facebook when I don't receive enough likes and comments on my pictures which I post on Fb, I tend to lose self-confidence and become demoralized. Further, once my friends on Facebook bullied me for looking bulky in a picture which coerced me to deactivate my account too. I need to look good over social media."

Being addicted to social media like Facebook, Anmol cited how the likes and comments on Facebook help to increase his self-esteem. However, he also cited being a victim of cyberbullying on his favorite social networking site as he appeared to be bulky in a picture due to which he had to deactivate his account (Slonje & Smith, 2008). Being presentable on social media is essential for him as it helps to enhance his self-identity. This is how River and

Smith explain cyberbullying whereby verbal abuse occurs between adolescent boys in the form of name-calling, hitting, social exclusion, or sending nasty messages through social media which threatens the victim's self-esteem, status, and sense of belongingness within the peer group. Simultaneously, Anmol was also a victim of cyberbullying over Facebook which threatened his self-esteem in such a way that he had to keep himself off for a few days from social media along with his peer group. (River & Smith, 1994).

2.5 Topic of discussion with school peers

In terms of conversation with the peer group, I as a researcher explore the different forms of the topic of discussion that the teenage boys discuss with their group of male and female peers. This study also explores why these boys discuss their chosen topic of interest with their peer group.

Sambhav (16 years, XIth standard) expressed his favorite topic of discussion with his friends,

"Whenever I am with my friends, I like discussing either Sports or my favorite mobile games like PUBG. My peer group at school and at my para like watching and playing sports which have intrigued my interest also. Being a sports player since the young age of 11 years, watching and playing sports like cricket has always been my passion. I also like playing Mobile games like PUBG since the physical strength involved in the game helps me to portray my manliness. I also love discussing my favorite storybooks with my friends too."

Sambhav expressed Sports and mobile games being his favorite topic of discussion with his peers at school and in his neighborhood. Since he likes watching and playing sports, especially cricket from the age of 11 years, so any kind of discussion about the game with his friends intrigues him most. He also likes discussing Mobile games like PUBG with his friends since playing PUBG requires physical strength and aggression which helps him to conform to the hetero normative standards of masculinity --- physical toughness, violence, and courage (Connell, 2005).

Sourav (17 years, XIIth standard) expressed,

"My topic of discussion with my friends mostly involves gossip about female friends at school or regarding their femme fatale as this is the age to discuss these issues. But whenever we discuss in school, I tend to discuss in locked rooms."

Sourav's interaction with his peers at school in locked rooms involves a discussion about his female peers which is sexually aggressive and explicit talk. This kind of discussion with his friends can range from relationships with their girlfriends to treating them as objects of sexual pleasure. If by chance the peer group discovers the discussion of the boys, the boys involved face humiliation and are also ridiculed and bullied so that the speakers can reveal details about women's sexuality. For this reason, the discussion in the locker room takes place silently without the notice of anyone in school. (Whitehead, 2006: 45).

Anmol and Subodh (16 years, XIth standard) expressed similar topics of discussion with their friends,

"I love discussing topics like cars and gadgets with my friends at school and neighborhood. I also like imitating a few of my male friends as a means of pleasure and gossip among peers."

Both Anmol and Subodh expressed their similar topic of discussion regarding cars, gadgets, and imitating a few of their male friends. Further, this kind of imitation of peers through the means of observation is strong during adolescence when children imitate their peers as a form of entertainment that provides them solace from mundane aspects of life. (Masters, Ford, Arend, Grotevant, & Clark, 1979; Gault, 1942).

2.6 Treatment by peer group based on the co-curricular activities engaged by the boys

Since I have also discussed the types of co-curricular activities engaged by the adolescent boys in their schools, this study explores how the male and female peers of these boys treat them based on such activities engaged by them in their respective schools. I also analyze the reasons behind the treatment of the peer group based on the co-curricular engagement by the high school boys.

Peer-group was a source of encouragement and motivation for the involvement of the adolescent boys in co-curricular activities like Sports as their friends also had an interest in the concerned games.

Sambhav (16 years, XIth standard) summarized,

"Since my favorite game has always been playing cricket since the age of 10 years, so I practice it in school too. Playing cricket has been my co-curricular activity in school due to my passion for Sports (cricket). My friends at school always cheer me whenever I play cricket

during Sports day at school. I too feel satisfied as my peers accept me due to my participation in Sports."

Sports is one of the major forms of co-curricular and also one of the major means of expression of masculinity for Sambhav since playing sports provides him both physical and mental strength ------- physical prowess being one of the major socially constructed traits of being masculine. His acceptance by his peer group at school due to his involvement in cricket makes him satisfied since such physical prowess in playing cricket helps him to conform to the notions of *hegemonic masculinity* ---- strength, physical toughness, capability, aggression, and emotional stoicism (Connell, 2005).

Gaurav (17 years, XIIth standard) lamented,

"When I was 12 years ago, I used to be an introvert and was not accepted by my friends either in my neighborhood or at school. However, when I started participating in Sports like playing football and rugby with friends at school, all my peers accepted me in their peer group due to which my interest in Sports also increased."

Since Gaurav was an introvert and could not socialize with his friends, so his peers also did not accept him in their peer group. However, his involvement in playing football and rugby with his friends at school increased his acceptance in the peer group at school. This portrays how peer pressure works during adolescence where Gaurav had to change his interest to Sports for being accepted in his peer group at school. (Olweus, 1993).

Satish (17 years, XIIth standard) expressed,

"I regard Sounak as my best friend since both of us are music lovers. Though our classmates and other friends accept us in the peer group, at times both of us feel marginalized from other peers due to the topic of discussion which does not involve Sports or girlfriends. In such a situation, both of us spend time together and become each other's solace due to our similar choice in music."

Since Satish and Sounak share similar tastes in music, so the mutual support and help in friendship between them are strong to endure any kind of marginalization from peer groups by their school friends. Though their peer group accepts them both at school and in the neighborhood, their non-participation in masculine activities like Sports at times marginalizes

them from their peer group. Being music lovers, Satish and Sounak's friendship provides them social support for each other during stressful situations of avoidance by their other peers. This is how Rubin and Bukowski explains the protective power of friendship that they both share which protects them from increasing problems posed by peer group during adolescence (Rubin, Bukowski, et al., 2006)

Subodh (16 years, XIth standard) cited,

"I like music since the age of 10 years. I always participate in the Singing competition held at school or in my neighborhood. My teachers also appreciate me including my friends who always encourage me so that I can perform well."

Being a music lover, Subodh summarized that he has always participated in singing competitions both at school and in his neighborhood. He has also received appreciation and motivation from his friends and teachers at school regarding his participation in the competition which encouraged him to perform well. This kind of mutual support between him and his friends serves as a protective power of friendship during adolescence (Rubin, Bukowski, et al., 2006).

2.7 Forced participation in any activity due to peer pressure

Since this chapter analyzes the impact of the peer group in the construction of masculinity among the high school boys of Kolkata, this study finds out whether the adolescent boys studying in XIth and XIIth standards of their schools are coerced to participate in any kind of activity due to peer pressure or are forced to take recourse to any action due to the enormous impact of their group of male and female peers. I have also explored the reasons behind the forced participation in the concerned activities by the high school boys due to peer group influence.

Peer pressure coerced Souvik (17years, XIIth standard) to participate in various activities against his consent,

"Mostly during inter-school competition, I was coerced by my peers to engage in dance and Carol singing which was though not my interest I had to do it for the entertainment of my friends. I was also forced to take recourse to drugs like smoking cigarettes and drinking alcohol due to peer pressure to be accepted by my peer group at my class since marginalization from the group adversely affected me."

Souvik cited a few incidents from his school when he was forced by his friends to dance and sign in an inter-school competition at his school. He also had to take recourse to drugs like smoking cigarettes and drinking alcohol due to peer pressure due to the fear of his marginalization from the peer group which would affect his identity adversely in his class as his friends would bully him and ostracize him from his peer group. This is how Olweus explains the concept of bullying of adolescents at school which was faced by Souvik which coerced him to take recourse to illicit by engaging in drugs, smoking, and drinking alcohol forcefully (Olweus, 1993).

2.8 Adolescent boys' choice of friends in peer group

In this study, I as a researcher also analyze how these adolescent boys chose their friends along with the reasons behind their chosen factors for choosing male/female peers in their peer group.

High-school boys largely pointed out that the factors responsible while choosing friends in their peer group are similar mentality and attitude, their friends should be honest, helpful, and trustworthy, and Peers should be worthy enough never to abandon these boys during any situation of crisis and should consistently support them during both pros and cons in life.

However, Suresh (16 years, XIth standard) expressed,

"My only criteria in choosing my friends are simply by judging him/her on the ground of a good human being. If my friend is humane by nature, I will be able to understand it by his/her actions or gestures. A good human being can always be a great friend of mine. Maybe due to this reason, my group of friends tends to be less."

Suresh regards keeping his peer group as small as he chooses his friends based on his/nature as a good human being. He summarizes that peer group plays a significant role in his life due to which he is careful in choosing his friends who are ready to help him during any troublesome situation like during examinations and safeguarding him from all problems (drinking, smoking, bullying).

3. Conclusion

Peer group is an arena that requires absolute collusion. By identifying with the group norms and accepting its styles and values, one affirms one's membership in the group which

enhances one's sense of belonging and well-being. If any man in the peer group violates or fails to abide by the group's norms, he is bound to face social sanctions or social humiliation and is often ostracized by the group members.

High school-going adolescent boys of North Kolkata define boyhood as being physically and mentally strong followed by proficiency in sports and enjoying freedom more than women. These boys assist their peers who also assist them for different purposes like sharing notes from the classroom or solving problems related to their friends or personal life. The acceptance of marginalization from peer groups produces a significant impact since boys express their optimism when accepted by their peer group which helps to maintain group norms. When boys are ostracized by their peers from peer groups they feel a sense of dejection which forces them to get engaged in illicit activities of drug addiction and commit suicide.

Adolescent boys studying in XIth and XIIth standards of their school are even bullied by their peers in their class for not being able to conform to the traits of hegemonic masculinity. Such bullying can range from name-calling to social exclusion from the social universe. Cyber-bullying is also rampant among high school goers with the development of new technologies since high school boys spend most of their leisure time on social media. Such bullying and cyber-bullying increase the victimization of the boys due to which they tend to lose their self-identity. Peer pressure can also produce a detrimental impact on the school-going boys since these boys take recourse to drug addiction and intimacy with their girlfriends is coerced by friends.

However, the peer group provides an enormous impact on the construction of masculinity since peer group is most helpful during good and bad times of life which inspires these boys to develop trust in these peers. In other words, masculinity is determined by the status that a boy enjoys in his peer group. Moreover, male peer group acts as a powerful context to promote gendered selves often involving compliance and engagement in hegemonic heterosexual identities and relationships.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

This research work entitled *'Construction of Masculinity: A Sociological Study of High School Boys in North Kolkata'* is an attempt to explore the unearthed area of how masculinity is constructed among the high school boys of North Kolkata. The kernel departure point here was to explore how boys studying in XIth and XIIth standards of high schools practice and construct their notions of masculinity both at home through their interaction with parents, parental supervision of their activities along with leisure activities in the neighborhood and at school. It also explores the construction of masculinity of these adolescent boys through their interaction with peers in their neighborhood and school. This is one of the most significant and unexplored areas in Gender Studies since most research work has been conducted on femininity, but hardly much research work has been carried out on the social construction of masculinity of adolescent boys of Kolkata. However, extensive research work has been conducted on Masculinity by Raewyn Connell and Wayne Martino in the West. Research on men and masculinities was initiated in the 1990s as a result of the feminist movement which questioned and challenged the stereotypical conceptualization of masculinity and regarded masculinity as a gendered category. Due to this, the stereo-typification of masculinity was challenged in various debates to develop an in-depth understanding of men and masculinities and also to understand the way gender identities are formed. This was followed by significant changes in traditional gender roles in western societies during the late twentieth century which lead to the social construction of masculinity.

Masculinity as a concept is context-specific, fluid, and historically oriented. It is constructed within the context of gender relations. Research has shown that we 'do gender' every time we conduct conversations (Connell, 2002). Thus, masculinity is not a product of the top-down socialization process but can be understood concerning other men and women (Wetherell 1996; Connell 2002). Masculinity in the global South including India is a social construct of young men which provides a framework to understand the cultural rules related to their actions. Even in Indian society, those men who are unable to conform to the hetero normative masculine traits of *'aslimard'* (real man) in terms of their physical (good physical and handsome looks along with muscular body), attitudinal and behavioral attributes are subjected to social humiliation and bullying and are even stigmatized as '*emasculate*' or

'effeminate'. These physical attributes like physical strength, toughness, aggression, and courage are regarded as important since they provide the mechanism for Indian boys to use their sexual prowess to attract and satisfy women (Dhume, 2018: 2). Thus, according to the socially constructed norm of masculinity, a real man is expected and socialized to be daring, courageous, and violent and should possess the capability to prove his manhood (Dhume, 2018: 2). Although there is a detailed agreement regarding the role of masculinity which creates vulnerabilities among young men, there exists little information on the construction of gender identity and how such identity is enforced in young men's lives (Dhume, 2018: 3). It is in the light of this literature and due to the lack of substantial research in India that the present research attempts to explore how different forms of masculinity are constructed among the adolescent boys of Kolkata.

Since adolescence is viewed from a social constructionist perspective, so social constructionists have studied how adolescence as a social category is constructed and also how adolescents form their identities through their interaction with family, and peer groups and by engaging in different leisure activities. This perspective challenges the dominant discourses like developmental discourse and helps to understand the family dynamics within which meaning takes place. It also unravels the meanings and identities that adolescents hold and promotes their agency. This signifies that adolescence is a socially constructed category. Though the paradigm of socialization helped to explain the major aspects of class and culture in Sociology of Childhood Research, a 'new' paradigm emerged that thoroughly criticized the socialization paradigm claiming it to be outdated for contemporary research and is known as *'interpretative/ cultural reproduction'*. (Hung & Fung, 2020: 1)

Since school is also one of the most important socializing agents where boys construct their notions of masculinity, so this arena has been chosen along with the family for the present research. As adolescents change from elementary to high school, it is mostly accompanied by greater social expectations for the autonomy of the adolescent followed by the school and parents. During elementary school, parents are informed by the concerned teachers regarding assignments and school activities along with feedback about children's school performance (Steinberg, 1994: 25). The reliance of parents on their children is also required regarding school activities and studies to maintain a balance between autonomy and control. To maintain the balance, the parents not only inculcate self-direction and autonomy in the academic performance of their children, but also tries best to control and monitor the

children's educational activities so that academic potential can be met (Steinberg,Lamborn, Dornbusch, and Darling, 1992).

Adolescence is a critical phase where the children are exposed to self-selected media. Any lack of vigilance by the parents leads the adolescents to participate in different recreational activities (forced by peers). As a result of this, the recreational time of the adolescents' increases which involves the usage of media like television, movies, magazines, the Internet, and especially social media (Roberts, Foehr, Rideout, and Brodie, 1999). As children step into adolescence, they regard themselves matured enough to exert control over the content of their media than younger children. This kind of increasing control over media consumption on the part of adolescents results in their self-socialization. It is during this time that parents find it difficult to supervise or monitor their activities. Research shows that the majority of boys can use and access mass media and social media within the privacy of their bedroom which makes parental supervision more difficult. (Roberts et al., 1999).

When adolescents spend their leisure time using self-selected media like music, TV, and social media which may not be consonant with their parents' goals and values, parental vigilance becomes the only solace to stay abreast of their teen's recreational activities. Adolescents spend much of their free time utilizing self-selected mass media, such as music and TV, which may not be consonant with parents' socialization goals or values. Parents prefer monitoring to stay abreast of their children's activities of recreation and they also depend upon their children to keep them informed of their academic development activities.

Researchers now analyze spoken and written data to analyze how masculinity is constructed by adolescent boys both in their homes and at their schools. The role of family (parents) in the construction of masculinity of their adolescent sons is also one of the increasing emphases of this research. The present study has attempted to use the mixed-method approach to explore how adolescent boys studying in XIth and XIIth standards of North Kolkata construct their notions of masculinity at home (parents) through their different leisure activities and their interaction with different peers in neighborhood and school. Despite the nascent beginning of the arena of masculinity in India, the issue of masculinity construction among high school-going adolescents was yet to be considered of significance in the discipline of Sociology of Gender.

Against this backdrop, I was a researcher who emphasized how adolescent high school boys constructed their notions of masculinity both at home (role of parents) and at school through

the different leisure activities that they engage in along with the types of male and female friends they mix with at neighborhood and school.

The first chapter of the study has attempted to introduce this new and unexplored arena of Masculinity in the Sociology of Gender with emphasis on the historical overview regarding the origin of masculinity along with the perception of different sociologists regarding the notion of masculinity. This chapter not only helped to present the different dimensions of the relationship between masculinity and gender but also enriched one's knowledge about masculinity both within the global context and also within Indian society. The review of relevant literature not only helped in framing the research questions and exploring the research objectives but also helped to conduct the research effectively through its guidelines. This chapter also provided the major theoretical frameworks which can be applied in the research and how such theoretical understanding can be related to the empirical findings of the study. This chapter also discussed the rationale and objectives of the study followed by a detailed discussion of the methodology of the research.

The third chapter focuses on the interpretation of the findings of the study on the major objectives of the study. In this chapter, the analysis is based on respondents' accounts regarding the role of the family in the social construction of masculinity of adolescent schoolboys.

Nowadays, in North Kolkata, adda is a session of gossip among men and women where they enjoy a pleasant time exchanging anecdotes, knowledge, and information about their everyday life. Another major feature of the northern part of Kolkata is that the local boys of the neighborhood play caram and football on the streets with their peers. Another aspect that is observed is the traditional concept of flying pigeons in the afternoon by the people residing in the families. The neighborhood (para) not only comprises of rich men but also middle-class people. Such a middle class is regarded as the repository of certain social values involving sexual taboos and the consumption of liquor that neither the rich nor the poor possessed. Such a disciplinary aspect of the neighborhood culture characterizes the Bengali bhadralok of the northern part of Kolkata. The fact that the northern part of Kolkata is comprised of a traditional family lineage or bonedi could be reflected in the implicit structure of the familial authority where some individuals were deferred due to their profession of being a doctor, teacher, or lawyer or from some respectable profession. Such practice continues to exist in the northern part of Kolkata even to this day. (Ghosh, 2016)

This research which depicted the traditional part of Kolkata was also characterized by joint families where spouses lived with their children along with parents. The adolescent boys play with other boys in the neighborhood which keeps the para culture strong even to this day. This chapter aims to analyze how the family (parents from the Bengali middle class) produces a significant impact on the adolescent life of youngsters followed by the impact of parental supervision on their adolescent sons. It also explores how parents help to construct their son's masculinity through their disciplinarian attitude, supervision of their sons' activities including interaction with peers, impositions regarding attires, career aspirations, and association with the outside world. This chapter also portrayed how parents convey gender messages to their adolescent sons where they are motivated to conform to the traits of hegemonic masculinity and the culturally valued masculine ideals. It has also shown how society places greater emphasis on the gender identity of men which reflects an androcentric gender bias that valorizes masculine traits and behavior (Bem, 1993; Lorber, 1994). Concerning the interaction of their sons with their peer group, parents allowed their sons to interact and mix freely with both male and female friends and encourage their sons to mix more with female friends since they regard females as being more helpful before their sons' exams and whenever they fall into any troublesome situation. Regarding career aspiration, parents generally allow boys some freedom and space in comparison with a girl child. Parents are willing to undertake more financial burden for boys' career aspirations compared to the girl child. As far as dresses and dispositions are concerned boys are hardly allowed to wear short dresses in both private and public spheres whereas girls are not given such freedom since wearing such attires can question their sanctity and are often criticized for wearing inappropriate attire. Parents imposed restrictions on their sons regarding their outing after dawn as they are at the critical stage of adolescence which involves risks associated with the safety and security of their sons.

In this research, respondents (both father and mother) have been questioned regarding their definition of the boyhood of their adolescent sons. The departure point here is to discern whether parents help in the construction of masculinity of their adolescent sons through the way they treat and discipline their sons and whether they give consent for outdoor activities after dawn followed by consent to carry out housework. The present research also finds out whether these parents provide freedom to their sons regarding the choice of career and other unstructured leisure activities like playing games, watching movies with friends, using social media (WhatsApp, Facebook, Instagram), and sharing private life with their parents.

Due to the change in social definition, adolescents experience loosening of impositions followed by increasing autonomy and opportunity in various spheres. Though adolescents feel free to welcome such autonomy and freedom, their parents find such social transitions to be a challenge to their ability to supervise, and control behavior and other activities in their teenage lives. Thus, the the first chapter is concluded with the ideology of parents being the major socializing agents who transmit the notion of masculinity as they want their sons to be socially constructed as a Man.

The next chapter provides an in-depth understanding of how high school adolescent boys studying in XIth and XIIth standards define boyhood and leisure and construct their notions of masculinity in terms of their different structured and unstructured leisure activities. This chapter also studies how these adolescent boys of North Kolkata negotiate and construct masculinity by engaging in their leisure activities like attending coaching classes to practice football/ cricket, usage of social networking sites, online dating, and body-building, beautification of their bodies, and reading magazines and storybooks.

Boyhood, for the high school adolescent boys, implies the ability to portray one's strength, power, heterosexuality, and sexual assertiveness followed by the hiding of emotions which is often regarded as an 'effeminate'. The teenage boys spend their leisure time watching movies i.e. Action thrillers & suspense. They also preferred playing different outdoor games like football, and cricket during their leisure time. High school boys also spend their leisure time surfing the internet especially by accessing social media like Facebook, Whatsapp, and Instagram. Bodybuilding/ Gym was chosen as one of the preferable leisure activities by most boys. The remaining boys prefer reading magazines like Reader's Digest and Tell Me Wh

High school boys engage in two types of structured leisure activities ---- sports and cultural activities (music, dance, and painting). Adolescent boys show greater interest in sports during leisure as such activity not only helps to improve their physical and mental health but also helps to provide life satisfaction (Blecker, 1990). Enrichment in any sports activity is not an obstruction to the academics of adolescent boys. Bengali middle-class parents like their adolescent sons to cultivate their talent through sports. Further, adolescents who participate in sports have a greater intimacy with their parents followed by a better self-identity (Harrison & Narayan, 2003).

Adolescent boys also engage in unstructured leisure activities like interaction with their male and female peers during leisure time not only in their school but also in their neighborhood.

One of the striking features of the neighborhood of North Kolkata was the presence of ro'ak or street-level verandas which used to be a place of adda or gossip with neighbors which was previously known as akharas signifying a place where young Bengali men would regularly visit for physical fitness and discuss the issues of the day with their fellows of the locality. Nowadays, in North Kolkata, adda is a session of gossip among men and women where they enjoy a pleasant time exchanging anecdotes, knowledge, and information about their everyday life. Another major feature was that the local boys of the neighborhood used to play caram and football on the streets of North Kolkata with their peers. Though this is a striking feature of the para culture of North Kolkata, it has dispersed in other parts of Kolkata as well (Dutta, 2000).

In this context, adolescent participation in structured out-of-school activities like interaction (or adda) with friends who reside in their neighborhood or 'para' helps to enhance their social and cultural capital. Social and cultural capital involves one's network of relationships along with the values inherent in them which is an important resource to improve the social well-being of adolescents (Bourdieu, 1970).

Since middle-class parents emphasize the cultivation of children through their involvement in enrichment activities, so adolescent boys of North Kolkata also engage in various enrichment activities like football/ cricket followed by cultural activities like music and dance classes as such activities offer them the opportunity to learn new prowess beyond the education curriculum. They engage in such enrichment activities not only on school premises but also in other public spaces like a sports club. Such sports-based clubs are run free of charge by the teachers of North Kolkata where boys are taught school activities like music and dance classes. (Holloway & Wilson, 2013).

All adolescents of the Bengali middle class engage in some form of unstructured activities which involves 'hanging out with friends either in their school or in their neighborhood during weekends which is regarded as adolescents' preferred free time activity. Two components of unstructured leisure activities include --- *family and casual leisure*.

Adolescent boys also engage in family leisure which is the outcome of negotiation between Bengali middle-class parents and their children where the sons watch movies approved by their parents, especially their mother (Roosemalan and Krahn, 1996). Children of Bengali middle-class parents are also engaged in casual leisure activities like interaction with their friends through social media like WhatsApp, Facebook, and Instagram. Adolescent boys face

lesser restrictions as compared to the girls' parents. However, their lives are supervised due to the risk factor associated with childhood. (Lupton, 1999) Gaming tends to be a frequent activity for adolescent boys, especially car racing and PUBG.

This chapter provides an in-depth understanding of how high school adolescent boys studying in XIth and XIIth standards and belonging to joint and nuclear families of North Kolkata define boyhood and leisure and construct their notions of masculinity in terms of their different leisure activities both within the school and outside their school premises in their neighborhood (para).

Since the high school adolescents regarded activities like Football and Cricket as their preferred form of leisure activity, they portrayed a strong relation between attending coaching classes on such activities and Violence. Attending coaching classes to practice Cricket/ Football involves emotional stoicism as any kind of injury/ pain during the game does not affect the players. Often any kind of physical abuse (Fight) with the opponent team leads to aggression followed by the tendency of losing the game, which produces a negative impact on the losing team. These high school youngsters also encountered problems while participating in such activities at their respective schools which ranged from physical injuries (leg sprain) while playing sports like football to sarcasm from their peers for not being to perform well in the game as a player.

Adolescence is an age when boys spend most of their leisure time accessing and frequent users of social networking sites. The virtual world (social media) produces a profound impact on the lifestyle of adolescent boys which helps in the construction of masculine identity. Internet is the major means of communication for adolescents which is used by them either for instrumental purposes like schoolwork or information gathering or for the means of interacting with their peers over social media ------ email, instant messaging, blogging, and chatting. To top it all, online social networking sites are used as a means to create public or semi-public profiles, connect with other users, and traverse their list of connections which have become the common online destination for adolescents. The high school going boys defined Social Networking Sites or Social Media as a form or platform where any person can define him/ herself to others, especially to their friends who are connected through different forms of social media like Whatsapp, Facebook, Instagram, or Twitter to explore themselves through their hobbies to other friends and also to stay connected with their friends and family members globally.

As another preferred form of leisure activity, these adolescent boys frequently use social networking sites like Whatsapp and Facebook to communicate with their friends, acquaintances, and even their lovers. They engross or engage most of their leisure time in accessing these two social networking sites which helps them to reduce proximity with its varied features (video calling) and also acts as a solace to escape from the loneliness, mundane and hectic schedule of life. Self-presentation in the form of clicking selfies or beautifying themselves through the means of tattoo or body piercing are the various means of enhancing their self-identity to attain a higher status and reputation among their peers and also to attract more female friends. Since hegemonic heterosexual masculinity involves portraying the socially acceptable and dominant form of masculinity like strength, muscular, and power, so high school boys engage in these forms of self-presentation on social networking sites to enhance their self-identity which helps in the construction of their masculine identity or masculinity.

These school-going adolescents also portrayed a strong relation between leisure and usage of social networking sites since social networking sites such as Whatsapp & Facebook serve as a means of entertainment from the mundane aspects of life. By connecting the school adolescents with their peers and close family members, social media serves as a means of recreation through verbal (language) and non-verbal interaction (through emoticons, online symbols, and stickers) over social media. Though social media like WhatsApp, Facebook, and Instagram provides a forum to develop and build an intimate relationship with strangers, high school adolescent boys denied establishing or being in an intimate relationship with any stranger over social media as they expressed their reluctance in trusting any stranger over social networking sites like Whatsaap and Facebook where actual identity is hardly disclosed and there are chances of being duped.

In terms of beautification of body, the adolescent boys expressed their willingness to beautify their bodies since any kind of beautification helps to enhance their self-identity by increasing their sense of appeal to their friends at their respective schools and other individuals in Indian society. Hairstyling was the preferred way to beautify the bodies of adolescent boys since it is a trend that helped them to look appealing to others and increase their self-esteem followed by the inscription of tattoos on different body parts. These high school adolescents undergo different forms of beautification to attain a self-identity which helps them to construct their notions of masculinity. Regarding the relation between gender and body beautification, these school-going adolescents asserted that everyone irrespective of their gender had the right to

be presentable in society and beautify their concerned bodies which help to boost their self-confidence. Finally, beautification for most schoolboys produces a significant impact on boyhood as through any means of beautification, they can be more appealing and popular along with their peers, especially among girls for physical attraction which helps them to construct their notions of masculinity. Thereby, this chapter is concluded by emphasizing how high school adolescent boys practice and construct their masculinity through the means of different forms of leisure activities ----- sports, usage of social networking sites (WhatsApp, Facebook, and Instagram), body-building along with reading magazines like *men's health, readers digest and tell me why.*

The next chapter explores how peer group produces an impact on adolescent boys who are aged between 16-17 years. With the onset of adolescence, boys who study in XIth and XIIth standards construct and practice their boyhood by their participation in the peer group. Peer pressure increases since the teenager is a critical phase as most boys rely more on their friends or close peers to seek decisions rather than on their parents which turns out to be fatal for them. Peer pressure also results in a troublesome situation for the adolescent boys of Kolkata. However, adolescent boys even feel a sense of belongingness in the peer group which helps to practice hegemonic masculinity ----- boys can flaunt their strength, capability, toughness, aggression, and courage (Connell, 2005).

This means that peers within a peer group use their dominant discourses (fights, topic of discussion, acceptance or negligence of certain peers, dependence on their friends) to prove to each other their 'manhood' of being strong, powerful, tough, and aggressive. (Gault, 1942) However, this chapter also studies whether the high school adolescent boys of Kolkata, India regards peer group as a treacherous place that imposes a threat on them to renegotiate to prove their masculinity.

It also explores and analyzes how adolescent boys include the importance of their friends in their leisure activities. The cynosure of the chapter is how these high school adolescent boys belonging to Bengali middle-class families interact with their male and female peers, whether their peer group accepts or ostracize them in the neighborhood and at school along with the reasons behind their acceptance or marginalization. This chapter helps to understand how peer group produces an impact in the construction of masculinity of the high school adolescent boys of Kolkata not only through the means of their interaction with their peers but also through their topic of discussion with their peer group, the impact of peer pressure,

treatment of peers who do not conform to the notion of hegemonic masculinity along with the importance of peer group in their daily lives which helps to understand its role in the construction of masculinity in India.

One of the major institutions and agencies of socialization where masculinity is carried out and practiced is school. Bullying is the one of the major avenues through which boys possessing hyper-masculine traits positions other boys as inferior and assert their dominance over them by ridiculing them as 'effeminate'. Boys who display notions of hegemonic heterosexual masculinity marginalize the 'feminine' boys by throwing and stigmatizing them into categories of 'faggot', 'sissy', 'nerds', 'geeks', and 'wimps'. (Pascoe, 2007: 54) Boys who fail to perform their masculine tasks of physical competence, toughness, strength, and sexual assertiveness are often stigmatized as 'fag' or 'faggot'. Fag serves as the discourse with which boys discipline themselves through ridicule or joking relationship with their male peers. Those who are labeled by 'fag identity' are bound to face humiliation and harassment from their male peers which go to the extent of their marginalization from their peer group.

Peer group is an arena that requires absolute collusion. By identifying with the group norms and accepting its styles and values, one affirms one's membership in the group which enhances one's sense of belonging and well-being. If any man in the peer group violates or fails to abide by the group's norms, he is bound to face social sanctions or social humiliation and is often ostracized by the group members. These boys assist their peers who also assist them for different purposes like sharing notes from the classroom or solving problems related to their friends or personal life. The acceptance of marginalization from peer groups produces a significant impact since boys express their optimism when accepted by their peer group which helps to maintain group norms. When boys are ostracized by their peers from peer groups they feel a sense of dejection which forces them to get engaged in illicit activities of drug addiction and commit suicide. Adolescent boys studying in XI and XIIth standards of their school are even bullied by their peers in their class for not being able to conform to the traits of hegemonic masculinity. Such bullying can range from name-calling to social exclusion from the social universe. Cyberbullying is also rampant among high school goers with the development of new technologies since high school boys spend most of their leisure time on social media. Such bullying and cyberbullying increase the victimization of the boys due to which they tend to lose their self-identity.

Peers and friends perform multiple functions in adolescents' lives. Peer group plays a dynamic role in the life of adolescents, the influence of which shifts across adolescence Adolescents can evaluate the perspective of others and develop self-judgment by experiencing the values and norms of the peer group. Since most groups are oriented toward fostering identity development, certain developmental changes in peer pressure supersede the group differences. There are different activities that teenagers learn by exposure to peer models like dressing style, language use, musical interest, leisure activities along with the method of handling social relationships by observing and emulating peers. This shows that peer groups offer various opportunities to adolescents both for role-taking and role-modeling. The most important aspect of adolescence is the ability to be admired, accepted, and defined in one's role within the peer group (Berndt, 1982).

Social acceptance is an urgent prerequisite for most adolescents due to the importance of peers in adolescents' lives (Berscheid and Walster, 1972). Acceptance and popularity in peer-group are related to similar attitudes and perceived attractiveness (Cavior and Dokecki, 1973). A study on peer-group culture and masculinity showed that in terms of the popularity of peer group, adolescents emphasize more on physical characteristics and abilities (handsome and sportive for young men and a pretty and nice figures for women (Hendry and Jamie, 1978)

This chapter also explored the negative impact of bullying on certain adolescent boys who shared their experiences of being bullied, dejected, and ostracized by their peers. Bullying leads to victimization since it forces adolescents out of the group as it threatens group cohesion and harmony (Bukowski and Sippola, 2001). Homophobic bullying is an example where members define gay-like behavior as a deviant act. Peer pressure can also produce a detrimental impact on the school-going boys since these boys take recourse to drug addiction and intimacy with their girlfriends is coerced by friends. Adolescent boys possessing the traits of hegemonic masculinity like physical strength, toughness, capability, and aggression often marginalize and bully those peers and classmates who fail to conform to the notion of hegemonic masculine identity ---- those boys who take interest in music, classical dancing, who does not take much interest in sports or other masculine activities in school. Being the last stage of childhood, adolescence is regarded as one of the crucial phases where peer pressure torments and produces a detrimental impact on a boy's future. (Pascoe, 2007: 52) Such detrimental impact is produced on adolescent boys through the means of bullying in school or cyberbullying.

The most important topic of discussion among schoolboys was regarding Sports like Cricket, Football, especially the Indian Premier League since they believe Sports is the sole activity that keeps them physically strong and fit, thereby conforming to the socially constructed notions of masculinity. However, these high school adolescents of North Kolkata denied discussing any personal issues like their girlfriend or sexual intimacy with their friends publicly since they are socially constructed not to disclose about emotions to others publicly but in a confidential manner. However, peer group does play a decisive role in the construction of masculinity since peer group is most helpful during good and bad times of life which inspires these boys to develop trust in these peers. Research suggests that any kind of children's friendship provides social and emotional support during stress or transition. This protective power of friendship turns out to be an important source of help for children belonging to a large peer group (Rubin, Bukowski, et al., 2006). In other words, masculinity is determined by the status that a boy enjoys in his peer group. Moreover, male peer group acts as a powerful context to promote gendered selves often involving compliance and engagement in hegemonic heterosexual identities and relationships.

This signifies that masculinity is a collective gender identity that is socially constructed and fluid. There cannot be one universal masculinity but multiple masculinities within the gender order. Masculine construction is not fixed but a result of the configuration of practices generated in a changing structure of relationships in everyday life. The changes in society affect the contours of masculinity which changes over time. Besides the dominant form of masculinity, subordinate masculinities also exist among marginal groups which are oppositional to the dominant masculinity. Herein, parents and peer group produces a significant impact on the construction of masculinity of the schoolboys followed by the leisure activities they engage in.

Finally, it can be concluded by emphasizing the initiatives that can be taken regarding the social construction of gender, especially masculinity among high school adolescent boys to understand the how masculinity is constructed by the parents of their family and also the significance of their leisure activities and peer group in the construction of masculine identity of these boys of Kolkata.

Furthermore, new research in the sociology of gender, especially masculinity should be welcomed along with femininity in India to create an egalitarian society in terms of gender. Thereby, more fruitful research on the construction of masculinity in adolescent boys needs

to be given significance so that sociologists in India can widen the horizon of academic discipline to a more enriching one.

6.1 Limitations of the Dissertation

From a positivist empiricist paradigm, the major limitation of this study is its lack of quantitative survey data as there has been an emphasis on qualitative data to explore how high school boys construct and practice their notions of masculinity at home (parents) and through the different leisure activities they engage in followed by the impact of peer group they interact with at school. This study has attempted to explore the construction of masculinity of the Bengali middle-class adolescent boys through parenting, different forms of leisure, and interaction with peers. Since the study was conducted on Bengali middle-class parents and their sons, the other two strata (upper and lower class) along with other non-Bengali communities (like Marwari, Gujarati) have been left out of the sample. The restriction in the sample is also due to the snowball sampling method where participants referred to boys of similar class positions. Further, mainly boys and their parents belonging to the Bengali community have been interviewed, excluding non-Bengali communities. The majority of the adolescent boys are aged between 16-17 years and studying in schools in North Kolkata.

This research has been carried out by interviewing 100 school-going boys and their parents belonging to the middle class of society. However, the present research also suffers from limitations like limited sample size followed by time constraints. Further, this study has been carried out mainly in the northern part f Kolkata, excluding the other zones like Central and South Kolkata. Thereby, extensive large-scale research needs to be carried out for an in-depth understanding of the construction of Masculinity among the high school boys of Kolkata.

6.2 Future Research Potentialities

This study provides further avenues of research. Since this study does not address the role played by other agencies like close kins staying in the family (other than caregivers) along with teachers in school, a productive site of research would be to look at how masculinity is constructed through their interaction with the close kins and teachers at school.

Future research can also focus on the neglected arena of how teenage girls construct their notions of femininity through their parental interaction, their myriad forms of leisure

followed by the impact of peer pressure. Research can also include teenage girls of various socioeconomic backgrounds to understand their construction of femininity varies from that of masculinity in terms of class. Further, a study of the social construction of gender can include both adolescent boys and girls to understand whether both masculinity and femininity get constructed through other agencies of gender socialization.

Since the present research has focused on issues of gender and masculinity in urban areas, future research can examine the construction of masculinity of adolescent boys in the rural context. There is also a dearth of knowledge about rural men's construction of masculinity. The exploratory study can also be conducted further on how the perception and experiences of risk by their parents differ from those in urban settings.

Another unexplored site of this research also involves the construction of gender among LGBTQ+ communities. Since they are socially stigmatized and ostracized from society, they are considered treacherous to individuals and children in society. The risks of harm perceived by these groups can be an interesting area of future research.

NOTES

[1]*Masculinities are those behaviours, languages and practices, existing in specific cultural and organisational locations, which are commonly associated with males and thus culturally defined as not feminine.*

[2]*Hegemonic masculinity signifies the configuration of gender practice which justifies the dominant position of men and subordinate position of women.*

[3]*Subordinated or Submissive masculinity describes those men who are oppressed by the power of hegemonic masculinity.*

[4]*Locker-room culture is forms of culture in the West whereby adolescent boys interact with their peers at times in locked rooms as such discussions involve sexually aggressive and explicit talk about women. These discussions of boys with their friends can range from relationships with their girlfriends to treating them as objects of sexual pleasure.*

[5]*The Bengali term 'middle class' signifies madhyabitta meaning middle income group which had emerged as an entity as a product of the social and political changes due o their social status and position.*

[6]*Nandalal Bose was one of the resdents of North Kolkata and a devotee of Shri Ramakrishna who stayed ina mansion which housed the paintings of Hindu gods and goddesses that adorned the walls of thakur dalan and attracted the the Bengali middle-class neighbours who lived in the lanes behind.*

[7]*Mixed Methodology can be defined as a combination of qualitative and quantitative approaches where the depth, richness, rigor, and complexity of the study increases with the combination of multiple methodological practices, perspectives, empirical materials, and observations in a single study.*

[8]*Adda or gossip with neighbors which was previously known as akharas signifies a place where young Bengali men would regularly visit for physical fitness and discuss the issues of the day with their fellows of the locality. It used to take place on a ro'ak in North Kolkata.*

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A<small>PPENDIX</small> A

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE (Parents)

PROFILE OF RESPONDENTS:

AGE:

GENDER: MALE/ FEMALE

OCCUPATION:

CLASS:

FAMILY TYPE: JOINT/NUCLEAR/EXTENDED

COMMUNITY:

INCOME:

1. **Questions on Family and Masculinity:**
   a. What can you say about your son?

   b. If you are parent of only son, how do you treat your son?

   c. Do you treat him in a stringent manner or in a liberal way?

   d. Why do you treat him in the manner specified by you?

   e. Do you allow him to stay outdoors after evening?

      i. If yes, why?
      ii. If no, why?

   f. If you have a daughter along with your son, do you also allow her to stay outdoor after dawn?

   g. If yes, why?

   h. If no, why?

   i. Do you allow him to mix with both male and female friends?

j. If yes, specify which type of friends?

k. Why do you allow him to mix with such friends?

2. **Questions on Masculinity and Housework:**

l. Do you allow your son to do any household work?

m. If yes, what kind of household task do you allow him to handle?

n. Do you have a daughter?

o. If yes, do you then allow your son to do the household work? Give reasons for your answer.

3. **Questions on Dress code and Masculinity:**

p. Do you allow your son to wear all types of dress in public place?

q. If you have a daughter too, do you prefer any dress code for her?

r. If yes, why do you do so?

4. **Questions on Masculinity and Career Aspiration:**

s. Do you provide freedom to your son regarding his career?

t. If yes, why do you provide such freedom?

u. If no, give reasons.

v. What kind of career do you want your son to pursue?

w. What kind of rapport do you share with your son?

x. Does your son share about his private life with you? Elucidate.

y. State any other incident about your son which you wish to share.

<div align="center">

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE (Boys)

</div>

PROFILE OF RESPONDENTS:

AGE:

GENDER:

STANDARD (CLASS):

SCHOOL:

DESIGNATION:

PLACE:

    I.   LEISURE ACTIVITIES AND MASCULINITY:

1. WHAT IT MEANS TO BE A BOY TO YOU? PLEASE EXPLAIN.

2. HOW DO YOU DEFINE LEISURE?

3. WHAT ACCORDING TO YOU ARE THE DIFFERENT FORMS OF LEISURE ACTIVITIES?

    a. Watching movies
        i. What kind of movies do you watch? Specify
        ii. Why do you watch such movies? Explain.

    b. Attending classes of -----
        i. Football
        ii. Cricket
        iii. Others (specify)
        iv. Why do you like to attend such classes?

    c. Surfing internet
        i. For what purpose do you surf internet? State.
        ii. Why do you surf net for your stated purpose?

d. Reading magazines

    i. What kind of magazines do you like to read? Please specify.

    ii. Why do you like reading such magazines?

e. Body-building

    i. Why do you spend your leisure time in body-building?

f. Other activities, please mention.

4. HOW DO YOU SPEND YOUR LEISURE TIME?

SOCIAL NETWORKING SITES AND MASCULINITY:

5. WHAT DO YOU MEAN BY SOCIAL NETWORKING SITES?

6. DO YOU USE ANY OF THE SOCIAL NETWORKING SITES MENTIONED BELOW?
   a. Whatsapp
   b. Facebook
   c. Gmail
   d. Twitter
   e. Others

7. IF YES, WHY DO YOU USE THEM?

8. IF NO, STATE REASONS FOR YOUR NON-USAGE.

9. DO YOU SPEND MOST OF YOUR LEISURE TIME IN ACCESSING THESE SOCIAL NETWORKING SITES?
   a. IF YES, WHY?
   b. IF NO, WHY?

10. DO YOU BELIEVE IN DATING OVER SOCIAL NETWORKING SITES?

11. IF YES, HAVE YOU EVER BEEN IN AN INTIMATE RELATIONSHIP WITH ANYONE IN ANY SOCIAL NETWORKING SITE?

II.   BEAUTIFICATION AND MASCULINITY:

12. DO YOU LIKE TO BEAUTIFY YOUR BODY?
    a. Yes
    b. No

13. IF YOU LIKE TO BEAUTIFY YOUR APPEARANCE, WHY DO YOU LIKE TO DO SO?

14. WHAT ARE THE DIFFERENT WAYS IN WHICH YOU LIKE TO BEAUTIFY YOURSELF OR YOUR BODY?
    a. By tattoo inscription
    b. Body-piercing (nose, ear or any other body parts)
    c. Styling your hair
    d. Other forms of beautification (please mention).

15. DO YOU THINK BEAUTIFICATION IS NECESSARY FOR BOTH THE GENDER?
    a. Both
    b. Only limited either to a boy or a girl

16. IF IT IS NECESSARY, GIVE REASONS FOR YOUR CHOSEN OPTION.

17. DO YOU THINK BEAUTIFICATION HAS AN IMPACT ON BOYHOOD?
    a. Yes
    b. No

18. IF YES, HOW DOES BEAUTIFICATION OF THE BODY PRODUCE AN IMPACT ON BOYHOOD?

III.   PEER GROUP AND MASCULINITY:

19. DESCRIBE YOUR PEER GROUP AND THEIR ATTITUDES TOWARDS ACADEMICS

20. DESCRIBE OWN ACADEMIC PERFORMANCE IN HIGH SCHOOL: TYPES OF COURSES, GRADES, EXTRACURRICULAR ACTIVITIES? WOULD YOU DESCRIBE YOURSELF AS HIGH OR LOW ACHIEVING COMPARED TO YOUR CLASSMATES?

21. WHAT WERE YOUR PRIORITIES AS A HIGH SCHOOL STUDENT? WAS DOING WELL IN SCHOOL IMPORTANT TO YOU? WHY OR WHY NOT?

22. DID IT FEEL NORMAL, COMMON, OR EXPECTED FOR YOU AS A BOY TO (DO WELL/NOT DO WELL) IN SCHOOL?

23. DID YOU THINK MUCH ABOUT YOUR PLANS FOR AFTER HIGH SCHOOL? DO YOU THINK MOST GUYS DID?

24. AS A HIGH SCHOOL STUDENT, IN WHAT OTHER WAYS DID YOU FEEL YOU WERE YOU SIMILAR TO AND DIFFERENT FROM THE TYPICAL GUYS IN YOUR SCHOOL?

25. WHAT KIND OF FRIENDS/ PEERS DO YOU INTERACT WITH AT SCHOOL?

   a. Male friends
   b. Female friends
   c. Both
   d. Give reasons for your chosen option

26. DO YOU TREAT YOUR MALE AND FEMALE PEERS DIFFERENTLY?

   c. If yes, why?
   d. If no, why?

27. DO YOUR FRIENDS ACCEPT YOU AS A PART OF THEIR PEER GROUP OR NEGLECT YOU?

28. SPECIFY WITH REASONS.

29. HAVE YOU EVER BEEN BULLIED BY YOUR FRIENDS OR CLASSMATES AT SCHOOL?

    a. Yes

    b. No

    c. If yes, why?

30. HOW HAVE YOU FACED BULLYING FROM YOUR PEERS?

31. HAVE YOU EVER BEEN NEGLECTED OR OSTRACIZED BY YOUR FRIENDS OR CLASSMATES?

    a. Yes

    b. No

    c. If yes, why?

    d. If no, why?

32. WHAT KIND OF TOPICS DO YOU DISCUSS WITH YOUR FRIENDS?

33. CAN YOU SAY ANY TOPIC WHICH IS MOSTLY DISCUSSED AMONG YOUR CLASSMATES?

34. HAVE YOUR FRIENDS ACCEPTED/ MARGINALIZED YOU FROM GROUP BASED ON TOPICS DISCUSSED?

    a. Yes

    b. No

    c. If yes, why?

34. DO YOU ENGAGE IN ANY CO-CURRICULAR ACTIVITIES IN SCHOOL?

    a. Sports

    b. Dance

    c. Music (Singing)

    d. Other activities

35. HAVE YOU EVER BEEN DIFFERENTLY TREATED BASED ON THE KIND OF ACTIVITIES YOU ENGAGE IN?

    a. Yes

    b. No

    c. Give reasons for chosen option.

36. DO YOU INTERACT WITH THOSE PEERS WHO TAKE INTEREST IN MUSIC (SINGING, DANCING)?

    a. Yes

    b. No

    c. If yes, why?

    d. If no, why?

37. DO YOU ACCEPT THEM AS PART OF YOUR PEER GROUP OR YOU IGNORE OR OSTRACIZE THEM?

38. HAVE YOU EVER BEEN FORCED INTO ANY KIND OF ACTIVITIES DUE TO PEER PRESSURE?

39. IF YES, STATE THE INCIDENT AND EXPLAIN.

40. WHAT KIND OF FACTORS DO YOU TAKE INTO ACCOUNT WHILE CHOSING FRIENDS?

41. DO YOU THINK PEER GROUP PLAYS AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF MASCULINE IDENTITY OR MASCULINITY?

42. IF YES, HOW AND WHY DOES IT HELP IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF MASCULINITY?