The Graffiti Subculture: A Culture of Masculine Identity Construction in Zimbabwean Secondary Boarding Schools

Makarati Piason, Mangeya Hugh & Kadenge Maxwell

Midlands State University, Zimbabwe

Email: pmakarati@gmail.com

Abstract: *This study explores the sociocultural construction of male identities in informal spaces in learning institutions. Focus is placed on spaces such as boys' toilets in secondary boarding schools in Gutu District of Zimbabwe. Considering the central purpose of graffiti as communication, this study has discussed graffiti as an important object of sociocultural theory. The study is purely qualitative and has adopted a phenomenological design that is interpretive in nature. Purposive sampling was very helpful in selecting the seven secondary boarding schools in Gutu District as information-rich cases while random sampling was used to determine participants. Group and individual interviews were carried out for data collection. Those interviews were guided by semi-structured open-ended questions which were audio-recorded in some cases. Verbatim data was immediately transcribed after the interviews together with the researcher's observations. A digital camera was also used to capture some graffiti texts on the walls. Data analysis followed the Van Kaam 7-steps of data analysis. The findings of this study indicate that boys in secondary boarding schools appropriate the medium of graffiti to build masculine 'virtues' and 'ideals' in an open engagement with issues and questions concerning their sexuality in the toilet. The findings might be interesting not only to secondary boarding students, educators, administrators, teachers, and parents in Zimbabwe but also to a wider audience in different societies in the world. It can be recommended that students' graffiti should be studied because there is something that students are communicating.*

Keywords: *Cultural identity, Culture, Graffiti, Appropriation, Mediation, Socio-cultural learning*

1. Introduction

Graffiti has been defined in the field of psychology, sociology, ethnography, and linguistics in quite a number of ways depending on the 'loaning' language of the word, but for the purpose of this study, it refers to illegal wall writings; pictures, drawings, and symbols that are scratched or scribbled on public space, no matter what motivates the writer (McCormick, 2005; Mangeya, 2014; Olusoji, 2013). The word graffiti (singular graffito) means little 'scratchings'. It has been introduced from the Italian verb graffiare aiming to scratch (Olusoji, 2013). He further argues that graffiti refers to any somewhat unrefined or casual illustrations, motto, inscription, or writing scratched or scribbled on constructions, walls, fences, or additional public surfaces. Interestingly, Mangeya (2014a) observes that the term graffiti can be defined in various ways contingent upon the 'loaning' terminology on which the definition is situated. For instance, he argues that when

defined from its Greek root graphein, graffiti takes the meaning of a graphical illustration or novel inscription on a publicly available surface. Thus, one may equate graffiti with any wall writing, drawings, pictures, and symbols, illegally written on public space in public places. Indeed, graffiti can be found in any place where one can draw or write, which suggests that it may exist across all cultures.

This paper engages how boys construct a culture of masculine identities through the graffiti that they write in secondary boarding schools in the Gutu District of Zimbabwe. It explores specific socio-cultural ways of aggression, self-centredness, resistance, and patterns of bullying that these boys use to shape their identities in school. The third structure of gender relations views those cultural ways as the most honoured way of being a man (Connell, 2005). Bourdier (2001), explains masculinity as recognizing the importance of psychoanalytic tradition in an unshakable conviction of being men's unitary subjects. Although some researchers have paid attention to students' graffiti (Nwoye, 1993; Kan, 2006; Farnia, 2014; Mangeya, 2018), little is still known about the ways boys use to construct their cultural identities, particularly masculinity, in the Zimbabwean secondary boarding school.

Graffiti facilitates the transmission of vital cultural identities which cannot be exhausted by the width and breadth of the formal school curriculum alone. Conversations that are written in the toilet, therefore, bring a different dynamic to cultural identities in learning institutions. Sexuality, sexism, and heterosexism, among others, are negotiated from a strict student perspective. Historically, dominant male identities have had and currently have various forms of institutionalized discrimination, as evident today in students' toilets in Zimbabwean secondary boarding schools.

Masculinity is widely believed to be a socially constructed cultural identity (Connell, 2005). Patriarchal societies are the key institutions and drivers of this ideology. Students also seem to perpetuate the ideology in schools where they are learning. However, masculinity can be constructed in different spaces, including formal, non-formal, and informal platforms, based on specific communication strategies driven by the media. This cultural identity coalesces into formal institutions of learning.

Culture and identity are both interwoven and complex. Power imbalances between social actors are not natural. They are socially constructed over time. Gender and sexuality are socially-constructed cultural identities that develop over time in relation to historical, social, and political contexts. The African ideology of masculine domination, however, makes it seem natural that men always have power over women (Allen, 2011). In fact, masculinity, although pervasive throughout modern human history, except for matriarchal societies such as those found in Malawi and Botswana, is still a matter of concern even for young people of the school-going ages since they are constructing this identity in the school.

The construction of these identities, that men are superior beings in patriarchal societies, is central to this research.

As boys in secondary boarding schools negotiate their experiences, traditions, practices, and beliefs through graffiti texts in the toilet, they are also consciously or unconsciously constructing and enacting their cultural identity. These identities matter because patterns of interactions in schools are changing based on such constructions. A better understanding of how boys appropriate the medium of graffiti to construct these gendered identities, can help us to appreciate the functions of toilet graffiti in schools. Toilet graffiti that are written by boys, therefore, ultimately shapes their cultural identities in the school.

In fact, graffiti, as a subculture in schools, shapes how students see themselves and others. Graffiti in schools has become intrinsic to the expression of culture and identity. As a means of communicating values, beliefs, customs, and experiences, it has an important social function and fosters feelings of group identity and solidarity. Thus, graffiti among students has become a means by which culture and its traditions and shared values are conveyed and preserved. Basically, it is fundamental in that it offers students space to construct their identities in secondary boarding schools. It is through graffiti that students transmit and express their culture and its values. Graffiti is a medium through which students communicate their identities with one another, build relationships, and create a sense of belonging.

Vygotsky's sociocultural theory claims that the child is developed and shaped by the immediate cultural environment. During the early stage, which is akin to that of primary socialisation (Mangeya, 2018), the child is completely dependent on the immediate environment, usually, the parents, who initiate the child's realisation of their gender, what ought to be done by boys/girls and so on. Mangeya (2014b) also contends that at this stage parents take the role of both models and conduits of the culture. They transmit their culture primarily through language. This process repeats itself again later at school-going age when students do not only swallow teachers' instruction but go on to actually transform what teachers teach them through a process of appropriation whereby, they create their own personal, social, and cultural identities. It is through appropriation that they create their knowledge about themselves, develop meanings, and justify their sexuality to others. It, therefore, emerges that they are not blank slates in the process of cultural identity construction in the school.

2. Literature Review

Although graffiti has existed as a meaningful cultural wonder over a long period, (Kan, 2006; Tagwirei and Mangeya, 2013, globally, graffiti has never been accorded any good name. A broad range of disciplines that incorporated discussions on graffiti, associated the phenomenon with everything that is bad; street wars, gangsterism, vandalism, territoriality, and dirty language (Mangeya, 2014; Reiss, 2007; Pardue, 2005;

Kan, 2001) Most of these researchers who examined autographical graffiti as a sociological research topic, presumably written by gang members and associated it with gangsterism, territoriality and street wars. Brewer (2003) outlined how her students explored Hungarian graffiti. The students began the project with the belief that graffiti would be humorous, political, and philosophical, but instead found that it contained sexual references, profanity, and vandalism. Farnia (2014) draws attention to their thematic content and comes out with aspects of gender violence, political and religious conflicts, and territoriality, among others. From a psychological view, Kan (2001), and Othen-Price (2006), raised questions on identity crisis and gave voice to the problems and concerns of the underprivileged in relation to the distribution of social goods within their communities. Under this body of literature, concentration was on urban graffiti setups which have been discussed in relation to the hip-hop culture and the possible socio-anthropological factors affecting it. Pardue (2005) contend that in any perspective graffiti is seen; historically, culturally, and linguistically, it can still be studied as an embodiment of one's ideology.

Regionally, research conducted on students' graffiti in Africa so far, has viewed graffiti as a way of casual communication that marginalized, downtrodden, or ignored groups in different learning institutions use, to reveal their dissatisfaction, needs, and grievances to those accountable (Nwoye, 1993, Mangeya 2014). Reisner, (1974) contends that graffiti in different educational institutions are a habit of voicing unhappiness which should be taken seriously for they are one way in which otherwise toned-down individuals can express their feelings and concerns accompanying others in the same situation. Nwoye (1993) contends that graffiti have become a students' channel by which they show their voice in either public or isolated places. He further argues that they express their annoyance, prompt ideas, affection, private declaration, religious proclamation, or even their cultural identity as the push determinant which drives people to write down such inscriptions on the obstruction they pass by. This means that graffiti can be judged as a suggestion of choice account that reveals important news to those curious in the exploration of the society's having to do with issues of punishment and order, or individual ego-hungry or worried mind (Reisner, 1974; Raymonda, 2008). Thus, graffiti can be studied by scholars as enabling students' freedom of expression and keeping them anonymous in situations where they cannot spontaneously voice their expressions due to being controlled by personal and social norms (Abel and Buckley, 1977).

Despite its significance as a way of communication, graffiti in Zimbabwe is also perceived as abhorrent, an eyesore, nonsense, and rule-breaking (Mangeya, 2014b). Graffiti are being seen as bad displeasure and absolute criminal acts of destruction and trouble that cause a general sense of intensive fear and misbehaviour as graffiti results in the destruction of public and private property (Kan 2006). Mangeya (2014b), who studied Zimbabwean graffiti written in selected urban areas in Gweru and Harare, notes that this wonder is seeable on almost every attainable surface of toilets and durawalls in towns and educational institutions in Zimbabwe. He further associates graffiti with adolescents and explained that preadult-hood is the stage of tumor and development that most secondary school students are in, and is mostly an opportunity of opposition to those accountable (Mangeya, 2018). In their effort to express their wishes, the students are generally misunderstood and dismissed since adults dominate the scene and the adolescents feel oppressed when they lack chances to express their opinions (Blommart 2016). In their exertion to express their wishes, they are mainly misinterpreted and dismissed because adults govern the setting and the youths feel downtrodden when they lack chances to express their beliefs. Hasley and Young (2002) contend that graffiti is a result of sheer youthful exuberance and a manifestation of vandalism. The association of graffiti with adolescents who are the most experimentally excited also captures the transgressive component of vandalism attributed to the culture of graffiti.

Once the activity has been linked to vandalism, then, it becomes an issue of illegality and rule-breaking (Mangeya, 2014). Thus, many are aghast and horrified about this element of norm-violation attached to graffiti writing that has been appropriately described as uncontrolled and a form of breach. Resultantly, this diversity in the growth and development of graffiti, or in the purpose of doodles creates the study of these handwritings a grey area for research and analysis which is more perplexing and mystifying, especially in the Zimbabwean context.

The current study, therefore, has been prompted by the fact that, despite graffiti's transgressive nature, there is something that these students are communicating. It has come to the researchers' observation that these writings are proliferating in the Zimbabwean education system and that secondary boarding students in the Gutu District of Zimbabwe are writing graffiti texts in the school at an alarming rate. However, no matter how much the digital world platforms such as Twitter, Facebook, and WhatsApp among others, offer avenues for people to express their opinions freely, the rate at which students in secondary boarding schools in the Gutu District continue to write graffiti in the school, has given rise to a flurry of concern by those in authority. The continued presence of graffiti in secondary boarding schools in the Gutu District of Zimbabwe might be suggesting that there is something that these students are communicating which the current research endeavours to cover. Mangeya, (2014) argues that graffiti in Zimbabwe is written by anyone from pre-school to those in the tertiary education system, which might reflect that students desire individuality, self-expression, and openness, which sometimes is not there in the secondary boarding schools in Gutu District of Zimbabwe. In his other research on students' toilet graffiti as a cite for cultural literacies, Mangeya narrowed his study on selected urban secondary schools in Gweru alone, leaving a gap that can be filled with the current research on the cultural identity of students' graffiti in secondary boarding schools in Gutu District of Zimbabwe. The

current research, therefore, is concentrating more on masculine identity construction to bridge a gap from Mangeya's scant research on graffiti, by looking at toilet graffiti written by boys in secondary boarding students in Gutu District.

The fact that there is scant research on graffiti written by secondary students in selected urban areas in Zimbabwe and none on secondary boarding schools so far, entails that there is still room to survey by means of what graffiti in the Zimbabwean school circumstances serves as an informative strategy by students. Through defacement, students tell their antagonism, confide their grievances, express imagination and disappointments, or declare a culturally inadmissible point of view on issues of conference ranging from principles to governance, humour, religion, drugs, sports, and sexuality (Desmond and Graham, 2011). Graffiti, therefore, allows one who might be afraid to make an open expression of opinion to express individual thoughts, which is one of the issues central to the discussion of students' graffiti not only in the current research alone but in many other related studies.

3. Methodology

Data for the study was collected from seven secondary boarding schools in Gutu, Zimbabwe. The mission schools from which data was collected are; Serima, Rufaro, Mukaro, Gutu, Dewure, Alheit, and Mutero. Purposive sampling was used to select the schools from which graffiti inscriptions were to be collected. One unique characteristic about these schools was that they are all mission boarding schools located in the rural areas of Gutu district. The schools generally attract different types of student population as their enrolment is based on the affordability of parents and do not select where in the country the prospective student lives as long the student meets prescribed expectations. One would, therefore expect a mixture of student population from different social backgrounds and experiences to be enrolled in these boarding schools. This is different, however, with secondary and other high schools in the rural areas, whose student population share the same rural background. Graffiti inscriptions were collected from boys' toilets only. Where conditions permitted, a camera was used to take the inscriptions in image form. In cases where a combination of the writing instrument used, the prevailing lighting conditions, and the surface on which the inscriptions were written, among others, did not allow for the use of the camera, the inscriptions were written down in a separate researcher's notebook. All the data was transcribed, paying particular attention to the source of the inscription, from both a locational and gendered perspective. The inscriptions were then thematically categorised based on the specific cultural identity issue constructed.

4. Result and Discussion

As mentioned earlier, this paper is focused on the conceptualisation of masculinity by boys in secondary boarding schools as discursively constructed in toilet graffiti. Discussion on this topic mainly followed

thematic categorisation that emerged from specific cultural identity issues constructed by these boys in secondary boarding schools in Gutu District. Central to this discussion are issues of appropriation, knowledge construction, and social interaction among many other sociocultural traits. Analysis of the texts is made against the backdrop of the interface between patriarchy and gender equity. Olusoji (2013) argues that some of these notions and concepts are not really explicitly taught in either the school or the 'home' curricula, but they might be perceived as knowledge creation through graffiti as a means of social interaction. Thus, some ways in which boys celebrate and foster masculine virtues in the school through toilet graffiti reflect how boys themselves conceptualize patriarchy in general. Key participants in this discussion used toilet graffiti to portray themselves as sexual superheroes and agents of deviance and illegality.

The sociocultural significance of masculinity in the African culture and its crucial role in adolescence cannot be overstated. The construction of masculine virtues is a salient feature of boys' toilet graffiti in general. Most researchers contend with the idea that the cultural identities people have on inscriptions made in the toilets, reveal a preoccupation with sex-related themes (Mangeya, 2014a, 2014b; Tagwirei and Mangeya, 2013). It is then imperative to explore how such identities are discursively constructed and confirmed in these spaces. In fact, the analysis of toilet graffiti inscriptions reveal that boys negotiate and engage in viable construction of masculinity practices through sexism, heterosexual fantasies and other new forms of sexualities. Inscriptions from boys' toilets are all considered for analysis. Example (1) shows how the boy child in the school elevates himself to the point of becoming a sexual superhero persona.

1. *Rebbecca ndakamusvira ndakamubata matako anything*. (I had sex with Rebbecca whilst holding her buttocks and every other part of her body)

An important aspect of the inscription is how it has transformed the female being into a sexual object and elevated the boy into a sexual hero. Rebbeca's capacity as a girl is diminished and the boy has portrayed himself as an image of a sexual conqueror over the girl. Proclaiming that "*…ndakamusvira*" (I had sexual intercourse with her) sounds as if the boy was punishing Rebbeca and negates the idea of a mutual sexual relationship between the two. Furthermore, 'holding her buttocks and every part of her body', portrays the girl as a sexual toy figure rather than a respected human being. "*Kusvira*" (having sexual intercourse) and "*matako*" (buttocks) are typical taboo words in the Shona culture, which in this case have been used to demean, embarrass, downgrade and diminish the girl in question. Charamba (2013) defined taboo as words or expressions that talk about topics people generally avoid, as they are considered shocking, offensive, or embarrassing. In Shona culture, taboos are impolite words or expressions intended to offend or hurt others. Thus, graffiti has created an easy way of social interaction among the boys

with some words that could not be easily and openly said in the Shona vernacular. Interestingly, other inscriptions were found in support of this view. These are represented by examples (2)–through (4), below.

2. Munatsi *asvirwa na* Shawn (Munatsi was fucked by Shawn)

3. I screwed her

4. I want the pussy

Examples (1), (2), and (3) perpetuate the idea of male hegemony. The word "screwed" in example (3) has the same connotations as "I had sexual intercourse" in examples (1) and (2). The idea of treating sexual intercourse as a punishment for the girl does not only bring in the idea of male chauvinism alone but also responds to the African cultural value of male dominance. Mangeya (2014b) contends that 'fuck' reveals specific gendered attitudes where the male makes the assumption that females can actually be punished by sexual intercourse. He further argues that it ceases to be an issue of male-female sexual union/relations but becomes one where the male exerts his dominance over the female. It seems that sexual intercourse for the girl child has become an acceptable punishment when one engages in it. Thus, new knowledge about boys' sexual attitude toward girls is created.

Ultimately, inscriptions in (1) through (4) act to defend and grant the traditional notions of masculinity, thereby portraying boys as symbols of sexual conquerors over their girls' counterparts in the school. Example (4), though from a different angle, carries the same connotations of the desire to "fuck" and confirms that proposition, more or less as a 'universal truth', which only emphasises how the commonly held patriarchal value is constructed in students' toilet graffiti. In school, boys become sexual superheroes to have sex with a girl in the school successfully without being caught by those in authority. Inscriptions (1) through (4) carry taboo expressions in the Shona culture which are full of masculine connotations which cannot be afforded anywhere openly in the school except in the secrecy of the toilet. MacDonald (2001) contends that when the display of women is done in a way that uses women's bodies and sexuality as the primary attention-getter, masculinity is constructed. At the end of the day, the inscriptions grant boys the status of sexual superheroes over their girl counterparts in the school thereby perpetuating the tradition of male domination.

Despite the apparent display of masculine construction from the sexual discourse constructed in students' toilet graffiti inscriptions, the major preoccupation is the need to redress what Mangeya (2014) perceived as deviant and inappropriate sexual behaviours that portray the boy child as a victim of moral decadence in secondary boarding schools. Considering the inscriptions given above, displaying the sexual experiences and desires of the boy child, apparently communicates a moral decay in our secondary boarding schools. The way these boys are being socialised through toilet graffiti threatens to tear the sociocultural fabric in our secondary boarding schools. It is paradoxical, therefore, that sometimes when boys share their sexual experiences through graffiti, they might be reporting serious cases of sexual immorality that warrant immediate attention of those in authority. The inscriptions imply that there might be rampant cases of sexual immorality in secondary boarding schools in Zimbabwe. Though some of these reports imply some weaknesses in the checks and balances of the welfare of students in the Zimbabwean education system where intervention is highly needed, they display male chauvinism in patriarchal societies.

It is in this pursuit for masculine identity construction and confirmation that boys offer gendered alternatives in their approach. One such alternative is through wagging masculine warfare of sexual insults to those in authority. Sexual insults were a common feature among male students' discursive structures in the toilet. Sometimes boys choose a militaristic approach as a backdrop for their graffiti to haul insults to those in authority in situations where confrontation is impossible. Sexual insults seem to be key symbols of masculinity among secondary boarding schoolboys. For example;

5. Ndafa *imhata*

6. *Beche ramai* Ndafa

Inscription (5) and (6) above are typical Shona vulgarity insults. They have been probably used intentionally to hurt and humiliate Ndafa. Further investigations revealed that Ndafa was a senior teacher in one of the selected secondary boarding schools. The use of terms *mhata* (anus) and *beche* (vagina) are, however, considered derogatory, and taboo and are used in abnormal and indecent communication platforms. Though not restricted to the Zimbabwean subculture alone, they are often used to demean people generally in other cultures.

Mangeya (2014a) considers the two possible meanings of the Shona term '*mhata*' (5), as either referring to the vagina or the anus. In this case, the student referred to the vagina, and had a case against the senior teacher to settle. *Beche* (vagina) would affirm the worst Shona insult about multiple masculinities. The insult gives an image of a man endowed with a vagina. Suffice to say he is not masculine enough. This, in turn, evokes notions of femininity. The second translation 'your ass hole' would still carry a more or less similar meaning, except that it conforms to a more general insult, for example, in black American insults. Here, these young boys do not just become tough and daring writers, they become brave and strong to maintain key symbols of masculinity. Boys use their insulting inscriptions as weapons of humiliation, deriding those in authority and showing them that even face-to-face provocation is possible.

Inscriptions (5) and (6) do not only transform the subcultural storyline of the boys' role in the school but more importantly, it pumps a massive measure of

machismo into their already masculine actions. Individual displays of such daring and stoicism translate to reflect the more extreme exertions of mischievous boys who no longer confront the dangers of mere punishment, but who risk expulsion from school for the sake of showing masculinity. The inscriptions are not mindless or aimless destruction of the teacher's image in the school but are also a means to a masculine end. In doing so, it does not merely offer boys a chance to become 'men' but it offers them a chance to become 'supermen', men of all men. The construction of this identity as 'men' remains a vitally important reason for their subcultural involvement. Its proscribed status and the counteractive measures of others infuse excitement into this endeavour, whilst also recruiting more novices who need to fashion and form their desired masculine identities. Just as masculinity is carved out of conflict with school authorities, so it is defined in similar ways through opposition against this body of law. The masculine product that emerges from this contextual relationship yields to sketch delinquency in the school. They account for the predominance of male crime by calling attention to the more negative attitudes boys hold towards formal authority. In this case, the graffiti subculture seems to collaborate boys into insulting their teachers in the school.

However, inscriptions (5) and (6) should be interpreted as being clear that boys are more averse to authority than girls. They gain a relevant and meaningful identity from this opposition. While defiance of authority can be seen as delinquency in the school, in this case, it is perhaps better understood as a form of masculine presentation through which boys manage their male reputations. In this light, warfare now represents combat, not just for systems control, but for the masculine supremacy that this represents in the school. In view of the effort boys put into securing this status within their own internal masculine contests, it is little surprise that its group equivalent is so fiercely defended against this external challenge. The stakes are high. Losing this battle to the school authorities involves the degradation of masculine status in the institution among adolescent boys. It implies that the losing party was not cunning enough, daring enough, tough enough, and, therefore, 'masculine' enough to stand the revenge. In fact, the inscriptions reveal that boys have transformed their illegal site of masculine construction in the toilet into a sexual world of mass machismo, an environment within which the cult of masculinity is celebrated. It might be apparently clear, therefore, that these boys know that graffiti of the sexual nature is totally unacceptable and is illegal, but it defeats the whole point if, all of a sudden, they are allowed to do it.

Boys might be seen to have taken it upon themselves to become agents of illegality and deviance to represent the subculture's backbone. Without it, the threat, danger, challenge or test and the fame, respect and masculine identity boys earn from completing this, would be lost. It is illegal and of a deviant nature, in the school, to insult authority but some boys are driven by wanting to belong to a subculture which they think is creative and dangerous. They thought it helps them to build their masculinity.

5. Conclusion and Recommendations

Students' toilet graffiti in the Zimbabwean secondary boarding school context has become a platform where they can stake a claim for masculine potency. This toilet graffiti subculture in the school must be acknowledged not just as a site for masculine identity construction alone, but as a confinement that works to feed, nourish and salvage notions of masculinity (Tagwirei and Mangeya, 2013). Boys' secondary boarding schools might be reproducing mainstream gender relations, but at the same time, they are also constructing and affirming the masculine identity it offers. Students in secondary boarding schools in Zimbabwe use toilet graffiti to disdain each other, and offensively insult those in authority, and strangers just for masculine pursuit. This could be referred to as the fact that students can freely express their sexism, heterosexism, and sexuality in the secrecy of the toilet. Students seek anonymity so as to avoid being stigmatised for producing such unacceptable expressions. In fact, boys' reputation and cultural identity in the toilet rests upon their graffiti-related pursuits and demonstrations of masculinity. Taboo words, vulgarity, and genitalia, among others, accord them the sexual superhero status, symbols of masculine warfare, and agents of illegality and deviance. The hazards associated with breaking the school rules transform students' quest for masculine definition into an additional search for thrill and adventure. Ngubane (2010) contends that basically, their status as students in the secondary boarding school rests on their deviant behaviour in spheres none other than sexuality. Students' toilet graffiti, therefore, do not just reveal their sexual intentions alone but also prioritise subcultural resistance to institutional impositions through unambiguous masculine cultural identity construction. This study, therefore, recommends that despite its transgressive nature, graffiti has to be studied because there is something that students are communicating.

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