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Men's health, masculinities and work : the psychosocial effects of unemployment on black men from Soweto.

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2014-09-04
http://hdl.handle.net/10539/15399

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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

While literature suggests a paradigm shift in work and family roles, not much has been documented on what this shift means for the provider role (Loscocco & Spitze, 2007). Men have historically been perceived as providers, owing to the prominence of traditional masculinities that assume that men are strong and thus should and are able to take care of their families (Khunou, 2009; World development report, 2012). As a consequence, women have only been seen as helpers to men as opposed to ultimate providers (Khunou, 2012a). However, in the plight of unemployment currently faced by most developing countries (including South Africa – according to Stats SA, unemployment stood at 25,5% in the 3rd Quarter of 2012), the idea of men as only providers endangers their mental wellbeing, because of the stigma associated with being unemployed as a man (Kgomo, 2011). In fact Hunter (2006) argues that an unemployed man becomes powerless in that he cannot perform many social roles such as fatherhood, because of the inability to pay *inhlawulo* and becoming a husband because of the inability to pay *lobola*, which are valued by many African cultures. The results are therefore depression and fractured social identities, because the provider role is an embedded part of being a man (Khunou, 2009; Morrell, 2006).

Despite unemployment being shown to be a stressful event for men, research shows that men are more reluctant than women to seek help in times of distress. Once again, this has been correlated with the belief that men are strong and can survive any adversity, while seeking help is perceived as a sign of weakness and vulnerability (Kgomo, 2011; North & Smith, 1992). Morrell (2001) however, cautions against assuming that all men experience the world in similar ways and argues that socio-economic conditions, as well as culture and race play a major influence on men's social identities and thus how they respond to various social events. Furthermore, although many scholars attribute the absence of men in psychosocial facilities to the traditional masculinities paradigm, Kiselica (2011) shows that such facilities are mostly available to women and children. Social work and other psychosocial services exclude men in both their programmes and the physical structure of their facilities, reinforcing the idea that men cannot be vulnerable and therefore do not need help (Kiselica, 2011; Smith, 2006).

The Commission for Gender Equality report (2011) found that the implementation of the Victim's Charter portrays men as parenthetical recipients of services. For example the Thuthuzela Care Centres (TCCs) were criticised for offering men programs that were mainly

developed for women, arguing that men do not utilise the services. This argument however renders the TCC initiative confused, how were men supposed to find the shelters relevant if messages were always directed to women and children?

In light of this, the South African Police Services (SAPS) Victims Empowerment Centres also failed to report gender disaggregated information, superimposing women's statistics over the men's and obscuring the reality that men are also victims of gender based violence and sexual abuse. Furthermore, a study on *The effects of early parenthood on the psycho-social functioning of young black fathers in White City Jabavu,* found that very few resources were available to enhance the psychosocial wellbeing of men in the area, so much so that the participants could not even mention one (Selebano, 2012). This then raises the awareness to how men are marginalised and thus die silently. Khunou (forthcoming) also confirms the challenges with health policy regarding men's health care needs, and illustrates that the scarcity of programs specifically aimed at promoting men's health indicate a need for policies and programmes to be reformed.

South Africa is signatory to a number of international commitments that seek to include men in the gender equality project, these include:

The 1994 International Conference on Population and Development

It states that men should be included in all gender equality agendas, so that they can equally take responsibility for their action in their families and communities at large (Sonke Gender Justice, 2008).

The Beijing Platform for Action (1995)

It identified the need for the inclusion of men in talks regarding gender equality and including women's issues (Sonke Gender Justice, 2008).

So far, various commentators (including the Department of Health) and the media have been zooming into promoting male circumcision, as it has been scientifically proven to reduce the contraction of HIV and other STIs (Sonke Gender Justice, 2008). Other initiatives include the *Brothers for life, One man can* and *the Movember campaign.* These have sought to lay a foundation on creating discourse around men's wellbeing. There, however, remains an imbalance as the spotlight continues to be on women's issues. I would like to caution here that the aim of this project is neither to undermine the extent to which patriarchal structuring

has oppressed women nor to bash the efforts by predominantly feminist scholars, civil society and very recently the media and various state ministries to redress those oppressions. The call here is for:

1. An exaggerated political and multi-sectoral will in recognising men's issues,and for this report particularly, impediments on men's psychosocial wellbeing and therefore forge policies and enforce skilful practice to that end.
2. A holistic conceptualisation of men that adopts an eco-systems approach, highlighting the intersectional realities of men in contemporary South Africa.
3. The adoption of a critical lens that recognises men as gendered beings and recognises patriarchy as a double-edged-sword, especially in a context divided by race and class.
4. The appreciation of the coined term 'masculinities' which warns against unwittingly supposing men to be a homogeneous group and honouring agency in the midst of dominant customs and beliefs.

As Selebano (2012, p. 8) argues:

> It is thus imperative to recognise the differences that exist among different men in South Africa (Morrell, 2001). In this way, the drive towards closing the gender inequality gap will not remain as mediocre as it currently is, rather both men's and women's realities can be adequately understood and how they contribute to creating a climate that is not in danger of creating surrogate men out of women (Oyegun, 1998). A climate that is responsive to men's and women's challenges at different levels of society, paying specific attention to history, the socio-political context, the economic aspects as well as the psychological factors (Oyegun, 1998).

In a nutshell, what Selebano (2012) and others (Chauke, 2012; Khunou, forthcoming; Morrell, 2006; Mqakelana, 2012; Oyegun, 1998) reiterate is a concern for the replacement of 'gender' as 'women'. In fact, this has become such a norm that when I introduce myself as employed by the Commission for Gender Equality people assume that I am a feminist. I cannot afford to not be one given that I am a woman and continue to suffer much structural and cultural oppression but that is a topic for another day. At the same time, I cannot impute any punishment for this error as much of the work of the commission focuses on women-centred policies. This study therefore exclaims that the recognition of women's oppressions should not in turn pave the way for reverse discrimination. As Biko (1987) advocated, we ought not to settle for 'artificial integration', whereby popular discourse around equality or

freedom erases the political nature of experiences. True freedom is not static, but shifts with the social, cultural, political and economic transitions.

1.2. Rationale for the study

A considerable amount of research has been conducted in the area of unemployment and its effects on the psychological wellbeing of men with the most prominent studies focusing on depression and stress (Bartley, 1994; Eisenberg & Lazarsfeld, 1938; Novo, Hammarstrom, & Janlert, 2001). However, scholars have studied the phenomenon independent of men's social identity and the discourse around men and the deep link to the provider role in relation to families, communities, religious affiliation, the state, and health facilities (Artazcoz, Benach, Borrel, & Cortes, 2004). Although psychological studies have shed some light onto the extent to which the psyche becomes compromised when a man faces unemployment and the implications of this on his social behaviour, the role of the masculine social identity in this dysfunction has been neglected. As a result it becomes naturalised that men ought to work in order for them to remain mentally healthy (Artazcoz, et al., 2004). What is missing from research is the link between the social meanings of work and how these impede the psychological as well as the social daily life experiences of men.

Through the eco-systems theory, functionalism and the social identity theory, this study has explored the social meanings associated with men and work and how these affect the psychosocial wellbeing of unemployed men. The study has also considered the implications of various social policies to address unemployment as well as the Mental Health Act. It is hoped that this study will contribute significantly to policies on men and their psychosocial wellbeing as well as social work interventions aimed at enhancing men's psychosocial wellbeing at the three levels of intervention (micro, meso and macro).

1.3. Research questions

1. How do men identify with the provider role?
2. Does men's identification with the provider role lead to psychosocial challenges in situations of unemployment?
3. How does men's identification with hegemonic ideas of masculinities influence their identification with the provider role?
4. How does men's identification with hegemonic ideas of masculinities influence their health help seeking practices?

1.4. The aim of the study

The aim of this study was to explore men's perceptions of the provider role and how those perceptions obstruct and/or enhance their psychosocial life experiences during unemployment.

1.5. The objectives of this study are:

1. To explore how the provider role links to men's ideas of manhood.
2. To investigate the effects of unemployment on the psychosocial functioning of men.
3. To examine how ideas of masculinities influence men's help seeking practices during times of unemployment.
4. To explore factors enhancing or serving as stumbling blocks to the use of psychosocial services by men.

1.6. The report structure

This report is structured in the following way, chapter two focuses on a detailed literature review and is divided into five parts. Part one explores literature on the conceptions of gender and how it has evolved from being understood as a natural process, to one that is born in social institutions. Scholars agree that males and females are socialised in a manner that will express society's prescriptions and expectations of how men and women ought to behave (George & Fleming, 2004; Holmes, 2007; Reeves & Baden, 2000; Wiesner-Hanks, 2011). The next part considers the notion of masculinities and how it influences men's identities in relation to work and financial provision. This discussion launches a series of theories that seek to explain the relationship between men, work and money and the conclusion ultimately suggests that men in contemporary society do not conform to one set of masculinity, that even though hegemonic or dominant beliefs summarises men's roles as that of the financial provider, this is not always true in all contexts. Furthermore, the section zooms into what it means to be unemployed as a man and shows a statistical analysis that illustrates the complexity of this scenario in South Africa. This is followed by a discussion on various policies adopted in South Africa to accelerate economic growth and create employment. The section focuses on the shift from GEAR to RDP and shows its flaws and successes. The debate on macro-economic policies further shows how different structures influence experiences with employment and that the issue of unemployment is a political one. AsgiSA and JIPSA are also interrogated showing that more than anything, there was a lack of political

will to monitor and evaluate progress in relation to these mandates. The last part of the literature review looks into the psychosocial effects of unemployment on men and draws from various literature to describe what men go through. The South African Mental Health Act is also interrogated, highlighting the progress made thus far and the achievements and setbacks.

This is then followed by chapter three, which addresses itself to the methodology employed by this study. This chapter deals with issues of how participants were recruited by exploring the sampling techniques employed. The interview processes are included, as well as a contextual analysis of the space within which the study was conducted. The chapter finally pays attention to ethical considerations.

The fourth chapter encompasses the men's experiences with transitioning to manhood. The chapter shows how money is a symbol for readiness into manhood as social transitions for men are marked by expenditure. These transitions included dating, marriage and fatherhood. For the men that were already fathers, the role became burdensome as they did not have the means to perform their manhood. Swartz and Bhana (2009) argue that this is not unusual for young fathers in South Africa.

Chapter five focuses on what it means to be unemployed for young men from poverty stricken backgrounds. Although the participants had identified themselves as unemployed, this chapter shows that most of them participated in informal activities to make some money. The conditions under which they worked were unpleasant and led the young men to desire work in the formal sector which became a difficult task. This difficulty to secure formal work led some of the young men to participate in economic crimes as they began to lose hope.

The sixth and final chapter of analysis looks at the effects of unemployment on the psychosocial wellbeing of men. The chapter shows extents to which men struggled with psychosocial problems as well as their perceptions towards psychosocial services. The chapter also looks at strategies employed to address men's psychosocial needs and their effectiveness.

The conclusion of the report is detailed in chapter seven, which provides a summary of the study. It further points out the significance and implications of the study to the social work discipline and social policies focusing on men and their psychosocial wellbeing. I also make recommendations for future research.

CHAPTER TWO

Literature review and the theoretical framework

2.1. Introduction

Unemployment is illustrated to be one of the most stressful life events for men, this part of the report explores literature on why this is true and the conditions which have allowed and have perpetuated the problem of unemployment in South Africa. The section is divided into five different parts, namely: Gender and masculinities; Unemployment in the 'new' South Africa; The effects of unemployment on men; Psychosocial services: reality v/s policy, and the theoretical frameworks adopted for this study.

The first part looks into the different stances about gender, and how different societies have come to understand the different roles performed by women and men. The second part looks into the notion of 'masculinities' in relation to the provider role and that different men experience masculinities differently depending on the options presented to them. This premise thus cautions against the assumption that all men fit into one box. Furthermore, the chapter focuses on unemployment trends in South Africa, and continues to show that even though the problem is considered to be a national plague, men from different racial groups and ages are affected differently. The racial disparities are an indication that the policies implemented post 1994 were of inaccurate equations, the report thus zooms into such policies and speaks to what they intended to do and how far they have gone to accomplish those objectives.

Furthermore, this section presents a number of reports by scholars on the psychosocial implications of unemployment on men. A body of literature is unravelled regarding the daily experiences of unemployed men and how the phenomenon has affected their psyche. The report further looks into the mental health system in South Africa and shows the different challenges experienced within this sector. This consequently links to the following section which similarly explores the mental health policy in South Africa. The chapter finally looks at the theoretical frameworks adopted by this study, the three theories: social identity theory; eco-systems theory and functionalism are explicated, as well as how they will individually give shape to the research.

2.2. Gender and masculinities

2.2.1. Gender

Gender has come to be simply understood as an array of socially learned attitudes and beliefs that serve to distinguish men from women (Reeves & Baden, 2000). Through gender, men and women are cultured into different roles that are deemed appropriate for their sex. The supposition is that men and women have different aspirations, abilities and needs, hence responding differently to different social events (George & Fleming, 2004; Holmes, 2007; Wiesner-Hanks, 2011). Gender has also been considered a crucial referral point when considering individual rights of men and women as well as their general place in society (Hardwick, 1962). Thus, it plays a significant role in determining the sexual division of labour.

Various ideologies have been used to legitimise the belief that men and women are different and therefore cannot perform similar duties. In religious terms, it was assumed that God divinely created women to perform very distinct roles, with their primary objective being child bearing and ultimately nurturing and home making (Lerner, 1986). Men on the other hand were assumed to be created strong, aggressive and fast which landed them the hunting and provider roles. These functions have also been attributed to the different biological make ups, affirming the religious beliefs on what men and women ought to do (Lerner, 1986). The American sociologist, Talcott Parsons, also argued that the gendered division of labour is valuable in that when women take care of the home and men provide financially to meet the material needs, both reproduction and survival tasks of the family are fulfilled (Holmes, 2007).

The idea that men and women possess different attributes has however not gone unchallenged. With radical changes in knowledge production, the traditional definitions of gender have often been rejected on the basis that they facilitate unequal sharing of resources, power and access. Women, for example have been depicted as weak and tactful, and as a consequence their place has been erroneously contemplated to be only ‘in the kitchen’ (Wiesner-Hanks, 2011). The same is also true for men, because they are perceived to be stronger and faster they have been painted as providers and decision makers, robbing them of nurturing and caring roles (Khunou, 2006a). Khunou (2012a) adds that equating men’s worth to money is problematic in that failure to comply may lead to internal conflict and flawed self-definition. This is also evident in Panday, Makiwane, Rancho and Letsoalo’s (2009)

study, whereby young fathers perceived themselves as failures even though they fulfilled other caring and nurturing roles. It is for these reasons that Shefer, Boonzaire and Kiguwa (2006) argue that the two genders should not be portrayed as distinct but rather as a continuum where both females and males can freely place themselves. By deconstructing the idea of the dominant culture of binaries, power inequalities stand a chance to get dissolved.

Mead (1935) agrees that gender is not as rigid as it has been portrayed. Through the use of ethnographic methods, she was able to find cultures that allowed fluidity in 'men's work' and 'women's work'. Lerner (1986) also takes note of ethnographic studies that have discovered shared responsibilities between men and women, asserting that the 'male-provider' and the 'female-nurturers' ideologies are not universal. We also see this in Oyewumi (2004) where she shows that in the Yoruba society which is found in south-western Nigeria, roles are not gender differentiated. Power is afforded to an individual based on seniority which means that age becomes a central dynamic. In this particular society, kinship labels are used to reflect relative seniority instead of gender, and as a result both men and women can exercise power. In highly gendered societies however, the boundaries set for each gender have become problematic, though mostly recognised for women. The effects of patriarchy[1] have undeniably wrought even the current daily lives of women, making it difficult for them to blossom in previously male-dominated spaces (Holmes, 2007). It remains important however, to also recognise the negative effects of patriarchy on men, paying attention to how power was and still is unevenly distributed amongst men from different racial groups, class backgrounds, age groups and (dis)abilities (Shefer, et al., 2006). Furthermore, 'power' has also limited men from being more than protectors, providers and guiders, denying them entry into spaces previously known as women's. It is thus important to recognise with great caution the injustices suffered by both men and women without downplaying those experiences and their impact (Oyegun, 1998).

2.2.2. Masculinities and the provider role

The idea of the male provider role does not represent the entire population of men. The replacement of the term 'masculinity' to its plural form 'masculinities' came as recognition that men do not experience the world in the same way (Petersen, 2003). This denotes that masculinities are not homogenous; they do not belong to any group of men in a similar way

[1]Patriarchy refers to the subordination of women to men. It is evident in social systems that oppress, control, exploit and discriminate women.

(Morrell, 2001). Morrell (2001) adds that there are various categories of masculinities though not equally distributed in all contexts. In light of class and race, boys and men have to choose how to behave depending on an array of characteristics understood as what being a man involves. Furthermore, Khunou (2006a) adds that social institutions such as the family, churches and schools also determine how men will fit into a certain category of masculinities.

In addition to recognising that there is no one way of being masculine, Connell (1995) argues that relations between and within the different categories should be examined. This is to do away with oversimplifying what it means for example to be a black man as there is no one way of enacting masculinities as a black man or a black unemployed man for that matter. The relations approach offers a more dynamic way of perceiving masculinities as they are neither static nor easy to contain and define. Connell (1995) recognises four concepts that attempt to narrate how relations shape masculinities in the contemporary Western gender order:

Hegemonic masculinities refer to a type of masculinity that assumes a higher position in the gender milieu depending on the context. It is not the same everywhere and is refined or contested from time to time. For example, while the man as provider role takes a hegemonic position in Mosoetsa's (2011) study, the opposite is true for Lerner's (1986) study where men and women shared the provider responsibilities. The egalitarian ideology takes precedence in the latter study and thus hegemony. *Subordination* illuminates that where there is a cultural dominance of specific ways of being masculine, what falls outside of these beliefs and actions becomes subordinated. Connell (1995) provides an example of gay men in the patriarchal European context who have been politically and culturally excluded. They are subordinate to heterosexual men in that they are deviant from the dominant culture that abhors feminine traits in men. Connell (1995) also conceptualises the idea of *complicity*, it speaks of men who do not neatly fit within hegemonic ideals but benefit from the general inequality inherent in gender relations. These are for example men who may hold an egalitarian ideology towards women and work but still benefit from male domination in the labour market within a patriarchal society. Finally, Connell (1995) speaks about *marginalisation* which is easy to discuss within the parameters of race relations. An example can be contexts of white supremacy, such as that of South Africa during the apartheid era where black men were subject to low paying jobs compared to their white counterparts. Although black men were higher in the gender hierarchy compared to black women, within the gage of masculinities black men were economically and socially marginalised. Connell's

(1995) work offers a radical approach that explains why masculinities cannot be pigeon-holed, it shows that masculinities are dynamic and therefore deserve a dynamic vindication.

So far discussions have pointed to the idea that masculinities are heterogeneous which suggests that not all men identify with the male provider role. However, most South African men continue to do so even during the periods of their lives when they are unemployed (Gwagwa, 1998; Khunou, 2012a). While Khunou (2006b) shows that middle class men were happy to be nurtures as fathers, Panday, et al., (2009) found that men who could not financially provide completely shied away from other roles as having money was considered an overarching attribute to what constitutes being a responsible father. In Kwazulu-Natal, unemployed fathers perceived themselves as powerless, arguing that without money they cannot play significant roles in raising their children and paying *lobola* for their girlfriends (Hunter, 2006).

Although these sentiments suggest that men are happy and willing to assume the provider role, scholars argue that this is not always true (Gwagwa, 1998; Khunou, 2006a; Khunou, 2012a; Mosoetsa, 2011; Simister 2009; Taylor, Tucker & Mitchell-Kernan, 1999). Men sometimes desire to work in order to meet their own individual needs (Khunou, 2006a). Hook (1981) also adds that the assumption that unemployment or low wages induces feelings of embarrassment and guilt is not usually true as he found cases of men resenting the idea of having to share their "hard-earned low wages with others" (p. 76). Furthermore, Khunou (unpublished) shows that the issue of questioned paternity regarding the maintenance system pertains to the men's reluctance to provide. She therefore argues that it is erroneous to assume that men jump at the opportunity of becoming fathers as this is often coupled with financial provision (Khunou, unpublished).

In support to this, Simister (2009) shows that the family unit tends to be better off when women are financial providers as research from Rwanda, the Gambia, Coˆte d'Ivoire, Guatemala, Jordan and Mali showed that children were well taken care of in households where women were decision makers and high earners. In Prince's (1993) study, American men associated income with power and functionality, while women saw it as a ticket to security. Similar trends were discovered in Britain, where the men also deemed income as a symbol of success (Lynn, 1993). To test the generality of these findings, Lynn (1993) endeavoured on a study with university students from 20 nations (Abu Dhabi, Australia, Brazil, Canada, Columbia, Germany, Greece, Hong Kong, Iceland, Ireland, Jordan, Korea,

New Zealand, Portugal, Singapore, Syria, Transkei, United Kingdom, United States of America and Yugoslavia) and as hypothesised, men scored higher in competitiveness and money valuing than women from most countries (Lynn, 1993). For township South African men in their twenties, access to an income meant luxurious lifestyles for the self and not necessarily for taking care of the family (Khunou, 2009). Prince (1993) argues that these behaviours can be fuelled by the zeal that most men have towards status, power and enhancing self worth.

The idea that men should play the provider role can be traced back as far as the beginning stages of industrial capitalism, when paid work played a major influence on the masculine identity and subsequently the role of the man in the family (Loscocco & Spitze, 2007; Taylor, et al., 1999). As the head of the family, it became a man's duty to see that the family was well provided for. Earning an income became a significant factor in how a man perceived himself and the ability to perform this role increased his social status in the community (Loscocco & Spitze, 2007). Thus man's work and family obligations boiled down to the specific role of providing. Although, later years saw a paradigm shift with the labour market making room for women, the question remained: who is responsible for the role of financial provider? With both men and women entering the work space and earning an income, it can be assumed that the answer would be a clear-cut one; however, the provider role in the home continues to be the centre of hot debate; where men are assumed by others and themselves to be the provider even when they are unemployed (Gwagwa 1998; Khunou, 2012a; Mosoetsa, 2011). Although women continue to be economically marginalised, the idea of a man as the sole provider proves to be impossible given the harsh labour markets and the dilemma of father absence in the family (Wilkie, 1993).

Wilkie (1993) shows that in America the number of families where only men were providers had decreased by 57% in 1988 due to the recession. Although women had started sharing in the financial responsibility of the home, this did not change the overall perception that it is ultimately the man's duty to provide (Wilkie, 1993). As Coltrane (1998, p. 67) argues, "the old gender ideals tend to govern people's thoughts and feelings, but the new economic and social realities tend to govern people's actions". Loscocco and Spitze (2007) also found in their study that no matter how much more the woman was earning than the man in the family, women were only seen as helpers to men. There is thus a big discrepancy between who performs the role and who is expected to take responsibility for the role. Hood (1986) argues

that because historically a woman belongs to her husband, it has translated to her labour automatically becoming her husband's labour, hence even though a woman is the one who is economically active; the husband remains the overall breadwinner by virtue of being a man.

This fuss over controlling women's earnings may be perceived oppressive towards women; reinforcing the idea that women are weak and dependent on men. In fact, due to the prominence of this belief that men should control women, women have previously and continue to incur countless injustices. Hence policies in South Africa post 1994 have sought to redress these discriminations. In addition to this, South Africa has entered into covenants which hold it accountable for ending injustices against women (Beijing Platform for Action; Convention on the Elimination on all forms of Discrimination against Women) and has also established a National Gender Machinery to ensure compliance with these treaties. On the other extreme, men continue to face pressures from society to conform to traditional ideas of being masculine and there is a lack of rigorous policy on addressing this matter (Khunou, 2006a). As we will see throughout this report, the pressures imposed on men to identify with the provider role poses serious threats to their psychosocial wellbeing.

This strong identification with the provider role has called for a further investigation on why men struggle to alter their thinking towards traditional notions of masculinities. de Keijzer (2004, p. 29) argues that "we can't think about how to change men's behaviour until we have developed understanding of how masculinities are constructed in a given culture". In the Mexican context for example, traditional masculinities have a strong influence on how men are socialised (de Keijzer, 2004). As a result, any venture to work with the men requires an inquiry about the beliefs regarding power and a sense of authority over women; how men handle emotions; the normalised culture of violence; and the beliefs regarding health and the family.

Furthermore, de Keijzer (2004, p. 30) uses Pierre Bourdieu's theory to attempt an explanation on why 'change is so hard':

> As socio-culturally constructed beings, we function through an array of representations, thoughts, and feelings. All these things are structured in what Bourdieu calls the 'habitus': structures of –perception, thought and action that last over time and are adaptable to different situations. These structures tend to be

> reproduced in the socialisation of others through an educational process instilled by authority (for example, by parents, teachers, the church, and the military).

In essence, because the 'habitus' has been groomed from the early stages of development it therefore becomes a lens through which men perceive the world and compose their actions in it. Thus, where men have been taught to be financial providers from boyhood, it becomes impossible for them to behave outside the norm. This need however to remain financial providers even when unemployed exposes patriarchy as a double-edged sword, in that though it is perceived to benefit men, it can actually be detrimental to both genders (Hearn, 2007).

2.3. Unemployment in the 'new' South Africa

2.3.1. The dynamics of unemployment in South Africa

The rate of unemployment in South Africa is strikingly high and Banerjee, Levinsohn, McLaren, & Woolard (2007) argue that this was not always the case. Just before the transition into democracy, the unemployment rate stood at 13% and there was later a noticeable increase of 2% in 1995. In 2003 the South African unemployment rate was considered one of the highest in the world and the incidence was seen to be spread on the hierarchies of race, gender, age, education and region (Kingdon & Knight, 2004). This phenomenon was highly correlated to the lack of balance between demand and supply; the labour force saw a rapid increase while the formal employment sector was lagging behind (Kingdon & Knight, 2004). Currently, according to the narrow definition[2] the rate of unemployment in South Africa stands at 25% while the broad definition[3] estimates unemployment to be at 38%, which also highlights that people have given up hope (Lings, 2012). The 25% also suggests that South Africa is doing relatively worse according to international standards (Statistics South Africa, 2012).

Although the problem of unemployment cuts across all ages, the youth of South Africa is the hardest hit by the phenomenon. Statistics show that for the ages 15-24 unemployment stands at 48.2% (males: 44.6% and females: 52.5%). Furthermore, of the 9 million young people aged 15-35, 3.2 million are unemployed according to the narrow definition while on the other hand it is recorded that youth unemployment stands at 54% including those who have lost hope (Stats SA, 2012).

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[2]Narrow definition of unemployment refers to those actively looking for jobs.
[3]The broad definition includes those that are not actively looking for work.

Despite this gruesome picture of unemployment and the increased rates since 1994, white men have not been affected and continue to hold the most paying jobs as well as senior positions (Lewins, 2008). White women also compose this category, while black men and women continue to be at the bottom of the food chain (Lewins, 2008). Recent statistics also show a major discrepancy between the unemployment rates of black (30.5%) and white (5%) men, showing that even though women (34. 6%) generally have the highest unemployment rate, men do not benefit equally. Literature often misses these disparities as focus is usually on the discrepancies between the genders and different racial groups; men are therefore erroneously perceived to be a homogeneous group (Mlatsheni & Rospabé, 2002).

Adato, Carter and May (2006) argue that it is surprising that South Africa remains an unequal nation given that it has recently witnessed positive economic growth. In 2000, then deputy president Thabo Mbeki argued that South Africa is divided into two worlds: the poor black whose Human Development Index (HDI) is equivalent to that of Zimbabwe and the affluent white whose HDI is closer to that of Italy. Although it could be argued that these trends were as a result of the slow structural transformations, this pattern seems to be repetitive and self-sustaining (Adato, et al., 2006). The gross domestic product (GDP) over the period 1993 to 2011 has been 3.26% while on the other hand the Gini coefficient[4] has increased from 0.66 to 0.70.

The narrowly constructed definitions of employment and unemployment have also undergone a series of criticisms. This is because the current state of affairs concerning issues of employment in South Africa does not withstand the naively put-together ideologies (Ceruti, 2013). International definitions of employment maintain that for a person to be considered employed they should work for at least an hour over a specified period of time (International Labour Organisation, 2007). Without exploring further what other categories entail, this definition is problematic. The definition seeks to delineate employment in light of unemployment, a cancelling method that seeks to qualify categories of employment that will be disqualified when defining unemployment (Alexander & Wale, 2013). The catch however becomes a situation whereby the conditions accompanying employment are not holistically examined, signifying that all those in the category of 'the employed' experience employment in the same way, which is not necessarily true. This problem also becomes worse in the quantitative language as numbers mask real life experiences, for example, although statistics

[4] The Gini coefficient refers to an internationally used measure of inequality.

reflect that the unemployment rate in South Africa stands at 25%, it becomes difficult to tell how many of the people in this category are working that recommended hour; how much they make is another story (Stats SA, 2012).

The ever increasing rates of unemployment determine that there is a high demand placed on the formal sector while the supply is low, and as a result, the problem has nurtured the notion of precarious work (Alexander & Wale, 2013; Kingdon & Knight, 2004). It has become a norm to find more people of working age selling on streets than in formal employment. In fact, about 1/3 of people in South Africa are in precarious work (Ceruti, 2013). Alexander and Wale (2013) conceptualise this type of work as an equation that strongly ties poverty and work. Through their research in Soweto, they found that 'employment' was over and above a channel through which many were escaping poverty and daily hardships (Alexander & Wale, 2013). This equation does not only expose the extensive problem of poverty in South Africa or Soweto for that matter, but also serves as a springboard to paying close attention to conditions that accompany making money out of desperation.

The equation further helps us look into the scarcely explored dynamic of the issue of employment/unemployment and that is underemployment. The concept has undergone a number of developments and has evolved since it was first mentioned 60 years ago (Alexander & Wale, 2013). However, due to the scope of this report, such developments will not be extensively considered. Worth mentioning, however, is that underemployment has become the biggest critique to the narrowly defined 'employment' and 'unemployment', showing that the terms are a lot more complex than usually presented. Simply put, underemployment refers to working a few or excessive hours, low pay, under utilisation of skills, inadequate employment situations which include subjective assessments of working conditions and the desire to change work due to the perceived potential for better productivity and quality of work (Alexander & Wale, 2013).

On a positive note, the International Labour Organisation (2007) recognises the hardships that accompany underemployment as opposed to simply classifying any type of work under unemployment. This is due to the realisation that for individuals to remain without any form of income in contexts of poverty is unrealistic (Alexander & Wale, 2013). Hence Alexander and Wale (2013) argue that most of their participants were *too poor to be unemployed*, which connotes that even though they were in a position of making an income (usually under dangerous or/and unpleasant conditions), they were not necessarily employed. Considering

such conditions as solely employment presents a false picture of the economic development and progress while in actual fact it is a hand-to-mouth situation. Therefore, underemployment doesn't neatly fit within employment but mirrors the challenges and short comings within the labour market and ultimately the economic development of the country.

It is for this reason that 'unemployment' can be labelled luxurious in a country as poverty stricken[5] and extremely unequal as South Africa. Although, the International Labour Organisation (2007) recognises this sentiment and gives provision to it on paper; the infamous restrictive definitions of employment and unemployment remain dominant. What Alexander and Wale (2013) argue is that in complete absence of social security nets, only those that are financially well off can afford to stay without work, which is a category that is often titled 'the unemployed'. This then suggests that in actual fact underemployment is worse than unemployment.

2.3.2. Unemployment, poverty and crime

The relationship between unemployment and crime continues to ignite vigorous debate and has been an area of interest for many sociologists, criminologists, social scientists and psychologists (Yang & Lester, 1994). The issue has remained problematic because scholars have usually narrowed down their focus to specifics (regions, gender, race, etc) and also rational-choice theories, conflict theories, strain theory, and opportunity theories (Andresen, 2012; Worral, 2008). Andresen (2012) argues however, that though these types of theorising have rendered excellent knowledge in understanding the issue of crime dichotomised, collectively and holistically there remains much confusion. Andresen (2012) argues that by being exclusive in causal methods, scholars have unwittingly ignored relationships that exist amongst the different constructs and thus do not include them in their frameworks. Cantor and Land (1985) are famously known for having pioneered such theorising through their work that attributed crime to the economic status (opportunity v/s motivation theory). Their work paved the way for more research in the area; however, the 'causality' stance does not provide an opportunity to explore other factors contributing to the problem (Andresen, 2012).

In spite of this, there are more progressive researchers who have sought to understand crime from a bigger picture, acknowledging that there are various determinants to it. Loureiro, de Mendonça, Moreira, and Sachsida (2009) mention that such determinants vary from

[5]Statistics show that about 50% of people in South Africa live below the poverty line.

economic factors to social interactions and also show that different researchers have found different realities across the spectrum. Relevant to this study is noting the escalating recurrence of unemployment and poverty in various publications pertaining to crime (Calvó-Armengol, Verdier, & Zenou, 2007). Economists argue that where there are no employment opportunities, it is inevitable for crime to be on the rise (Melick, 2003). Carmichael and Ward's (2001) longitudinal study over 42 countries found that from the period 1989 to 1996, where the rate of especially male youth unemployment was rising, so was the rate of crime. The following table illustrates their findings;

Table 1: Male youth unemployment and crime statistics

Year	**1989**	**1990**	**1991**	**1992**	**1993**	**1994**	**1995**	**1996**
Total crime	6562.7	7845.8	9213.7	9816.8	9727.5	9234.0	8913.5	8739.8
Male Youth unemployment	12.33	12.01	18.17	21.94	22.5	19.5	16.8	14.7

Carmichael and Ward's (2001)

Similarly Levitt (2001) in Phillips and Land (2012) found a correlation between the unemployment rate and property crime. Andresen (2012) also found a similar case and young men between the ages of 15 and 24 constituted a higher number of perpetrators. In South Africa, a discussion on correlations between unemployment and crime cannot afford to exclude poverty. The Operation Hunger[6] suggests that South Africa has experienced poverty levels more severe than those during the economic crunch of the 1930s and this is said to be on a rise (Potgieter, 1998). Because of the limited resources available during poverty and unemployment, Potgieter (1998) argues that individuals are automatically exposed to risky behaviours. Crime therefore, no matter how risky, becomes a channel through which resources are gained. While literature on poverty and particularly HIV/AIDS suggests that women take risks in the form of sexual favours in return for money or gifts, for men economic crime becomes the usual gateway. This is because being a man is often associated with bravery and persistence. Furthermore, while the country provides social grants and other

[6] An organisation that adopts a holistic view to poverty and its day to day effects.

relief strategies, men remain marginalised given the overly feminised face of poverty; this may explain the finding that the poverty rate among male-headed households was approximately six times higher than female-headed households[7].

Other theorists argue that participating in criminal activities is as a result of contemplated and calculated perceived benefits or losses. This process includes an assessment of how an individual stands a chance of generating an income from either formal employment or crime. For example, if an individual perceives oneself to be highly skilled in a scarce skill field, chances are that she/he will stand a better chance of securing employment in the formal sector. The opposite is true for those with no qualifications in the face of high unemployment or a recession; the perceived brutality of the formal sector may lead to pursuing other money-making opportunities including crime. According to Altindag (2012), this explains the causal relationship between levels of employment and the fluctuant crime rates.

2.4. Policies adopted to address unemployment in South Africa

2.4.1. The shift from RDP to GEAR

Post 1994 South Africa brought a lot of hope to the many previously marginalised groups, especially blacks. The idea was that through the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) all will enjoy the expectations and promises of past struggles (McKinley & Naidoo, 2004). Consistent with the macroeconomic Keynesian paradigm, the RDP strategy sought to move towards growth and development through reconstruction and redistribution (Adelzadeh, 1996). One of the ways through which this was to be achieved was by establishing a living wage in order to attain the desired level of economic growth. Resources, income and wealth were to be equally distributed and since the political party that strongly believed in the Freedom Charter came into power, the anticipation was that equality would be experienced in all spheres (Adelzadeh, 1996). The RDP further communicated the strengthening of the economy in order to create jobs. Additionally, to further embrace our rainbow nation and democracy the constitution said to be one of the best in the world was drafted and passed, with striking rights entrenched in it. It was a new dawn in the minds of many and the past had been buried (McKinley & Naidoo, 2004).

[7] The United Nations Development programme (2001) reported that the poverty rate for female-headed households stood at 6% while for male-headed households the rate was 31%

The six basic principles of the RDP were: integration and sustainability; people driven; pace and security; nation building; meeting basic needs and building the infrastructure; democratisation; and consequently assessment and accountability (White Paper on Reconstruction and Development, 1994).

South Africa however adopted a free market macroeconomic policy in 1996 known as the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) strategy (McKinley & Naidoo, 2004). Following the neo-liberal paradigm, this shift came as no surprise given that big businesses, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the World Bank were rooting for this type of framework (Adelzadeh, 1996). This strategy was initiated on the premise that the South African economy was growing at the slow rate of 3% annually, which meant jobs were not being created. GEAR promised to perpetuate the growth of the economy and double the annual percentage growth achieved previously through the RDP, a further 400 000 new jobs became anticipated annually. All this was to be attained through the expansion of private investments as well as free labour systems. In sum, the GEAR strategy diverted from the RDP mandate regarding the state's responsibility towards redistribution and delivery (Lehloesa, 2000).

<u>The long term vision for GEAR:</u>

- A competitive fast-growing economy which creates sufficient jobs for all work seekers;
- A redistribution of income and opportunities in favour of the poor;
- A society in which sound health, education and other services are available to all; and
- An environment in which homes are secure and places of work are productive.

(The Department of Finance, 1996, p. 1)

From the onset however, GEAR was always perceived to have started on a wrong note. According to Khunou (2012b), the policy was undertaken without proper consultation with other members of the tri-partite alliance. The Congress for the South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and the South African Communist Party (SACP) criticised the macro-economic policy based on three arguments: firstly, due to the limited participation of the state within such a strategy, the basic needs of the people would remain unmet. Secondly the strategy was adopted due to pressures imposed by international financial institutions; hence it ignored developmental issues and focused predominantly on economic restructuring. Finally,

COSATU and the SACP argued that GEAR moved away from the principles of the RDP, focusing on economic growth without development (Lehloesa, 2000). Khunou (2012b) adds that the current perverse sceneries of unemployment, poverty and inequality are due to the exclusion of labour from the negotiation processes; as a result COSATU has been rendered ineffective and unsuccessful in influencing policy.

Although this strategy showed macroeconomic success, growth and employment showed a negative effect. GEAR failed to meet the 6% growth that was anticipated by 2000 as well as the annual job creation of 400, 000 jobs (Lehloesa, 2000). The data provided below illustrates this point;

Table 2: GEAR predicted GDP and actual growth

	1996	**1997**	**1998**	**1999**	**2000**	**GEAR Predicted Average**	**Actual Average**
Real GDP Growth	4.2	2.5	0.7	1.9	3.1	4.2	2.5
Inflation	7.4	8.6	6.9	5.2	5.3	8.2	6.7
Budget Deficit (% GDP)	4.6	3.8	2.3	2.4		3.7	

Statistics compiled by Richard Knight, July 2001.

Table 3: Unemployment Rate

	1996	**1999**
Narrow Definition	19.3%	23.3%
Broad Definition	33.0%	36.2%

Statistics compiled by Richard Knight, July 2001.

A year after its inception, a total of 160 000 jobs were lost (130 000 in the formal non-agricultural sector and 30 000 in the public sector) while employment rates decreased in all sectors. The following tables illustrate this information;

Table 4: Labour in the Non-Agricultural Sectors Percentage change

Period	Public Sector	Private Sector	Total
1996	3.4	-2.6	-0.7
1997	-0.3	-2.5	-1.7
1998	-1.6	-4.8	-3.7
1999	-3.3	-1.3	-2.0
2000	-4.1	-2.3	-2.9

Statistics compiled by Richard Knight, July 2001.

Table 5: Manufacturing - Average Total Number of Employees

1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000
1,427,045	1,431,008	1,456,393	1,396,429	1,339,328	1,306,933	1,288,438

Statistics compiled by Richard Knight, July 2001.

The South African macroeconomic policies have thus failed to increase economic growth and create employment. In addition to this, the worldwide recession also affected South Africa drastically, slowing down recovery (Lehloesa, 2000). To date unemployment and inequality remain the most pressing issues with unemployment being wide spread predominantly in the formal sector. The economy cannot cope with the demand of employment sought by the

country's citizens and as a result many people turn to the welfare system for income security (Mmatli, 2008).

2.4.2. Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa (AsgiSA) and The joint initiative for priority skills acquisition (JIPSA)

In 2004, the African National Congress (ANC) made a commitment to halve poverty and unemployment by 2014 (from 28% to 14%). AsgiSA, under the leadership of the then deputy president Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka, became a strategy through which this would be attained. The plan depended on an annual growth of at least 4.5% between 2005 and 2009, and 6% from 2010 to 2014, which proved to be problematic (AsgiSA annual report, 2006). During its developments, six impediments were identified to the success of this strategy, they included: the relative volatility of the currency; the cost, efficiency and capacity of the national logistics system; shortages of suitably skilled labour, and the spatial distortions of apartheid affecting low-skilled labour costs; barriers to entry, limits to competition and limited new investment opportunities; the regulatory environment and the burden on small and medium enterprises (SMEs); deficiencies in state organisation, capacity and leadership (AsgiSA annual report, 2006).

In line with AsgiSA, President Jacob Zuma announced that the government will be working towards creating 500 000 jobs by the end of 2009 and four million jobs by 2014. Tshikululu Investments (2010) however, highlight the ever-present scepticism regarding the government's targets and argue that in a context of global recession the government was too ambitious. Since the beginning of the recession, over a million jobs have been lost in South Africa, giving rise to the unemployment rate from 23% to 25%. Tshikululu Investments (2010) also makes reference to the Human Sciences Research Council's (HSRC) argument that for these targets to be met, the economy needs a miraculous steady growth of between 6-7%.

AsgiSA has, since the reign of President Jacob Zuma, disappeared from government and public discourse, with much emphasis being placed on the Freedom Charter and the nationalisation of mines (Tshikululu Investments, 2010). Furthermore, since the beginning of 2009 there has not been an annual report on the policy, with confusion regarding under whose wing AsgiSA will fall, either the finance minister, economic development minister, or the planning minister. Wildenboer (2008) maintains that AsgiSA is a sound policy, which in theory marries the objectives of both RDP and GEAR through its push for shared growth.

However, the government has not shown enough enthusiasm and commitment towards attaining those goals (McGrath & Akroojee, 2007; Wildenboer, 2008).

As an integral part of AsgiSA, the deputy president further identified a need to address the skills shortage in the country (McGrath & Akroojee, 2007). The lack of adequate skills in South Africa presented itself as a stumbling block towards flourishing the economy, given that the labour market could not have enough pull of skilled individuals for participation (Wildenboer, 2008). Because unemployment has been on the rise since the early 1990s, it would seem confusing that skills shortage would be identified as an unrelenting issue. However, it appears that South Africa is on a high supply of an inadequately skilled labour force (Wildenboer, 2008). More than anything, this trend mirrors the political and social dynamics of the apartheid regime.

To conceptualise the move towards addressing skills shortage, ministers, business leaders, trade unionist and educationalists rallied together to identify as well as find practical solutions to urgent skills needs, an activity that gave birth to what later became known as JIPSA (McGrath & Akroojee, 2007). This strategy aimed to address skills shortage through curriculum reform; higher education reorganisation; further education and training transformation; a new skills development system; adult basic education and training expansion; and an overarching human resources development strategy. Skills development became an important component of the development of the country, leading the then deputy president to argue that if JIPSA fails then AsgiSA has failed epically (McGrath & Akroojee, 2007). Through JIPSA, the following needs for development were identified:

- High level engineering and planning skills for infrastructure development;
- City, urban and regional planning and engineering skills for local and provincial governments;
- Artisans and technicians, especially for infrastructure development;
- Management and planning skills in the social sectors and for local government;
- Teacher training for maths, science and English;
- Skills for the priority sectors, especially in project management, general management and finance; and
- Skills for local economic development.
  (McGrath & Akroojee, 2007, p. 426)

JIPSA has been somewhat successful, however, also presenting a number of setbacks. Tshikululu Investments (2010) report that a number of private corporations have partnered with the government to impart about 5000 skills in their training, a number that exceeds the skills usually required in those corporations. The Steel and Engineering Industry Federation of South Africa (Seifsa) has also experienced an increase of apprenticeship intake. Furthermore, the final JIPSA annual report shows that in its two years of inception, there has been a registration of 18879 artisan learners with the hope of reaching the target of 31379 in 2009.

On the down-side, JIPSA has failed to increase the number of successful candidates in the mathematics stream, continuing to hound the low application rates for technical and engineering courses. In 2004 it was found that only 5% of learners completed their maths higher grade successfully, with statistics going down in the following year (Wildenboer, 2008). In 2008 (after the inception of JIPSA) less than 10% of students in public schools participated in mathematics, with the largest number of students opting for mathematics literacy. As a consequence, engineering bursaries are predominantly offered to private schools which usually consist of white learners (Tshikululu Investments, 2010). Another challenge that has been identified is the high unemployment rates identified among university graduates. According to Wildenboer (2008), medium and large manufacturing corporations undermined the training offered by universities and thus did not acknowledge them as adequate for skills development. JIPSA is then tasked with assessing the quality of training offered by universities and to provide avenues through which the required business standards will be met.

2.5. The effects of unemployment on men

2.5.1. The effects of unemployment on the psychosocial functioning of men

Unemployment has serious psychosocial challenges on the lives of men. European men reported somatic and psychological problems after losing their jobs as a result of a recession (Novo et al., 2001). In fact, the researchers found that men were more psychosocially affected than women in this particular study (Novo et al., 2001). In the same year, another study was conducted in Europe showing that the mortality rate of men was increasing owing to both physiological, as well as psychological problems (Bartley, 1994). de Keijzer (2004) purports that the wearing away of the male provider role in the modern family contributes significantly to the psychosocial distress that men experience during unemployment. This is because not

all men navigate a clear path to renegotiating family roles, especially when the woman works, and this usually leads to domestic violence and alcoholism.

Rantakeisu, Starrin and Hagquist (1999) argue that the link between unemployment and psychological distress should be assessed in financial and moral ways. Job loss poses obvious financial strains which affect how money is being used to meet needs and maintain certain lifestyles. Moreover, in the larger social spectrum, employment has a value-creative factor and gives recognition and status hence the moral factor (Rantakeisu, et al., 1999). Work is centred on social roles and consequently on how one perceives himself as well as others. Thus, living on social security or unemployment insurance doesn't have the same social value as money earned through employment.

Apart from meeting material needs, employment also gives structure to a day, enhances self-esteem, increases mental stimulation, allows for use of skills and decision making, and also gives men a higher social status (Bartley, 1994). Hence, even the threat of losing employment may have negative consequences for men before the event even takes place. The work of Karl Marx is also helpful in illuminating the importance of moving away although not completely from the poverty-driven explanations to why employment is important for men. Through his work on work alienation, Marx argued that work is one of the most fulfilling constituents in human life, but is undermined by the capitalistic environment which alienates man from work and perpetuates powerlessness, meaningless and social isolation (du Toit, 2003). Although this discussion may seem irrelevant here, Marx's work demonstrates how work in itself is important for self-fulfilment and is not just important for generating an income to meet material needs.

Numerous researchers have found that unemployment causes feeling of embarrassment, low self-esteem, suicide and general unhappiness for men (Artazcoz, et al., 2004; Montgomery, Cook, Bartley, & Wadsworth, 1999; Platt & Kreitman, 1990; Pritchard, 1992; Theodossiou, 1998). Furthermore, Eisenberg and Lazarsfeld (1938) posit that unemployment poses negative effects on emotional stability. Their study found that unemployment caused emotional instability with participants being found to be neurotic, anxious, disintegrated and pessimistic about their future. The emotional instability also manifested through behaviours such as unreasonable financial spending, suicide, extroverts turning into introverts as well as disinterest in normally enjoyed activities (Eisenberg & Lazarsfeld, 1938). Social behaviour may also change in a drastic way, resulting in heavy drinking, smoking and violent behaviour

(Bartley, 1994). The work of Banks and Jackson (in Winefield, Winefield, Tiggemann & Goldney, 1991) also illustrate that there are strong ties between unemployment and mental illness in that in the event where men found employment, their psychological wellbeing improved.

Despite the intriguing effects of unemployment on the psychosocial functioning of men, scientific inquiry has produced an alarming amount of data suggesting that men are more reluctant than women to seek help in times of ill-health (Bertakis, Azari, Helm, Collahan, & Robbins, 2000; Courtenay, 2000; Fox & Rainie, 2012; George & Fleming, 2004; Leaf, Bruce, & Tischler, 1986; Pi-Sunyer, 1991). In addition, men have been found to normalise symptoms and irrespective of the perceived consequences they remain passive to their psychosocial health (Bertakis et al., 2000). In Katz et al. (1996) a study, for example, shows that although HIV positive and unemployed men showed symptoms of depression, not even close to half of those men sought psychosocial help. Furthermore, the results showed that with men younger than 35 only 68 utilised psychosocial services compared to 108 of those older. Race was also an intriguing factor as only 42 black men used those services compared to the 134 white men.

Research also shows that men find it difficult to identify symptoms of mental illness and therefore do not access help. Jaycox, Marshall and Schell (2004) endeavoured to find out the prevalence of mental health facility usage in men who have recently suffered Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD), 74% of the respondents mentioned that they did not perceive any problem post experiencing a violent incident even though they were diagnosed with PTSD. Leaf, et al. (1986) also found in their study that men did not see any need to utilise services offered by social workers, psychologists and psychiatrists in New Haven.

This behaviour has for a large part been correlated, just as other social practices to the enactment of masculinities (Courtenay, 2000; North & Smith, 1992; Rochlen & Hoyer, 2005). In communities where men are expected to be emotionally in control, men shy away from seeking psychosocial help fearing the consequences that come with stigma (Kgomo, 2011). de Keijzer (2004, p.30) argues that:

> Elizabeth Badinter characterises men's socialisation as taking place along a straight but very narrow path, and men fear to fall on one of the two sides: the fear of being seen as female (which may lead to active misogyny), or of being seen as gay (which may lead to homophobia). Men are submitted to this gender policing from early

> childhood far into adult years. From this perspective, masculinity, and the denial of femininity, is something that men have constantly to demonstrate, both to women and to other men. By denial we mean not only recognising the possibility of being different from women, but also the active rejection of everything that is perceived feminine.

Traditional masculinities have however been disqualified as the sole contributor to men's absence in the health help seeking domains –I write about other contributors later on, however, it cannot be denied that where punishment is imputable for acting otherwise, men opt for safer options, which unfortunately include censoring emotions and hiding vulnerabilities. However, in situations where men are violent, abuse alcohol and are heavy smokers not only individuals suffer but families and communities within which these men live (Addis & Cohane, 2005). The large scale damage calls for policy makers, the state and other community leaders to forge ways in which men can freely seek psychosocial help (Rochlen & Hoyer, 2005).

2.6. Psychosocial services: policy v/s reality

2.6.1. A macroscopic view of the mental health policy in South Africa

The South African mental health system poses numerous strengths in relation to its African counterparts; this is echoed by the highly progressive legislation as well as promising improvements in the decentralisation of resources and the slowly improving services since the dawn of democracy (Petersen & Lund, 2011; WHO, 2007). The first post apartheid mental health policy was adopted in 1997 but did not meet the policy development protocols and was thus not published for dissemination (WHO, 2007). The policy was later reformed in 2002, meeting international human rights standards to redress the upshots of apartheid by bridging the inequality gap and ensuring general access of mental health services by communities (Ramlall, 2012). The Act includes the following areas:

1. Access to mental health care including access to the least restrictive care;
2. Rights of mental health service consumers, family members, and other care givers;
3. Competency, capacity, and guardianship issues for people with mental illness;
4. Voluntary and involuntary treatment;
5. Accreditation of professionals and facilities;
6. Law enforcement and other judicial system issues for people with mental illness;

7. Mechanisms to oversee involuntary admission and treatment practices; and
8. Mechanisms to implement the provisions of mental health legislation.
(WHO, 2007, p. 8)

Typically, the Act remains a good piece of legislation and not much can be celebrated about its tangible results. The Act charges the departments responsible for health care in the country to ensure that mental health services are efficient and accessible; however, it makes no provision in terms of how this should be attained. So far, Ramlall (2012, p.408) argues that "implementation of the Act has been haphazard and dominated by acute care with neglect of the promotion, prevention and rehabilitation components of care." Moreover, it also seems that some of the identified challenges prior to the formulation of the policy in 1993 continue to exist twenty years later. Some of these include: lack of collaboration in various factors, lack of coordinated funding, disparities in the access to resources, minimal emphasis on psychosocial problems, lack of prevention and promotion activities, more emphasis on institutional care and one-to-one methods as opposed to meso and macro interventions and shortage in human capacity (Ramlall, 2012).

In addition, Lund, Stein, Flisher and Mehtar (2007) argue that one of the biggest challenges that remain regarding the policy is to ensure the delivery of appropriate mental health services at both provincial and district levels. In their review of the progress made in the mental health sector from the year 2000 to 2010, Petersen and Lund (2011) found that the resources aimed at supporting community based initiatives were insufficient and as a result, mental health disorders remained largely undetected and ultimately untreated. Furthermore, there is also shortage of well-trained personnel to carry through treatments, therapy and rehabilitation (Burns, 2011; Lund, et al., 2007; Sorsdahl, Stein, & Lund, 2012). This is an unfortunate dilemma, especially because the Mental Health Act serves to keep decision makers in the loop about the importance of establishing parity in mental health and consistency in improving services (WHO, 2007). There remains an urgent need to maximise the current infrastructure and human capacity, as well as make plans to develop additional resources (Sorsdahl, et al., 2012).

Monitoring and evaluation as an important component of the Act is also not happening, making it difficult to assess the types of services offered across the spectrum (Lund, Petersen, Kleintjes, & Bhana, 2012). An audit in the Western Cape revealed that hospital personnel did

not respond to questionnaires regarding mental health care, indicating that the facilities do not have information systems that ensure transparency and accountability regarding services provided (Lund, et al., 2007). WHO has published some guidelines regarding the development of Mental Health Information Systems and can be helpful in helping the South African mental health system improve their methods as they meet international standards.

There is continual stigma and discrimination against people with mental illness, as a result being a recipient of mental health services is frowned upon (Lund, et al., 2012). Stigma and discrimination pose serious challenges on the effective use of psychotherapy and other treatments, accessibility and the appropriate planning of service deliveries. The Department of Health is primarily in charge of overseeing the coordination of public education and awareness on mental health disorders; however NGOs and other advocacy bodies have also played a significant role in pushing this mission forward (WHO, 2007). Petersen and Lund (2011) argue that anti-stigma campaigns are important in improving mental health literacy and increasing help seeking behaviour, but should however be evaluated to assess what works and what doesn't, particularly because stigma has persisted in spite of the endeavours aiming to ameliorate it.

Another challenge facing mental health in South Africa is the issue of cultural incongruence. In their review, Petersen and Lund (2011) found that black communities utilise both western and traditional healing systems. Even so, literature indicates that there seems to be no cooperation between the two which is unfortunate as a number of studies show that traditional healers may be helpful in providing cultural appropriate services (Sorsdahl, et al., 2012). Class also serves as a barrier, leading to undesirability and lack of identification with scientific mental health practices (Lund, et al., 2012).

Although sound on paper, the implementation of the Mental Health Care Act still has a long way to travel, especially because there are significant gaps identifiable between the ever-hailed human rights approach enshrined in the policy and the callous reality (Lund, et al., 2012; Ramlall, 2012). More work remains necessary in regarding: Access and integration into general health; resource constraints; administration; promotion and prevention components; community-based methods instead of person centred approach; and human rights violations.

2.6.2. The nature of available psycho-social services to men in South Africa

The South African healthcare system holds a strong legacy of colonial and apartheid health policies. These were defined through the unequal provision of health care services on the hierarchies of race, gender and age (Coovadia et al., 2009; Khunou, forthcoming). Present day South Africa is well known for its fledgling democracy and the constant battle to decentralise resources, promoting equal development. With this proving to be difficult, the healthcare system continues to be burdened with poverty related diseases, as well as HIV/AIDS and other incommunicable diseases. Lund, Kleintjies, Kakuma and Flisher (2010) also add that psychosocial challenges and psychiatric conditions rank third in the most prevalent health conditions in South Africa. Consequently, even as a middle income country, South Africa is considered worse off than many other lower income countries regarding health outcomes (Coovadia et al., 2009; Kleinert & Horton, 2009;).

The South African mental health system proves inadequate to cope with the demands placed on it (Burns, 2011; Petersen & Lund, 2011). The services are chronically under-resourced, with only about 28% of people accessing these resources (Draper et al., 2009). Burns (2011) shows that for every 100 000 people the country only has 0.28 psychiatrists, 0.32 psychologists, 0.4 social workers, 0.13 occupational therapists and 10 nurses. Furthermore, facilities remain largely underdeveloped and thus inaccessible to the communities, as a result severe mental disorders remain untreated. Wilson (2012, November 9) also adds that high unemployment rates and retrenchments especially for men make it difficult for them to access private facilities. Adequately resourced facilities come very pricy but due to poverty and high unemployment rates, many black men remain financially excluded. Health problems are much of a bigger problem for those with less money as it results in dealing with spending longer times in waiting rooms as well as the stigma associated with using public facilities (Khunou & Munatswa, forthcoming Wilson, 2012, November 9). The public sector offers free basic health care for all those who cannot afford medical aid or do not receive it through their jobs which is about 80% of the population, the remaining 20% receives top high care with various options to use the best services available in the country (Human, 2010).

Gilbert, Selikow and Walker (2010) make a direct association between poor health conditions and conservative macro-economic policies that render the government stingy towards the public health sector and other social services. This not only compromises facilities but also weakens the capacity of psychosocial services to cope with demands given the inability to

capitalise on human resource (Lund, et al., 2010). In addition Coovadia et al. (2009) argue that the very root causes of health, mental health issues and inequalities in South Africa are found in the 'free markets' macro-economic policies. This ideology has maintained the impoverished conditions of particularly black people while the white population continues to flourish economically. This is expressed through overcrowded black settlements, lack of sanitation, malnutrition, underdeveloped health and mental health facilities particularly in rural areas and townships.

Despite this contextual analysis and how it points that psychosocial resources are unevenly distributed, scholars persistently correlate the limited use of psychosocial services by men to the traditional notions of hegemonic masculinities. Not only is this view limited but it also undermines the notion of multiplicity inherent within the term 'masculinities'. Connell (1995) argues that masculinities are dissimilar and that they do not always connote negative life style choices. Khunou (forthcoming) emphasises this by arguing that academia and mass media have for a long time stereotyped men as uncaring and therefore often preclude their positive actions towards maintaining positive life styles. Khunou (forthcoming) illustrates this through an in depth analysis of a newspaper article published in the *Sowetan* newspaper which disregarded physical exercise as a proactive measure to fitness and wellbeing by the men interviewed. de Keijzer (2004) also shows that literature downplays the efforts by men to seek psychosocial help, and gives accounts of scenarios where men overcame resistances and became proactive. Furthermore, in reporting about the help-seeking behaviours of men regarding their psychosocial wellbeing, literature often mentions that there are 'other' methods that men adopt, but seldom explores or even mentions what they are. By so doing, scholars unwittingly dismiss the efforts by men to seek help and thus paint an untrue picture which reiterate men as uncaring and inactive in pursuing their wellbeing.

2.6.3. 'Other' methods employed by men to manage psychosocial distress.

The clinical setting has become a formalised method of intervention to assist individuals to solve psychosocial problems. This notion stems from Western approaches that claim objectivity in knowledge and through scientific methodologies have 'proved' and thus normalised the client-worker methods of facilitating change (Hook, 2004). Although group focused and community work have become instigated, practice from these frameworks is lagging behind and also often inhabits Western ideologies (Lund, et al., 2012; Petersen & Lund, 2011; Sorsdahl, et al., 2012). Opposition forces however, oppose the view that there is

such a thing as a ‘value-free’ science and readily point to how clinical settings overtly reflect Western values in the setting, the worker-client relationship and methods (Ferguson, 2008; Hook, 2004). On the other hand, traditional masculinities have been put off as stagnant and generally illusive to the wellbeing of men. Literature often points to the downside of hegemonic masculinities but fails to acknowledge the positive contributions of especially African traditional masculinities on the men’s behaviour. A simple example can be with initiation schools which have for a large part been associated with bogusness, deaths and ill-health, however, on a positive note initiation schools have been said to have an enormous influence on positive outcomes for young boys (Meyer & Struther, 2012).

A number of scholars agree that one of the reasons that the mental health policy has been ineffective is that traditional healers and other community initiatives have been excluded (Lund, et al., 2012; Petersen & Lund, 2011; Sorsdahl, et al., 2012). The belief in supernatural powers cuts across all socio-economic classes in various African countries, but research on the effectiveness of these methods is scant. Hook (2004) argues that knowledge production plays a crucial role in maintaining and extending power relations, this also applies to what becomes acceptable and what becomes dismissed and in this way a lot of voices become silent.

In an attempt to centralise previously marginalised voices, especially in knowledge production and practice, a number of theories have been developed. One of the theories is radical organising, which to a large extent adopted postmodernism theories to conceptualise social division and change (Ferguson, 2008). Postmodernists posit that there is no objective reality outside language. Rather there are language games with each conceptualising its own account of the truth. Postmodernism thus takes an anti-realism stance whereby reality is subjective and each account thereof is as valuable as others. The claim is that accepting one ‘truth’ usually means undermining others, eliciting superiority and inferiority (Ferguson, 2008). Practice that operates from this ideology would thus appreciate the use of traditional healers, social cohesion initiatives and communal practices that men utilise when facing psychosocial services. Instead we find that these methods are ‘othered’ because they do not conform to Western methods.

Another theorising that has sought to acknowledge and represent all voices, particularly in the social work discipline is the anti-oppressive practice (Danso, 2009; Dominelli, 2002).

However, in reality this form of practice is somewhat non-existent. Anti-oppressive practice has a strong link to anti-discriminatory practice, however, the anti-oppressive practitioner doesn't seek to just treat all clients equally, but instead, focus is on power relations and eradicating the notions of the inferior and the superior, especially in knowledge production (McLaughlin, 2007). It would therefore seem appealing here for researchers and practitioners to bring these 'other' methods to the fore and explore the extent to which they are effective. What research on men's help-seeking behaviour often misses are the indigenous methods that are being used in specific contexts and have stood the test of time. An example can be family interventions whereby the family comes together to offer support and advice to the man who is experiencing psychosocial challenges. While speaking to a social worker or a psychologist may be practical for a white middle-class man, speaking to wise men in the community might hold the same value for a black unemployed man. What scholars have however done is over-research the same methods over time and thus produce similar results which erroneously suggest that clinical methods are the most effective and appropriate (McLaughlin, 2007). What should happen on the contrary is that research should aim to produce findings useful to bring about change in specific contexts.

2.7. Theoretical frameworks

2.7.1. Social identity theory

A central tenet of the social identity theory is that an individual's evaluation of his\her belongingness in a social group will determine his/her beliefs, attitudes and perceptions which result to a social identity (Blanz, Mumendey, Mielke, & Klink, 1998; Greene, 2004; Terry, Hogg, & White, 1999). Furthermore, while belonging to that group, the ultimate goal becomes ensuring that it assumes a higher social status than the other rival groups (Greene, 2004). Consequently, the groups are in constant battle with one another to either retain or gain higher social status, with the result of belonging to a lower status group: a negative social identity (Blanz, et al., 1998). This, theory is relevant for this study in that it helps signify the complexities associated with belonging to a certain category of masculinities. As Shown in the literature review section; adhering to or fulfilling elements of masculinities means having gained entry into a group (Ratele, 2008). The theory has a potential to show how social identity (beliefs and ideologies) may contribute to how men relate to paid work and how those relations may or may not contribute to psychosocial dysfunction during unemployment. Furthermore, the theory may also help us understand the difficulty shown in

literature for men to identify with more than one idea of masculinities as either ‘you’re in or you’re out’.

2.7.2. Eco-systems approach

Through analysing how different species functioned in certain environments and how those environments exerted influence on the species, Charles Darwin gave birth to what is now known as the ecological model (Duncan, Bowman, Pillay & Roos, 2007). Embedded in this model is the belief that human behaviour cannot be studied outside the influences of history, politics, culture and the socio-economic conditions apparent in the context within which the research is conducted (Duncan, et al., 2007). It is for this reason that this framework is relevant for this particular study. As literature indicated, notions of masculinities and the provider role are born in social relationships and are not inherent in genes. They are social constructs embedded in culture, religion and politics. Thus, this study will pay peculiar attention to how structure and agency play a role in constructing paradigms around men and work as well as paradigms pertaining to men and their use of psychosocial services.

2.7.2. Functionalism

The third and final theoretical paradigm adopted in this study is *functionalism*. Van Der Berghe (1963) postulates that the theory has seven suppositions, (1) the whole (society, family, etc.) consists of systems of interrelated parts, (2) the systems affect one another in multiple and reciprocal ways, (3) social systems are in the continuous process of dynamic equilibrium, there is a need for systems to manage forces from external factors so that change within the system is minimised, (4) perfect equilibrium is never reached, dysfunctions do occur and can endure for longer periods of time, however, they eventually resolve themselves of become institutionalised. (5) Change that is drastic often occurs in the super-structure, otherwise, change occurs in a gradual manner on the social and cultural structures of society, (6) “Change comes from basically three sources: adjustment of the system to exogenous (or extra-systemic) change; growth through structural and functional differentiation; and inventions or innovations by members or groups within society” (Van Der Berghe, 1968, p. 696). The final component of the functionalism theory suggests that (7) the whole is held together by a value system which maintains stability of the socio-cultural systems. This theory will help unravel how unemployment (change) has affected men (and their family members and society) as systems of a whole and how this change is managed within different components which exert an influence on the men’s response (psychosocial wellbeing).

2.8. Conclusion

This chapter embodies the different theoretical underpinnings regarding what gender and masculinities are, illustrating that they do not mean the same thing everywhere. This incongruence between the different forms of masculinities may seem confusing and unhelpful but ultimately serves to magnify that 'boys' will not always be 'boys', suggesting an urgent need to recognise the differences that exist among different men (Morrell, 2001). This will help centralise men's issues, creating space for men's challenges to be adequately understood and thus addressed. Men cannot be fully understood devoid of history, the socio-political context, the economic aspects as well as psychological factors (Oyegun, 1998).

The chapter has also looked into the unemployment trends in South Africa and offered a critical review of the usage of the terms employment and unemployment which often excludes underemployment. The literature showed that underemployment should be equally featured in public discourse as many South Africans fall under this category. Underemployment should not be erroneously understood as employment as the two are different. The chapter also focused on the different policies adopted in South Africa to address the challenge of unemployment. The policies were examined, thus both successes and failures were presented.

The effects of unemployment on the psychosocial wellbeing of men were also considered. This section showed findings from different studies on what different scholars have found concerning unemployed men globally. The chapter further looked into the mental health policy of South Africa and the challenges faced to implement the policy, different debates across the spectrum were presented as well as the challenges faced due to low budgets and staff shortages; these demonstrated the nature of services available in the country. The chapter finally discussed the three theoretical frameworks considered to structure the study, which are: the Social Identity Theory; the Eco-systems Approach; as well as Functionalism. The chapter that follows looks into the research methodology used to conduct this study.

CHAPTER THREE

Research methodology

3.1. Introduction

While the previous chapter reflected on the body of literature engaged with for this study, this section focuses on the methodology adopted to examine the conception of work and masculinities and the psychosocial wellbeing of men during unemployment. The methodology adopted in any research project is important as it begins to give direction to the logic of the research (Marlow & Boone, 2005). It offers an understanding regarding theoretical underpinnings and epistemological frameworks which subsequently means that 'methodology' refers to the development of procedures to carry out the research (Rubin & Babbie, 2011).

This study adopted the interpretive paradigm which is often labelled the opposite of the positivist approach (Rubin & Babbie, 2011). The interpretive school of thought maintains that reality cannot be studied objectively but rather the political, economic and social context that participants live and interact in add to the weight of their views, which later become the research findings. Hence, it is important to carefully look for the meanings and the interpretations that participants bring to the research and this suggests that there is an indefinite interplay of the intrapersonal and the interpersonal. Research from this stance doesn't take what is at face value, but evaluates meanings and feelings that go with what is observed (Rubin & Babbie, 2011).

The aim of this study was to explore the perceptions of men regarding the provider role and how those perceptions obstruct and or enhance their psychosocial wellbeing during unemployment. The study sought to unravel the experiences of men during unemployment and how they experience their daily interactions, roles and relationships. 22 black men from Soweto were interviewed and were aged between eighteen and thirty-five as well as three social workers who have previously worked as student social workers for Ipelegeng Youth Leadership Development Programme (IYLDP). In this chapter, I also critically reflect on the dynamic processes of research, as well as the difficulties that I encountered that are not usually accounted for in the text books.

3.2. Qualitative approach

In line with the interpretive paradigm, the qualitative approach was used as it allows for in depth understanding of phenomena (Marlow & Boone, 2005). The qualitative approach is contextual and "offers access to valuable type of data: a deeper and richer understanding of people's lives and behaviour, including some knowledge of their subjective experiences" (Monette, Sullivan & Dejong, 2005, p. 219). This approach was valuable for this research as it sought to study the subjective perceptions coupled with meanings and feelings attached to unemployment, masculinities and psychosocial wellbeing.

The advantages of using this approach lie in the depth of information it produces. It is concerned with the everyday lives of participants and thus provides thick descriptions (Shaw & Gould, 2001). The researcher gets an opportunity to grasp information from the insiders which requires attentiveness and empathic understanding in order to get hold of the holistic picture. Participants are allowed an opportunity to assign their direct interpretations to phenomena and not the researcher (Monette, et al., 2005; Shaw & Gould, 2001). Weber called this *verstehen*, and argued that how people view what is happening to them is important in capturing their experiences (Monette, et al., 2005).

In essence the approach echoes the very aim of this research, and that is to present the multidimensional perceptions and experiences of unemployed black men and how their unemployment status has influenced their psychosocial wellbeing. The sample deliberately included the men themselves as they are the 'true actors' and have the first-hand experience, they also know best how it feels like to be an unemployed man. Moreover, the research also included social workers who encounter these men and therefore have some insight on some of the aspects of their lives, especially their psychosocial wellbeing and the dynamics surrounding it.

Furthermore, this study identifies with the epistemological premise that knowledge is not value free. Instead, what the researcher deems important and worthy to explore stems from experiences, personal commitments (paradigms) and interests (Monette, et al., 2005). This becomes evident from the very early stages of identifying the research topic and continues to the very last stages of data analysis and reporting (Monette, et al., 2005). This section thus also looks into the researcher characteristics and how they influenced the study.

3.3. Sampling

Purposive and snowball sampling methods were used to recruit participants for this research. Firstly, purposive sampling was used because of the already available knowledge of the population's characteristics (Babbie & Mouton, 2001). Participants had to be black men, between the ages 18 and 35, residents of Soweto and out of work for at least a period of one year. Statistics South Africa (2012) showed that men within this age group were the most affected by unemployment. The criteria was also limited to men who have been unemployed for more than a year as the Unemployment Insurance Fund (UIF) makes payouts for the duration of a year, suggesting that this is how long it may take to find another job. This type of sampling was also used because of the hard to reach population. The researcher had initially planned to target participants from Ipelegeng Youth Leadership Development Programme (IYLDP)[8], which is located in Soweto Central and attracts unemployed young people from all over Soweto. This proved to be difficult however, as most of the participants had not worked before and consequently did not fit the sample criteria. This problem became an important elucidation of the intensity of unemployment in the country as most participants were actively looking for work but were unsuccessful. In the end I relied more on snowball sampling, which refers to getting participants through referrals from other participants (Babbie & Mouton, 2001; de Vos, Strydom, Fouche & Delport, 2001). This type of sampling was used because the already sampled participants had knowledge of others with similar characteristics being studied (Monette, et al., 2005).

Furthermore, the plan was to interview four social workers, two from IYLDP and the other two from Family and Marriage Association of South Africa (FAMSA[9]). However, I failed to obtain formal permission from the social agency after several attempts to do so. The next step became writing to other organisations, which became a difficult task given that social agencies that cater for men were very few in the area. I thus ended up interviewing three social workers who were previously placed with IYLDP as student social workers; the organisation no longer had an in-house social worker.

[8] The Ipelegeng Youth Leadership Development Program is a youth established project aimed to address unemployment, skills shortage, lack of access to tertiary institutions and lack of study funds

[9]FAMSA is a social agency aimed at preserving the family through preventative and remedial services. Their programs include: community development, counselling, employee support services, training and education.

3.4. Research Site

3.4.1. Contextualising Soweto

According to Monette, et al. (2005), the interpretive paradigm stresses that the objective viewpoint that the positivist paradigm claims misses an imperative aspect of the human experience and the meanings that they attach to them, and that is their surroundings. The social context is important and it is through understanding the context within which people create meanings that subjective knowledge emerges (Monette, et al., 2005). This study has looked at participants that are products of social interactions but also recognises agency. Masculinities or the ideas of manhood as literature proclaims are born and reinforced in social institutions such as schools, churches and families, hence it proved important to explore the everyday life in Soweto (Khunou, 2006a; Morrell, 2001).

Soweto an acronym for 'South Western Townships' is composed of a number of townships on the south-west of Johannesburg across 20 kilometres (Brand South Africa, 2013). The area covers about 150 square kilometers and has approximately 43% of Johannesburg's residences (Simpson, 2012). Post the discovery of gold, Johannesburg received the highest number of migrants. People flocked from rural areas across the country seeking work opportunities in the newly discovered mine camps. Soweto was born out of the need to accommodate some of the population of the Johannesburg area who were often unemployed black people (Bonnet & Segal, 1998). This was a tactic by the apartheid regime to segregate black people and reserve the city for economic activities. The white communities moved to the suburbs, also mandated by the separatist policies of that time. The first sets of townships developed in 1904 and were known as Klipspruit; these townships were used to accommodate black labourers who worked in the mines in the city. The later years saw a vast growth and the township expanded drastically, this was because of the fast growing industry of mining. It was only in 1963 that the area received the name 'Soweto' after a four-year long competition to find an appropriate name for the ever expanding township.

Soweto largely consists of 'matchbox' houses, the four roomed houses provided by the apartheid government to provide low cost accommodation for black labourers. However, extending and bettering houses has become more widespread. Renting backrooms and shacks has also become one of the common ways to provide accommodation for those seeking a

better life in the city and is also a way of making an income. Most of the participants in this study resided in matchbox houses with their extended families and some were renting backrooms and shacks on their own. Soweto is also home to the affluent, emerging black middle class who dwell in 'extensions', areas similar to the suburbs, examples of such areas are Diepkloof extension and Pimville extension. Furthermore, hostels initially built to accommodate male migrant labourers also continue to be home to Sowetans, as well as informal settlements made mostly from iron, scrap and timber.

Soweto is known as a melting pot of South African cultures, fused with Afro-American influence and also exhibits a sense of cosmopolitan sophistication. Being from Soweto myself, I understood the different languages and cultures dominant in the area and therefore did not battle to 'fit in'. I remember attending a soccer match on the dusty grounds of Dobsonville in order to find participants. The formal language imprinted on the participant information sheet flew out the window as I began expressing myself in the dominant *kasi* language formerly known as *tsotsi-taal*[10]. The responses were similarly very informal as my prospective participants often responded "*sho sisters*" and "*stress-less ngwana"* which are dominant ways for young men to address a woman in their age group (Field notes, 14 July 2013). Peil (1993) agrees that understanding the local language is important for the researcher; it helps with preserving the meaning of different connotations used by participants.

During the course of my field work I also became attentive to discourses surrounding men and unemployment, the provider role and the use of psychosocial services. I remember doing my hair at one of the local salons and overhearing a conversation between two ladies awaiting their turn with the hairdresser. One of them had just ended a telephonic conversation and with excitement she jumped off the couch and asked her friend sitting beside her to quickly send her banking details to her boyfriend. The friend jokingly replied *"he better put enough for the bank charges as well"*, and her friend rolled her eyes and exclaimed *"you know my men always send serious money, of course I'll leave you some change"*. My heart

[10]Molamu (2010) explains that *Tsotsi taal* came about as a result of the ethno-linguistically diverse communities that resided in the Witwatersrand area, particularly Sophia Town and Newclare. The language was developed on the streets by young men who gathered together to blom (chill). The word tsotsi was used to refer to young black working class men who used to narrow their trousers, but later came to be used to refer to members of a gang. The language has been developing over time and is still used in the townships (Molamu, 2010).

began to pound as I was feeling the edge to instigate a conversation with them regarding their statements. I however, became reluctant to say anything - they looked like the type that would just buzz me off (Field notes, 21 July 2013). Two weeks later, I took advantage of a similar encounter where I was having a 'girl-talk' with a friend; she was complaining that her boyfriend doesn't spend money on her. In sum, without gifts and money for airtime, she didn't feel loved. My friend further complained using a Sepedi idiom that says *"monna ke hlogo ya lapa, bjale ge a patlwa ke go iphutha o tla phutha bjang mosadi le bana?"* which means that a man should keep it together in order to exercise power over his family and serve as a good example to steer them in the right direction. I could not interrogate her further as she acknowledged that her statements were patriarchal, and because she knew that I was doing research around masculinities and money, she immediately asked me to not question her further (Field notes, 16 August 2013).

Employment and money also played an important role for most young men in Soweto. Consistent with Khunou (2009), this need for money was to impress girls with expensive clothes, alcohol and parties. On weekends, from corner to corner all I heard was *"ziwaphi"* which translates "where is the party", No funeral, hail storm, or amaberede[11] would stop a party in Soweto as they usually said *"siyabangena nakanjani"* meaning "we won't stop at anything to party". Gibson and Lingdegaard (2007) argue that the novel dynamism of being young in South Africa requires monetary resources. This is because "on the dance floor it doesn't matter which party you voted for in the last election or whether you know how many provinces make up the country". Gibson and Lingdegaard (2007) make reference here to the dominant ideologies of looking good and wearing the most expensive labels which play a critical role in shaping the masculine identity. This however is a reality for a minority well-off people, while for others it is far beyond reach. The media has however more recently discovered young men who break this barrier, famously known as the *Isikhothane.* The concept of *Isikhothane* refers to the groups of young men that wear the most expensive clothes, throw the best parties and date the most beautiful girls even though their economic backgrounds are not permissible. It doesn't end here however as what distinguishes them is their popular culture of burning those clothes, tearing up money and the spilling of alcohol (Mafisa, 2012, March 8).

[11] Members of the Police who wear berets and are often found patrolling the townships. These are often men who numerous newspapers report to be taking the law into their own hands through physically assaulting criminals. During fieldwork, participants also alleged that these police raided taverns and would assault even the harmless, especially male youths.

It was such discoveries and experiences going into the field that limited my perspective of young men to that of partying, living young and free and conforming to the famous saying *'you only live once'*. It therefore came as a surprise to me that there were young men in Soweto that deemed taking care of their families and providing for them more important than partying. This research opened my eyes to a totally different perspective where the provider role is significantly more important in the household than outside and on the dance floor. I discuss these dynamics further in the findings chapter.

Although Soweto has for a long time been a victim of poor infrastructure, overcrowding, poor service delivery and high unemployment; the post 1994 government has toiled to ensure improvements in the area (Brand South Africa, 2012). Furthermore, although the area accounts for about 43% of the population in Johannesburg, Soweto only contributes 4% of the economic output (City of Joburg, 2008). Precarious work is predominant in the area and often means that many are just surviving, living from hand to mouth (Alexander & Wale, 2013). Street vendors and tuck shops are found in major intersections where purchasers can be easily identified. The government services account for 20% of the economy, with construction 4%, transport 3.5% and trade 3%. Soweto is largely dependent on the city for employment as it does not have a durable economy of its own (City of Joburg, 2008).The unemployment rate stands at 53% and even though the area exudes a variety of income groups, only a few households make up the rich category while the rest are poverty stricken (Simpson, 2012). Muggings, burglary, and car theft are prevalent in the area as most young men turn to them in order to make a living (Palmer Development Group, 2004).

Unemployment was so widespread that at some point when I was struggling to find participants my cousin reprimanded me for being ignorant. She said that Soweto smelled of unemployment and made an example of the young men that we were passing by playing soccer on the open field, she said to me *"look, there is unemployment"*. In a moment a car also passed us by filled with young men and she said *"unemployment has just passed by, look"*.

This was true; it was as if a veil had just been removed from my face and all I ever saw from that day on was unemployed men, young and old, drunk and sober, fat and thin, smart and foolish; some lived in shacks and others in houses, some looked rich and others poor but they all had one thing in common, they were unemployed. 'Unemployment' sat next to me in the

taxi every morning on my way to the university, tapping a brown envelope on its thighs, nervous about the interview later on that day. 'Unemployment' was taking its chances on me every evening, making promises of taking good care of me if I gave it a chance to. 'Unemployment' was delaying my taxi every morning on those street corners, trying to find more passengers so that the taxi driver could leave a R2 coin behind. 'Unemployment' had always surrounded me (Field notes, 12 September 2013).

Soweto is large in scale and comprises many interesting stories and realities that cannot be contained in this report due to its limited scope. However, I have attempted to offer a general picture of the context as it plays a crucial role in how this research shapes up. Monette, et al. (2005) maintain that after learning about the socio-political context, the researcher should then focus on how individuals interpret what is happening to and around them, proving that the environment has a large impact on participants' lives.

3.5. Piloting

A pilot study was conducted before the actual interviews informing this report. Piloting includes conducting a few interviews before the actual data collection in order to test the interview tool and take note of what works and what doesn't (de Vos, et al., 2001). For this study two such interviews were conducted to help me try out the interview schedule. It was explained to the participants that the interviews were for piloting purposes and permission was attained to continue.

Through piloting practical aspects of establishing access and the actual interviewing were assessed, as well as the quality of interviewing skills (McLaughlin, 2007). From this process I was able to fine tune my skills and polish the questions in the schedule. For example, I learned how to ask open ended questions and how to direct the interviews. This process continued through to the first few interviews as I was still unsure of myself and had not immersed myself into the interviewing process.

These interviews often left me asking myself if I am addressing the research questions. It took an extensive discussion with my supervisor to realise my mistakes, she pointed out my questioning skills and suggested ways of facilitating interviews in a manner that will help me address the research questions. As a result of this consultation, I was able to sit with these first few interviews, look for the loopholes and jot down what I could improve going forward. The latter interviews were therefore less burdensome and confusing as I managed to remain

calm and trusted myself as a researcher. I was able to establish rapport with the participants and therefore generated more information.

3.6. The interviews

An interview schedule that includes questions that were aimed at addressing the objectives was used. Interview schedules help researchers set questions that might be appropriate to engage with the participants (de Vos, et al., 2001). The schedule was helpful in providing direction for the interviews and also kept the study focused on the objectives that it sought to obtain. However, the different interviews were directed differently, depending on the participants' interaction.

3.6.1. Semi-structured interviews

Individual semi-structured interviews were used to collect data for the study and the duration of each interview lasted between forty and fifty minutes as opposed to the one hour-thirty minutes that was initially proposed. This was because my interviewing skills had improved; participants were becoming clearer and thus not much probing was necessary. The semi-structured interviews were meant to get a detailed account of the experiences of the unemployed black men as well as the three social workers. According to de Vos, et al. (2001), semi-structured interviews include the researcher pre-planning a few questions and then building on these key questions during the interviews. The researcher must be highly skilled in the art of probing. I facilitated the interviews and guided the participants as illustrated in de Vos, et al. (2001).

Semi-structured interviews were appropriate for this study as they helped to not confine participants to answering questions that were preset. Instead, they made the interviews flexible and allowed the participants to speak about their own experiences without being led too much.

3.6.2. Interviewing the young black men

In a study led by Nduna et al (2012), interviews with young men were experienced in the following way:

> Listening and relating with the interviewee's narrative either makes the interviewer shift from observer, to player, to victim and to be the regulator. This shift of roles by the interviewer influences each interview differently and subsequently gives each

> interview a life of its own with dynamics different to that of previous interviews or those that follow. The nature of the interview- INTER-VIEW means that there is an interface between the interviewer and the interviewee, both the latter and the former experiences are brought to the fore during and after the interview possibly forging a synthesis of experiences (Pambo & Khunou, unpublished, p. 3).

Insights from this paper by Pambo and Khunou (unpublished) resonated with my own experiences of interviewing young black men. I found it true that *each interview has a life of its own*. Each participant was different from the others which translated to each interview having a different start, climax and ending. Each participant's personality also had an impact on how I related to him, how I phrased my questions, the level of friendliness and general conduct during the interview. There were very humble participants who brought out the same humbleness in my character; such participants would usually look outside the window, down to their laps or any other object in the room just so that they don't make eye contact with me. In response I would also avoid eye contact and use a lower tone. The majority however were loud and comic and those interviews were filled with laughter and required less direction. It sometimes felt like watching one of Tyler Perry's movies, whereby the story is so detailed that nothing more could be demanded of it. The participants would give the details of their agony in such a way that I would just sit there in shock, except these were real life stories and not the movies. De Vos, et al. (2001) encourage the researcher to facilitate interviews in a manner that allows participants to determine the direction the interview should take. In that way, the interview produces thick descriptions and ultimately rich data.

The fact that I am a university student had an impact on the interviews. There were participants who conducted themselves in an unusual manner so as to fit into 'my world'. I had emphasised just before starting the recorder that participants were not compelled to express themselves in English, however this persisted with some. Although English on its own was not a problem, it sometimes confined the participants. There were instances where participants struggled to construct sentences and therefore meaning was lost in the process; unlike the participants who spoke in their native language, who were comfortable and therefore expressed themselves better. Additionally, most of the participants that opted for English were part of the IYLDP; I think this was so because the program encourages English so that attendees are well prepared for the corporate world. I therefore suspect that the words 'university', 'researcher' and 'master's student' sounded professional and therefore elicited a 'professional' language.

Some of the interviews were conducted at the participant's homes, except for the ones with IYLDP members[12]. I did not have a problem conducting interviews at the participant's homes; however they took longer and were usually interrupted. My interview with Pontsho[13] for example had to be paused because his girlfriend needed to see him urgently. Due to this I lost my train of thought and therefore found myself all over the place. Fortunately, Pontsho was talkative and as a result was able to compensate for some of the ideas that I had forgotten. I also had an unfortunate experience where I had to wait for a participant for about an hour. Although his mother and sisters treated me with courtesy, they also presumed that I was his new girlfriend and as a result questioned me endlessly. I felt uncomfortable but as an African child 'should', I remained respectful and answered their questions to the best of my ability. Being from Soweto and having interviewed young men from their homes before was an advantage. I remained calm and acted like everyone else in order to not seem susceptible to crime and ridicule from those guys who hang out on the street corners.

The interviews at IYLDP were completely different as at my arrival I would go straight to the allocated room and prepare for the interviews. The venue also provided me with some security, I remember Sifiso for example, sharing that he had been involved in some criminal activities before; this made me feel uneasy and changed my mood immediately. I remember glancing at my cell-phone and handbag then back at him. He stared at me while I was still calculating what to do next, which became trying to calm down as the IYLDP staff was still around. This changed the atmosphere of the interview even though we both carried on like nothing was different.

3.6.2.1. When the interview is about you

Pambo and Khunou (unpublished, p. 4) make reference to *When the study is also about you: reflecting on your own issues*. Pambo shared that "Throughout the recruitment I found myself introspecting, in the sense that I myself would not be so open to this study. These are things that almost became part of my research process because it all hit home. I asked myself whether I would participate in the study and I realised that I wouldn't". I found myself relating to Pambo's statement, especially relating to issues of seeking psychosocial help. I somehow felt disgusted with myself, a qualified social worker who herself does not utilise

[12]IYLDP had secured one of their meeting rooms for me, which ensured confidentiality and was easily accessible to the participants.
[13]Not his real name. All names used in this report are pseudonyms, this so to maintain confidentiality and to not give away the real identity of the participants.

social work services. I remember attending a conference where I presented the preliminary findings to this study and one commentator arguing that by not using psychosocial services the participants were being ignorant. I stood there looking smart, but I too fitted in that category, I could not stand feeling and looking vulnerable. I remember taking a self-administered depression test and scoring 'moderately depressed' on it, I dismissed this finding even though the symptoms were evident. I therefore felt 'fake' during the interviews and therefore very uncomfortable. I was seated in a position of power, as though I knew everything and asking the participants if they were utilising psychosocial services as though I had a clue on how useful they were. I could never participate in this study, it would expose my weaknesses and I wasn't ready for that.

3.6.3. Interviewing the social workers

> Key informants have been defined as key actors in the field. Neuman (1995: 374) points out four characteristics that define key informants: firstly, "as a member who is totally familiar with the culture and is in position to witness significant events"; secondly, as a member who is currently involved in the field; thirdly, someone who can spend time with the researcher; lastly, a member who does not use an analytical perspective when referring to the culture and workings of the institution or social setting (Khunou, 2006a, p. 70).

Interviewing the social workers was less adventurous and quite demanding on my side. I felt compelled to uphold a conduct that befits a post graduate student which meant staying on top of my game and never looking confused. I remember answering questions regarding my epistemological framework, the purpose of this research and 'why not women'. I also found the social workers' responses predictable as I had personally worked at the agency and therefore had some insider's perspective on most of the issues. I therefore found myself besmirching the rules of research as they require the researcher to be an impartial tool that is out on a new discovery.

All three participants were women and I found my experiences with their interviews consistent with Kosygina's (2005). We related mostly as women more than as colleagues or

researcher and participant. This was more so evident when we were discussing the provider role and the help-seeking behaviour of men. Arina[14] for example argued that:

> *"You know how we women pressurise our men to be providers. I mean think about it. I feel ashamed sharing this, but I'm sure you can relate. I once gave my boyfriend my bank card and pin so that he could pay at the restaurant. I didn't want to embarrass him in front of the waiter, yoh! Not in front of another man. And now that we are talking about this it makes me feel guilty, that I am also part of the problem. Us women never see it this way hey?" (Interview, Arina, 28 August 2013).*

Arina was assuming that we shared similar experiences merely because I was a woman and she could therefore open up to me. The interviews with the key informants did not require them to share about their personal experiences which on the contrary happened very often. This usually happened when the recorder had been turned off and over what seemed like a tea party, we would discuss 'men's problems' and how we as women could contribute to a revolution of some sort. In response to Arina's statement, I did not have a boyfriend and therefore could not relate to the experiences that she was sharing with me (Field notes, 28 August 2013). She however assumed that I could, merely because I was also a woman.

Another prominent factor during my interviews with the key informants was the issue of time. I found it frustrating to reschedule appointments even though they were set for lunch time. Because social workers are often overloaded with case work I was patient. Khunou (2006a) encountered a similar problem in her study, as her key informants (maintenance officers) were usually very busy and therefore required patience from her side. She adds that this made her appreciate the kind of pressures these officers faced on the running of a maintenance court as well as their interactions with the court users.

3.7. Reflections on the researcher characteristics

Below is an extract from Ortlipp (2008, p. 698) which serves to illustrate that feelings, gender, race, class, profession, experiences, values and beliefs have a great influence on the research:

[14]One of the social workers who was at the time of the interview employed by a different organisation.

> I am a tertiary supervisor researching other tertiary supervisors. I am a woman, and so far all my participants are women. I am not a neutral participant in the research project from the outset. I have issues, concerns and opinions about assessment of the early childhood practicum. I have desires for the project and what it will achieve or discover that are bound up with my views on assessment of the practicum and what it should be or achieve, what is desirable and undesirable. I am not an objective data-gathering tool! If I were to take the view of the traditional methodology texts on interviewing, in the light of the above points, I should be particularly concerned about my role in the research process as the main instrument of data collection.

For this study, three factors had a major influence on my fieldwork experience 1. my gender, 2. my social work profession, and 3. my own personal experiences with unemployment. Kosygina's (2005) reflection on interview disparities between women and men participants highlights that length of contact with men was shorter than that with women. Furthermore, she also found interviews with men to be less reflective and demanding more probing as opposed to those of women; these issues were relevant during my field work. According to Oakley (1998, p. 707) "methodology is itself gendered". The interview process is not devoid of the social constructions of gender; instead those ideologies exert great influence on how both the interviewer and the participant conduct themselves during the interview (Oakley, 1998). I was naive about gender relations during my first few interviews and therefore correlated the question/answer model that prevailed solely to my interviewing skills. I did not pay attention to the fact that issues of unemployment and help seeking for men who strongly identify with notions of traditional masculinities was a no go area with a woman. I remember sharing with my supervisor that the interviews were not answering questions around help seeking and psychosocial wellbeing. As I later discovered, most of those interviews were conducted with men who live in my immediate township, Dobsonville. It seemed that it had become hard for those men to open up because I would soon discover that their public acts of being a typical man was only but an act. I would know something about them that no one else did and therefore would make it difficult for them to remain a typical boyfriend, brother or *ntanga* (friend). Kosygina (2005, p. 92) experienced a similar pattern during her interviews and argued that "the reason also could be in men's wishes to present a particular image to the *other* (to me). This *other* was a member of local society, this *other* was a researcher, and this other was a young woman. No story about a crisis could be told to this *other*."

This ordeal to remain in control and problem free was also prominent with men who seemed interested in making advances towards me. Being 23 years old meant that I was in the same age group as the participants and therefore qualified as a potential girlfriend. This in turn prohibited some of the participants from sharing their experiences with me as that would automatically disqualify them. According to traditional masculinities, men are supposed to show strength, protect women and children, and become breadwinners (Morrell, 2006). Discussing their weaknesses with me would therefore ruin their chances of ever 'winning' me over. I could spot such participants as early as the recruitment stage; they were too flirtatious, always asked personal questions and used every excuse to call me. One such participant was Sifiso[15], I remember him calling me several times to confirm the time of our meeting. When the time for the interview had arrived, Sifiso seemed to have pulled out one of the best outfits he owned and his suede Carvella – one of the most expensive shoe brands. I still remember his gold tooth smile and the Nike cap, the scent of his perfume which I still can't figure out if it was Dolce and Gabanna or Lacoste. Sifiso might not have scored a girl out of that interview but he sure made an impression.

Despite the above experiences, there were some participants who were trusting and were able to open up without a hassle. This I suspect was because I was not just a researcher but was also a qualified social worker. As a result, the participants concluded that I was a professional only there to do my job and this needed to be respected. I noted in my field notes an experience with one of the participants saying to me after an interview that it seemed I had a tough job *"as hearing about people's problems could not be easy"*(Field notes, 27 September 2013). This persisted even after elaborating that the interviews were strictly for research purposes and were not directly linked to my social work profession, the participants however always referred to me as a social worker. Post the interviews, the participants would thank me for helping them open up and said they felt better. To them this was not just a scientific inquiry into their lives, these were issues that were bottled up for some time and were not easy to talk about. It didn't matter much which library this report would end up in or how many people would cite it, this was their own little victory, and breath of fresh air.

[15]One of the young men interviewed for this study, I give a more detailed description of his demographic information in the findings chapter.

Showing empathy came naturally to me and this cultivated rapport and trust. Apart from my social work training, I was also able to do this because of my own experiences and struggles of growing up in a township. Empathy is a common skill used in social work interviews and refers to placing oneself in the interviewee's shoes (Sheafor and Horejsi, 2006). An example of this can be illustrated through an experience with Lerato[16] during an interview. Lerato was filled with excitement as he was explaining the kind of life that he desired for his family; unfortunately he was staying with his unemployed mother, stepfather and six siblings in a two-roomed shack. It became unbearable to listen to him as he was describing the impoverished conditions that they were living under, how he didn't even know how it felt like to take a lunch box or '*ikheri'* (pocket money) to school as a child. I could relate to this as I had personally gone through similar experiences. I had once stayed with multiple aunts and cousins in a shack, and we sometimes went without food. I was constantly asking myself if I would still be sane if I had not managed to pursue my studies. I kept wondering if just like the participants I would be saying "*it's fine*" or "*that's how life is*", as each time they said this I screamed "*no, it's not okay*" on the inside, these thoughts kept me up at night (Field notes, 3 August 2013).

3.7.1. The dynamics of being an insider-outsider

Mama (1995:71) postulates that "traditional interviewing's protocol has been about excluding subjective factors, which are viewed as sources of distortion and bias. This disempowers the researched and allows researchers to direct the production of data". I found Mama's argument to be true, my role as a researcher didn't allow me to care about how these men felt after a stranger had just walked in and out of their lives. Though I had some knowledge and skills to counsel them, I could not because at that time I was wearing a different hat. Mine was just to recommend a counselling agency and my job would be done. I felt compelled to objectify them but these were not some chemicals being measured up in test tubes; these were my fellow Sowetans, my brothers and my '*potentials*[17]'. The issue of *'potentials'* became prominent in how my discussions with one of the participants affected my entire outlook on love relationships. This is what Peter said:

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[16]One of the young men interviewed for this study, I give a more detailed description of his demographic information in the findings chapter.

[17]A term used in Soweto for members of the opposite who by age or other characteristics qualify as potential boyfriends/girlfriends in heterosexual relationships.

> *"Let's say we meet at a mall for the first time, then I introduce myself and we start talking then we start dating. After a few days you want to visit me, or maybe I don't have money to come to you because you live far so you decide to come, would you agree to eat pap and soup? No you won't, instead you will go around gossiping about me to your friends that I served you pap and soup on your visit" (Interview, Peter, 5 September 2013).*

I did not give an answer to Peter's question; I sat there in laughter wondering if these were true events what would have taken place. Peter and I lived in the same township and I could have potentially gone out on a date with him, perhaps even dated him and got served pap and soup. Peter was thus not just a research participant; he was a member of my community, a member of the opposite sex. On the very same day I began reflecting on what it meant for me to be in a relationship with a man and whether that came with a price tag. I began questioning what my 'rich husband fairytale' meant and whether or not it would impose any psychosocial challenges on the man that I fall in love with who might not be rich (Field notes, 5 September 2013). I started to not care whether my husband should work or not and this I hoped, would be my small contribution towards breaking the shells of stereotyping men as financial providers. I was therefore not just a research data collection tool, but also a young heterosexual woman who hopes to fall in love with one of the local men and an activist who hopes to centralise men's issues by exposing the social processes leading to those problems (Field notes, 5 September 2013).

This research continued to affect me in ways that I had never imagined. The plan was to extend my Honours project by looking into one of the prominent themes that needed further investigation. But I had not anticipated that unemployment would affect me personally. Although I am not a man and don't identify with the provider role in similar ways, being unemployed in 2013 affected me drastically. I remember needing money to go to campus and thus waking up in the early hours of the morning to catch my cousin before leaving for work so that she could give me R20. I remember passing an open field notoriously known for muggings and feeling terribly afraid. The memory of that particular morning felt fresh in my head as I was discussing the experiences of working as a car guard with Duma[18]; he explained the harsh conditions that he was exposed to and the level of disrespect from his

[18]One of the young men interviewed for this study, I give a more detailed description of his demographic information in the findings chapter.

customers. Duma and I shared the experience of 'doing what works' to get some money and we did not necessarily like it. The difference between us however was that I was unemployed by choice[19], I had made a conscious decision to not look for employment in order to pursue my Master's program full time. My unemployment status could change at any time – and it did. In addition to this, I was a university graduate; surely this terrifying morning would not be my daily routine, I had something else to look forward to. But it was different for Duma as he did not even complete his matric. Hand-to-mouth and constant ridicule on the 'job' seemed to be a trap impossible to escape from.

3.8. Data analysis

Thematic content analysis was used to analyse data. The use of this method included identifying the most prominent themes, ideas and language. It is common that five or six categories are identified with subthemes under each of the six (Creswell, 1998). For this study the surfacing themes were identified through cautious reading and rereading of the transcripts until recurring themes were identified (Anderson, 2007). This method was useful because the interviews were semi-structured and thus produced exhaustive amounts of data. The data was thus coded and thereafter put into categories.

Data analysis was one of the most difficult processes during the course of this research. At some point I was mixing up themes and this was evident in my first drafts of the analysis chapters. Some sections began well while at the end focus had shifted from one subtheme to another. This was so confusing that redrafting felt like a huge burden, I remember staring at my laptop screen for hours and not knowing where to start even after jotting down a few ideas; this happened for six consecutive weeks. It was a process involving a number of emotions as one moment I would be crying and the next very excited and ready to take on the chapter. Being surrounded by other students who were also going through similar experiences helped me to cope; we often said to one another *"in the end we will submit"* (Field notes, 30 October 2013). There were also moments when I was unsure of my ideas and whether or not this study was making a useful contribution to scholarship, Khunou (2006a) says this is normal for a big academic project such as a PhD and to think this is just a Master's project.

[19] As a recipient of the Department of Social Development scholarship, I was due to serve five years as their employee as stipulated in the contract.

3.9. Ethical considerations

Voluntary participation

Participation was voluntary; none of the participants were coerced to take part in the study or promised any incentives. It was clearly stipulated in the information sheet that participants have the right to withdraw from the study at any time without being made feel guilty or threatened (de Vos, et al., 2001).

Informed consent

The participants' right to choose what should happen to them was respected. Appropriate information on the aims of the study, duration, procedures and the credibility of the researcher were clearly outlined on the information sheet (de Vos, et al., 2001).

Doing no harm

The research focused on issues that may have evoked feelings of distress or caused psychological harm, participants were referred to Mould Empower Services, a social service agency that offers counselling and is based within the Ipelegeng Community Centre, the contact details of which were included in the information sheet (Babbie & Mouton, 2001).

Confidentiality and publication

Participants were informed that the research report that would emanate from the study will be available at the University of the Witwatersrand library and will also be made available to them if requested. Furthermore, they were also informed that their names will not be mentioned in any documentation or presentations regarding the research (McLaughlin, 2007).

3.10. Conclusion

This chapter has offered an insight into the methodological processes adopted pertaining to this study through discussing the main procedures required in qualitative research. I have also provided detailed accounts of my experiences in so doing, highlighting my position as a researcher. This was to elucidate the complexity of qualitative research and give a clear demonstration of how researchers influence and are in return influenced by the research. The chapter also looked into the research site and interrogated the dynamics apparent within the context in which the research was conducted. In this way, I was able to perceive participants as true actors in an uncontrolled environment and also observed the different structures and

realities that played a role in the participants' lives. The chapter finally looked into the ethical considerations that were applied during the course of the study.

The section that follows focuses on the findings of this study and analysis. It comprises of three chapters that explore the everyday meanings of money and work and how unemployment affects the psychosocial wellbeing of young black men in Soweto.

CHAPTER FOUR

Money spins the man's world around

4.1. Introduction

The notion of the male provider role has been on a decline since the 1960s. Besides the harsh economic realities that could not permit a man to be the sole provider in the family, men were seemingly disappearing from the family unit popularising the female-headed household idea. Although these were big shifts in society, defying the common belief that men are responsible for providing, they were not big enough to alter thinking around whose responsibility it is to perform the role as the masculine provider role continues to hold precedence in contemporary society. This chapter shows the dynamics of a strong identification with the masculine provider role and the complexities inherent in the processes that contribute to money playing a major role in the construction of masculine identities. The chapter is divided into four sub-themes; the first one looks into the conception of manhood and the strong link between being a man and the provider. The second sub-theme focuses on money as an important contribution to what it means to be a man, this focuses on how love relationships require money for a man to transition positively into this social role which is culturally associated with manhood. Subsequently, the sub-theme that follows looks into the notion of the provider role in line with being a father. This leads to the fourth and final sub-theme for this chapter; it looks into the consequences of not complying with societal norms regarding masculinities and manhood. This sub-theme reveals that where men cannot be providers, shame and stigma becomes their daily bread.

4.2. "I am a man, I have to provide"

The exploration of the meanings of manhood presented a complex picture, proving that there is no one notion of masculinities. The participants drew from different reference areas to provide their own understanding of what it means to be a man. Most of the men spoke of having observed what manhood is through their interactions with other men in their families and communities. Interestingly however, most of their definitions and how they perceived their roles in especially their families was tied strongly to the masculine provider role. Lerato a 20 year old living with his mother, stepfather and six other siblings, shared the following:

> *"So I believe that I should be a fruitful tree where she* [mother] *has to pick up those fruits together with my siblings. I don't want them to be needy, I want them to tell me*

> *that my brother I saw this and that at the mall and I love it and then I should give them money and not say I don't have it. I want them to have a stress free life I don't want them to end up doing wrong things like falling pregnant early and participating in criminal activities. So I believe if they could live a life I wish for them even the crime rate will go down. As their elder brother I want to help them even with school affairs they shouldn't hesitate but I believe that they won't do such things" (Interview, Lerato, 3 August 2013).*

Lerato's perceptions of his role as a son and as a brother are in relation to money. What he shared during the interview shows that he feels that he inadequately plays these roles as he is currently unemployed. Selebano (2012) alludes to the issue of money and manhood and shows an example of a participant who felt that it was his sole responsibility to take care of his child and its mother. Participants in Khunou (2009) also shared this sentiment and felt emasculated when women took over the financial provider role as they felt it was their responsibility to do so. Similarly, Sifiso a 24 year old who was an attendee at IYLDP articulated his role in this way:

> *"I usually need money for things like airtime, my daily needs actually. I am not a smoker, when I say daily needs I mean like if there is no bread in the house I know that I have to buy a loaf and I eat 4 slices and put the rest in the fridge knowing that my siblings will want to eat when they come back from school, in that case I know that I have to have some income because my mom can't buy food for her whole life, there should be a time where I get to surprise them with a bag of maize meal, chicken pieces, a bucket of KFC." (Interview, Sifiso, 18 September 2013).*

At the age of 24 while still living with his mother Sifiso counts taking care of his family as part of *his needs*, meaning that he counts it as his responsibility to ensure that others are also taken care of. His mother was working at the time of the interview but this did not change his view on his role in the family even though he was also technically still a child. This is incoherent with Wilkie's (1993) study as she discovered that younger men held a more egalitarian ideology towards financial provision in the home. However, similar to Wilkie (1993) Sifiso didn't show a problem with the idea of his mother working but didn't however feel that she should share in the responsibility of providing. Tshepang, who was 27 and unemployed at the time of the interview, also felt a need to provide for his family regardless of his mother wanting to take on the role. He said:

> *"You know when you have money there are lots of things that you are able to do. As young as I am I still have to provide at home, though at home they do meet my needs. But sometimes I feel useless when I have to ask for money" (Interview, Tshepang, 16 July 2013).*

Khunou (2012a) argues that money for men is an overt symbol of power; it puts them in a position to control women and children. Hence Tshepang finds it hard to ask for money, this would render him powerless as a man. Furthermore, in highly patriarchal communities, where men are expected to become providers it becomes inevitable for those who can't perform the task to feel *useless* given that money plays a key role in how manhood is expressed. Earning an income thus becomes a significant factor in how a man perceives himself and the ability to perform this role increases his social status in the community, the opposite is also true (Loscocco & Spitze, 2007). This can also be seen in Arthur's experiences. Arthur, a 23 year old who was staying with his mother and siblings at the time of the interview said:

> *"No because I feel like I am useless, like I cannot do anything, I cannot afford anything even a simple t-shirt. I am a brother and I have to show that to my siblings, so I can't say I am a man, I don't see myself as a man" (Interview, Arthur, 3 August 2013).*

Again here money plays a central role in Arthur's construction of manhood. Mosoetsa (2011) argues that this is because dating back to the migrant labour system; men were guaranteed higher earnings than women and were thus able to enact the provider role. Post-industrial South Africa however poses challenges to how men understand themselves and their roles in the family owing to high unemployment rates. It is because money has historically influenced how men are understood and also how they understand themselves that it is difficult for them to navigate new ways of defining themselves. As a result men feel shameful and guilty (Mosoetsa, 2011). Moreover, whereas previous studies show that the provider role is a belief predominantly upheld by married men, this study reveals that this is also prominent amongst young unmarried men.

I also found during the interviews that although money increases social status some forms of work didn't and therefore had to be kept secret. What mattered was that money was being brought in and that had to afford the man the respect that he deserved irrespective of how this money was earned. This also shows the extent to which some men are willing to go in order to protect their dignity and respect as money guarantees this from women and siblings. This

is what Mandla a 26 year old who identified himself as unemployed but was earning an income through painting and gardening had to say:

> *"Now things are very difficult at the moment, because I am very old and I can't keep asking for money to buy toiletries or underwear. Sometimes I surprise her*[mother] *with a little grocery, and she would ask me where I got the money, I won't tell her that I sometimes do gardening that is quite embarrassing. But I buy these things because I know that if I expect a plate of food at the end of the day I must work for it" (Interview, Mandla, 25 September 2013).*

Asking for personal things like toiletries and underwear elucidates feelings of inadequacy. Thus Mandla feels better when he is able to organise things for himself, it improves his dignity as a man. Again, Thoriso who was also unemployed but sometimes gambled through playing dice argued that his family didn't have to know how he earned his income. He said that:

> *"I am a man, I have to provide. How and where, I get my money doesn't matter. All that my family has to know is that I'm doing my part and they should be happy that they hardly go to bed without food. That's what puts a smile on my face, seeing them feast and then sleeping peacefully afterwards, it really make me happy" (Interview, Thoriso, 25 September, 2013).*

It is clear that for him, taking care of his family is done best through providing. As literature on masculinities suggest, this high need to become the financial provider is learned through social processes inherent in families, churches, and other social structures (Khunou 2006a; Morrell, 2001). This proved to be true as the participants referred to their own observations of men around them as well as their own fathers, highlighting that the masculine provider idea is a learned social role and is not natural. Kgotso, who was selling cigarettes at the time, shared this:

> *"Okay, let me start with food my father provides that for us and my younger sister also has a child so her boyfriend sometimes gives her some money that she helps out with. My family also told me that I have to do some things for myself. But I don't blame them because as a man it means I must be responsible for my own life and not depend on others" (Interview, Kgotso, 17 July 2013).*

It became evident from Kgotso's statements that the men in his life had a major influence on how he perceived himself as a man in relation to money. The 26 year old mentioned that his family was dependent on his father and his sister on the boyfriend, and because he was a 'man' he had to be self-reliant, meaning that just as his father and his younger sister's boyfriend, others should depend on him and not the other way round. Brim, Russell and Foundation (1958, p. 1) illustrate that "one learns the behaviour appropriate to his position in a group and through interaction with others who hold normative beliefs about what his role should be and who are able to reward and punish him for correct and incorrect actions." Kgotso's response therefore illuminates the deeply entrenched stereotypes of men as providers in his family and also shows how he tries to flee punishment from failing to attain to this standard through washing cars to fend for himself and sometimes the family as well.

Another participant who showed the role of socialisation in how he perceived himself was Kgothatso. He was a participant at IYLDP and was struggling to find a job because he did not have an identity document. Kgothatso was 19 at the time of the interview and had this to say:

> *"Where we are staying we are renting. My mom wakes up every morning and goes to the streets to sell*[vegetables and fruits], *of which you can't be sure how much she is going to make; today it might be R20, tomorrow R50 and if she gets lucky she might get R200. Then if she has money she can buy food and we eat, I am used to that so I just tell myself that it will be ok, maybe tomorrow it will be a better day. Month end they have to pay rent and buy whatever that is needed at home, and if I need something I ask but if they can't I just accept because I know the situation at home, though I really need it I just understand because I know they would give me if they could but they don't have money. My dad is also trying by all means that we get what we need, he's not working but he tries by all means that we have everything that we need and he is an inspiration to me" (Interview, Kgothatso, 27 September 2013).*

Kgothatso's analogy suggests that even though his mother is actively contributing to the family's survival, his father remains his inspiration in that he is the one responsible for this activity and is working on it. This undermines the provider role played by the mother. Thoriso, another young man who was 24, staying with his parents, sisters, nieces and nephews shared the following experience:

> *"I have a brother as well, but he has his own family and house, he works but the money that he earns is not enough to support all of us. So like I can't afford to sit*

down and do nothing. I have to do something" (Interview, Thoriso, 25 September 2013).

Although Thoriso's sisters were working at the time, he did not see it as their responsibility to contribute financially in the home. He had argued that they were spending the little they had on their children, and that for him was enough. However, with his brother he argues that his salary is not enough to support two families, in other words, he is expected to provide but can't afford to. Thoriso also alluded to the fact that his father was a pensioner and could not afford to take care of them any longer; his mother was a pensioner too, but he does not mention her role regarding provision. He was thus a gambler in order to take on his father's and brother's role of financial provision in the family. Brim, et al. (1958) show that interaction with a group that one identifies with, predicts how he will act as he believes that the behaviour of the group is also expected from him.

The provider role shows to have a strong influence on the young men's masculine identities. The idea also seemed inherent and automatic for most participants; however, Ratele (2008) asserts that ideas of masculinities are not genetically concluded. That even though biology teaches that the female has two X chromosomes while the male has X and Y, it does not mean that social behaviours are also biological, except, ways of being a man or woman are drilled into us by societal structures.

4.3. Money as a signifier of readiness for social transitions: intimate love relationships

The South African law concludes that an adult is a person that is 18 years old and above. On the other hand, society understands adulthood as readiness for transitioning into specific social roles, such as marrying and becoming a father and usually, access to money is a bench mark to healthy transitions. Selebano (2012) for example found that even though by law 24 year olds are considered adults, their inability to provide financially for their children meant that their transitions into fatherhood were immature and they were as a result considered young fathers, a category that is inclusive of fathers that have just commenced puberty. Furthermore, in prominent African cultures a man's readiness to marry is determined by his financial status as this demonstrates that he is capable of assuming the provider role and can also afford to pay lobola (Hunter, 2006). The participants in this study resonated with these beliefs and as a result of unemployment, delayed entering love relationships and having children. For those in relationships and those who had children however, the lack of money

was a continual challenge and posed many difficulties in playing their roles as boyfriends and as fathers.

Kgotso said this:

> *"I want to see first where my life is going. I was dating someone from my neighbourhood some time in 2011, and then the relationship didn't make sense to me so I decided to focus on important things in my life. We broke up some time last year in October. I just wanted to be serious about my life. So this lady just saw me and realised that I need help to get things in order and suggested that I apply for the leadership program. Then she told me to come to White City and find this place Ipelegeng, so I came here because I'm really serious about advancing my life. So after all this, when I start working it is when I will then start looking for a girlfriend" (Interview, Kgotso, 17 July 2013).*

In line with what Morrell (2007) discovered, Kgotso intends to build his career before finding a significant other. Morrell (2007) argues that this is so because relationships, marriage and fatherhood are taken seriously by these young men; they are perceived to yield serious consequences on their studies and chances of finding better employment and are therefore left for last. Peter, who was 26 and had moved from Pietersburg escaping the extreme levels of poverty back at home, shared this regarding relationships:

> *"Sometime it is very difficult for me; there are those days when I don't even have R10 for taxi, so even dating...I can't just date because I wouldn't afford to take my girlfriend out. It might happen that I meet someone that I love but it won't last because I don't have money. It* [unemployment] *affects a lot of things in my life" (Interview, Peter, 5 September, 2013).*

Dating for Peter is something that does not just happen; as he puts it he needs to be financially ready in order for him to start finding a partner. Khunou (2009) found that money was significant for relationships in her study with young men. Malinga and Ratele (2007) also highlight that traditionally men in South Africa are expected to be the 'hunter' while the woman becomes the 'prize', suggesting that the woman must be 'won' through acquired evidence on how much of a man he is (a number of masculine characteristics, including money). Peter would thus have to work at strengthening his 'manhood' before soliciting a

love relationship with a woman. In line with this, Kgothatso said this regarding his love relationships:

> *"It* [unemployment] *gives me low self-esteem, and it makes me feel worthless and I also think that having a girlfriend... she will think that I am poorer than everyone and I won't satisfy her needs..."(Interview, Kgothatso, 27 September, 2013).*

Relationships in the contemporary society continue to be built around the idea of women as homemakers and men as financial providers. Consequently, "women maximize their outcomes, by seeking a mate who is likely to be successful in the economic, wage-earning role- that is a potentially good provider" (Johannesen-Schmidt & Eagly, 2002, p. 322). It is for this reason that Kgothatso speaks of delaying love relationships, he feels incapacitated to *satisfy her needs* because he is unemployed.

Thoriso on the other hand had just ended a relationship with his girlfriend and the reasons were all tied to his financial position. He shared his experiences in this way:

> *"Well, eish…obviously when you go out to party, as a guy you're the one who must pay for everything. She wouldn't agree to meet me half way so that's where the fight started, ja…. She liked expensive things…like when I used to take her out, I would explain that she must choose a cheaper restaurant or on the menu she must not order expensive dishes because she knows that I'm not well off, not a cheese-boy" (Interview, Thoriso, 25 September, 2013).*

As it turned out, Thoriso could not 'afford' to date his girlfriend any longer and therefore had to leave the relationship. Khunou (2012) explains that relationships are based on an exchange concept where benefits must strike a balance with what is being given. Where women perfect their task of homemaking or giving sex and the financial incentive for it from the man is not pleasing, or vice versa, then the relationship is set out to fail. Just as in Thoriso's experience whereby he could not fulfil his tasks and therefore could no longer continue dating his girlfriend. For Tshepo, who was renting a backroom, spending money on his girlfriend was part of his monthly expenses and featured as one of the most important items on his budget. He on the other hand performed his tasks well and therefore could maintain a happy relationship with his girlfriend. He regarded himself as unemployed but worked as a car-guard at the nearby mall. This is what he said:

> *"I make sure that I take her out at least once every month. When I things have worked out well, like when its month end, I make sure that I pay rent and cover some of my needs and then the rest I take her out" (Interview, Tshepo, 20 September 2013).*

'Her needs' are a big feature in how men think about their role as a provider. Mandla was in a relationship at the time of the interview but didn't feel secure given that he was now unemployed, he shared this regarding his relationship:

> *"My girlfriend likes nice things, so I sometimes would surprise her with things like chocolates. But after losing my job, I started feeling a lot of pressure that maybe she will find someone who will provide for her more than I do" (Interview, Mandla, 25 September, 2013).*

Brennan, Barnett, and Gareis's (2001) study suggest that where a man is the breadwinner, marriages tend to last longer. This is because women prioritised financial stability and therefore stayed in unhealthy marriages where they were unhappy. Similarly, Mandla's anxiety was driven by the belief that money keeps a woman in a relationship. Traditionally as well, when a man performs the provider role diligently, divorces are usually discouraged by relatives and elders even in cases of infidelity and abuse.

Money also played a significant role in homosexual relationships, however differently for the two men who identified themselves as gay in this study. The first was Lerato who shared the following experience:

> *"At some point it does affect me because Sis Naledi sometimes you and your partner want to improve your relationship; go out for dinner or lunch things like that and if you don't have money you can't do that. Sometimes you want to surprise him on his birthday; but then you can't buy him anything and just end up window-shopping. Not to say I enhance my relationships with gifts but such moments need to be there in a relationship" (Interview, Lerato, 3 August 2013).*

In contrast to men who were in heterosexual relationships or who identified themselves as 'straight', Lerato reluctantly pointed out the importance of money in his relationship. He sounded apologetic and tried by all means to convince me that money was not such an important factor. Rebaone on the other hand argued that money wasn't a problem for him as

he had initially pointed out that he does not work and therefore will not be able to contribute to activities that required money. Rebaone was 23 at the time of the interview and was also an attendee at IYLDP. He further illustrated that money did not affect his relationship, he said:

> *"He is a very understanding person and is good to me; we have a good thing going..." (Interview, Rebaone, 7 July 2013).*

Connell (1995) cautions that in all the discussions involving men that conform to dominant ideas of being masculine, other forms should not be neglected as that may lead to erroneously assuming that all men experience relationships in the same ways. By not conforming to the provider role it does not mean that Rebaone is not a man.

Sifiso upheld an egalitarian ideology concerning relationships and money, however, consistent with what Khunou (2012a) and Wilkie (1993) found in their studies, Sifiso regarded his girlfriend as 'just helping out'. Below is what he shared during the interview:

> *"Listen, I am a person who believes that in a relationship we go hand in hand , not to say 50\50 but we go hand in hand, let's say today my girl doesn't have a roll on, I give her if I have it to go and buy whatever she needs, pads and anything else she needs, next time when I don't have money and I need something and she has money, it's going to be simple for her to give me" (Interview, Sifiso, 18 September 2013).*

By stating that it is not a 50/50 thing already suggests that finances are not an equal responsibility in the relationship. Moreover, because Sifiso had earlier said: "...*What I can say is that I need money to live, money gives us life, we eat, we need clothes, and we have girlfriends*", implies that he perceives himself as the financial provider. Another significant factor in Sifiso's statement is that he initiates the spending so that it can become easier for the girlfriend to return the favour. Had it been an equal relationship the girlfriend would not wait for him to take the lead. This shows that Sifiso is the ultimate provider while the girlfriend only helps when necessary, that is when he is unable to.

These narratives pertaining to relationships show the complexities inherent within love relationships, especially in contexts where relationships and roles are socially defined and therefore prescribed. In situations where the provider role is centred in the masculine identity and women are assumed to be homemakers, theories that seek to define love as inherent natural processes become irrelevant. For example, although Malinga and Ratele (2007) argue that "heterosexual love then can be seen as feelings of tenderness and affection shared

between a man and woman", this excludes the different social roles assumed by men and women and how labour and income is understood and therefore shared within those relationships. Hence Erikson's theory[20] can also be deemed problematic in contexts where readiness for love is measured through financial right-standing and not necessarily age.

4.4. Fatherhood and the provider role

Fatherhood as one of the biggest social transitions for men proved worthy to be explored and similar to intimate relationships, it was often delayed owing to unemployment and the lack of necessary resources to enact the role. Coley and Chase-Landsdale (1998) argue that by transitioning to fatherhood without the necessary resources poses a challenge and a dysfunction to men as fatherhood is closely tied to the idea of the provider role. Additionally, Morrell (2007) shows how poverty and uncertainty of work influences the young fathers' perceptions and experiences with fatherhood; the same is also true for older men in Khunou's (2006a) study. It is to this effect that participants in Hunter's (2006) and Morrell's (2007) studies postponed entry into fatherhood as for them this was a serious task requiring financial readiness. Mandla shared his sentiment in the following way:

> *"I won't bring a baby to this world for them to struggle. If it means I should have a baby at the age of 37 years, then let it be as long as I am financially stable" (Interview, Mandla, 25 September 2013).*

Similarly, a number of other participants felt that finding a stable job had to precede having children as 'children are expensive to raise'. Furthermore, this was influenced by the participants' own upbringing and the hardships that coupled those experiences. Peter for example said that it would mean that the hardships that he experienced growing up didn't teach him crucial life lessons if he would have a child right now. He explained the gruesome poverty conditions that he lived under and how that affected his performance at school and general self esteem as he wasn't like other children. He therefore feels that finding a job first would put him in a better position to become a better father so that his children don't have to go through what he did.

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[20] According the 6th stage of Erikson's theory on psychosocial development, individuals between the ages 19 and 40 should be negotiating *intimacy versus isolation.* Which means by not maintaining romantic, well balanced relationships one may experience some dysfunction (Slater & Muir, 2000).

Similarly, Kitso alluded to his experiences growing up as one of the reasons he didn't feel ready to have children. He was 27 at the time of the interview staying with three sisters, three brothers, his aunt and her two children in a four roomed house. He shared that growing up, the family never had enough food and that his clothes were usually old and torn. It was those experiences that led him to postpone fatherhood, as unlike his father he intended to become a good financial provider who also loves and cares for his children.

Of the twenty-two participants interviewed for this study, only two (Pontsho and Kgopolo) were already fathers and money and work remained central themes as fatherhood for both men was understood through financial provision.

This is what Pontso said in relation to this:

> *"For me... because at the moment I have a son and he needs me the most, I just told myself that there is no way that I cannot work, because without work there is no way that he is going to be brought up easily..." (Interview, Pontsho, 13 September 2013).*

Pontsho was about to start a new job at the time of the interview, he was 23 years old and had one child. He shows through his statement that he could no longer stay unemployed because he has to meet the needs of his child. Smith (2006) also found that the young fathers in his study felt pressured to find work, as they believed that a father first provides and then nurtures, guides and protects. Where fathers could not provide, they were deemed useless and uncaring irrespective of their presence in meeting the emotional needs of the child.

Many African traditions believe in the practice of *inhlawulo* (damages), paid to the women's family to compensate them for 'damaging' their daughter before marriage. This practice alone illustrates the centrality of money in being a father as this goes beyond meeting the basic needs of the child. Khunou (2006a) asserts that the provider role is inherently situated within social policies. By equating fatherhood to financial provision, men are marginalised from their children's lives even when they are prepared to meet their non-financial needs.

Kgopolo was 33 and shared his experiences of leaving school to fend for himself and his son in the following way:

> *"I didn't complete my studies, I ended in grade 11 because my grandmother died and I was expecting a baby* [his girlfriend was pregnant], *so I saw that I have to leave school and find a job to support myself and my child. I was living alone because the*

people that I lived with were now living their own lives and some of them had moved to Johannesburg so I thought that I was going to live a difficult life and decided to also come to Joburg..."(Interview, Kgopolo, 15 August 2013).

Kgopolo had to mature at a very young age, through impregnating his girlfriend and also losing his guardian. These big shifts amounted to him entering 'manhood' at a very young age, as he had to assume the provider role. According to Hettler (2002), young fathers begin to enact the provider role during the early stages of the pregnancy; in fact this usually happens immediately after the mother receives the news. Selebano (2012) shows this in her study as well where Sipho, one of the young fathers mentioned that he had to help his girlfriend with transport money to the clinic and buying fruits and other healthy foods. In addition, one of the participants, Karabo, shared that one of his older sisters sat him down to advise him on saving for the baby even before its arrival. Unfortunately however, these pressures to provide may lead young fathers to leave school at a very young age, hoping to secure formal employment which ultimately never happens as is the case with Kgopolo (Coley & Chase-Lansdale, 2008).

4.5. Separating boys from men: stigma, shame, work and masculinities

Contemporary theories about masculinities assert that masculinities are not just 'a way of being' but rather include a number of cross-cutting behaviours drawn from different sources. Masculinities are often studied in relation to culture, as it is understood that society has prescriptions and a set of 'truths' regarding how a normal man should behave. This discourse thus exposes that even though these are dominant beliefs, they do not apply to everyone not even in the same way (Morrell, 2006). On the other hand, in very traditional contexts diversion may impute serious punishment, resulting in the stigmatisation and therefore shaming of 'the outsider', an example here can be that of homophobic attacks towards gay men. This is usually the case in contexts where dominant beliefs are seen to be adhered to and accepted by larger proportions of the community.

As shown in the preceding sections, provision remained an esteemed element in shaping masculine identities for participants in this study. However, because of high levels of unemployment, lack of skills and the stringent labour markets, this activity remained a loop hole for most of them. Though warranted, the inability to find employment exposed the men to much criticism that amounted to belittling and questionable manhood. The participants mentioned how being unemployed made them prone to ridicule, especially from family.

Tumelo who was 35 was staying with his mother, five siblings and three uncles shared this experience:

> *"When you are not working it is very painful especially for us guys, things become really hard for us. When you are a guy and not working even at home they don't care about you because they expect you to donate at least 5%, that can buy sugar and you would be left with only transport fares. If you don't work they will always talk silly things about you that is why I decided to work at the car wash so that I can get those cents. And now that the car wash is closed it is difficult because I no longer get those cents that I used to get. Now I can't buy even soap to wash my clothes or even buy myself those clothes and shoes. It is difficult at home because I no longer add something on the table. They always complain, that there's nothing right that I do" (Interview, Tumelo, 18 July 2013).*

Tumelo's family mistreated him because he was not adhering to what was expected of him as a man. He mentioned also that even when he was working, he did not feel that his family genuinely loved or cared for him but were rather focusing on his contribution towards their wellbeing. Loscocco and Spitze (2007) argue that gender continues to influence the work-family-system and therefore attitudes and behaviours around the phenomenon. They further argue that because provision is a dominant characteristic to the gender attainment of men, it remains important to them and society for them to master this task. It becomes more of a prerequisite for men to work than for women as this serves as one of the rites of passage to manhood. Tumelo also mentioned that his family referred to him as *sekopa,* a Setswana term usually used to demean unemployed and unmarried men in contexts where the two are deemed important. This is similar to Pattman's (2007) findings where boys who were not conforming to the dominant culture of aggression and violent behaviour were labelled 'mofie' or 'mama's boy'. These terms serve to single and 'other' and as Pattman (2007) determines, manhood is a difficult job as boys and men must work very hard to escape falling into the subordinate groups.

Kgopolo also expressed the anguish he felt from being treated 'like a woman' because he does not work. He had left rural Kwazulu-Natal and came to Johannesburg to look for work and was staying with his father and step mother. His pain became visible as he was explaining how he expected to do some house work in return for a hot plate after working long hours as a car guard at the nearby mall. Unemployment stripped Kgopolo of his

manhood; it made him a ‘woman’, a category most men wouldn’t want to be associated with lest they become shamed or stigmatised. In Mosoetsa’s (2011) study, unemployed men would not help women with domestic work. The women had to do their house chores before going to work while their husbands stayed at home doing nothing. Mosoetsa (2011) says that the belief that homemaking is the woman’s responsibility was used as a scapegoat for men to laze around all day. It is for this reason that de Keijzer (2004) suggests that Kgopolo’s situation could be celebrated, given that he has an opportunity to explore what has been erroneously considered women’s work but because his conception of manhood is narrowed to traditional ideals, doing house work becomes detrimental.

Kitso shared this experience regarding his family’s maltreatment towards him:

> *“At home they have this funny tendency of hiding food in the bedroom and you would think that there is nothing whereas there is plenty in the bedroom, you will see the children exiting the bedroom with a chomp and really ask yourself what they are teaching children. That food sometimes expires in the bedroom and you will notice with the bad smell that something is wrong ... (Interview, Kitso,11 August 2013)”*

This experience shows that Kitso has not earned his plate as a man because he doesn’t contribute financially to the running of the household. He believes this would be different if he was employed. He is therefore not considered man enough as he is not afforded the respect most employed men get. According to Goffman’s (1968) theory on stigma he is discounted. Goffman (1968) proposes that the ‘blemished’ are discounted because they yield some threat to the community’s ‘normal’ everyday dealings. These are the minority who do not adhere to what is deemed ordinary. In ancient Greece, stigma was identified through body marks such as burns and consequently the individual was reduced “from the whole and usual person to a tainted, discounted one” (Goffman, 1968, p. 3). This framework is helpful here as it helps us conceptualise the idea of manhood and those that are disqualified and exempt from the category. As shown in the literature review, gender consists of categories and actions imposed on how those specific categories which in common discourse are men and women should uphold themselves. By using stigma as an analogy, we are able to answer the questions of hierarchies within masculinities and the embodiment of gender.

Tumisang like Kitso also experienced some pressures from his family to find employment even when he explained that his interest was establishing a business. He mentioned during the interview that he had started a business with his friend but it failed because they had a

misunderstanding. His family however could not understand this and pressured him to take any job just as to perform his 'manly' duties. This is what the 23 year old said during the interview:

> *"Tumisang: I did not want to stay at home while my friends were working and you can't expect someone to help you while you are not doing anything and I also wanted to make my mother happy because she becomes happy when I'm working. But the thing is I don't last but I always tell my mom that I want to own my business but you know how families are they want you to work even though you don't like the job they just want to see you bringing something at home at the end of the month.*
>
> *Naledi: How does that make you feel?*
>
> *Tumisang: Sometimes it hurts me because you know how parents are; they don't understand when you are a guy and not working. At home we all went to school and did our matric and yes they are working and I'm not so I'm feeling that pressure too... (Interview, Tumisang, 1 August 2013)".*

The pressure from family to work has led Tumisang to work different undesirable jobs and consequently delay his aspiration of becoming a prominent business man. This is because of the shame that comes with being unemployed as a man. Shame results from a negative evaluation by the self or others following an unacceptable behaviour in relation to norms and beliefs (Tangney, Mashek & Stuewig, 2005). Tumisang therefore continues to search for work in order to please his mother and to live up to the standard of his siblings so that he is not shamed. He understands that his family will be unforgiving if he doesn't contribute financially as we have seen with other participants.

Kgotso's experience below indicates the cruelty of social prescriptions on what it means to be a man; that they strip experiences away from men, painting them as robots whose mandate is always within reach. In reality however, men experience manhood in dynamic and intersectional ways; they are, to a certain extent, products of the political reality and histories, economic trends and social patterns unique to contexts.

This is what Kgotso shared pertaining to the pressure to provide:

> *"I don't talk to anyone besides my friend, I don't talk to my family because this really hurts me and they expect me to be doing these things so they don't understand. This is the most painful thing ever". (Interview, Kgotso, 17 July 2013).*

In Kgotso's case, his struggles of finding employment even after trying several times is not taken into consideration. Again here, the notion of manhood is not understood in context. The expectations from the family to provide do not take into consideration Kgotso's socio-economic status, that he inherits a history of economically disadvantaged black men. However, the stigma and shaming assumes that he is capable of entering the labour market and making the means to provide, which is not true.

4.6. Conclusion

This chapter has illustrated that money is inherently embedded in what it means to be a man. The young men felt compelled to provide for their families, girlfriends and children. Furthermore, what this chapter also showed is that when men fail to enact the provider role, they are rejected, shamed and stigmatised. This illustrates Connell's (1995) argument that when men don't conform to hegemonic masculinities, they become subordinated. Men were therefore evaluated against the dominant culture of provision and where they fell short; they were belittled and perceived as less manly. What this also reiterates is that masculinities are conceptualised in contexts and are therefore not natural.

The following chapter speaks to the experiences of precarious work. It examines the types of activities that the young men had to do in order to make a living, which also included crime.

CHAPTER FIVE

"God helps those who help themselves": Hustling to make things happen

"I know only of three ways of living in society: one must be a beggar, a thief, or a wage earner" Honoré de Mirabeau (1749-1791).

5.1. Introduction

While the stringent labour market foreclosed opportunities for the young men to find formal employment, the streets offered a way out. The young men in this study found different ways of generating income while continuing to pursue interest in the formal sector. This chapter focuses on the dynamics around informal work and the experiences of young men hustling[21] on the streets of Soweto. The chapter is divided into two subthemes and the first looks at the issue of precarious work and the hardships that accompany it. The same subtheme also considers the difficulties of finding formal work as the participants wished to stop the hustling but were struggling to find jobs. Some forms of hustling included crime. The second subtheme explores the experiences of participants who were involved in economic crimes.

5.2. 'Too poor to be unemployed': Escaping poverty through precarious work

Complete absence of work was a luxury that participants in this study could not afford. Most of them were from impoverished backgrounds, where only one or none of the family members were working. It was this reason and other daily struggles that led the young men to partake in what most of them referred to as 'hustling'. Furthermore, hustling was not for the sole purpose of mobilising resources but was also understood as a mechanism through which manhood can be enacted and attained. Many writers in the area of masculinities and fatherhood indicate that traditional masculinities are economically constructed. In addition to that, because men are assumed to be protectors and defenders, taking the responsibility of 'finding money' seemed automatic for the participants. Hence most of them kept saying "*I can't just sit and do nothing*" and "*I have to do something*"; this meant doing any kind of work without any guarantees of a stable income or favourable working conditions.

Sifiso identified himself as a daily hustler and this is what he said:

[21]Informal or illegal ways of making an income.

> *"Before I joined Ipelegeng I was a daily hustler, even now I am still a daily hustler, sometimes I sell things like sunglasses and watches to have income" (Interview, Sifiso, 18 September 2013).*

From the sunglasses and watches that he sold on the train he was able to put food on the table and used some of the money for transport to IYLDP, taking out his girlfriend and also buying clothes here and there. Motsemme (2007, p. 389) calls this *ukuphanda* and argues that "*ukuphanda* is integrally bound up with notions of masculinity, which valorises young men who 'make a plan', acquire cash and goods and are able to distribute them to family and girlfriends. It marks them as 'independent' in an environment where employment as a marker of the transition to adulthood is unlikely". *Ukuphanda* or hustling is therefore an unconventional way of making things happen, coupled with fluctuant, vacillating incomes. Arthur shared the following experience regarding his hustle:

> *"Arthur: As I said, I had my own place but then I moved back home, it doesn't mean that when I am back home I have to sit back and do nothing, I still have to come up with ways to buy a few things at home and for myself, I cannot ask for everything knowing that things are hard at home. So sometime I wash cars at the car wash for a little income.*
>
> *Naledi: How much do you usually make at the car wash?*
>
> *Arthur: It is not my daily job I go there only when I am free. Sometimes I get at least R50, and with that R50 I know that I can buy bread and a canned fish to eat, because my siblings have to eat" (Interview, Arthur, 3 August 2013).*

The hustlers are therefore what Alexander and Wale (2013) deem the 'underemployed', these they argue are worse off than the unemployed as staying without an income is not possible. This type of survival is no surprise in Soweto, given that the levels of unemployment in the area are considerably higher than the average for the country (Ceruti, 2013). Work in the area therefore comprises more of unpaid employment related activities. In addition, I also found that consistent with Ceruti's (2013) research, participants in this study made an income of approximately R80 a day from their hustle.

Kitso shared this during the interview:

> *"From the carwash I'm at... that R70 is enough for us to eat and you would swear that I am the one that is working and they*[family] *are not, me and my brother, because we always give them money on weekends. We want them to see that we don't like sitting at home doing nothing even though the cupboards are always empty, they will never go to bed without food..." (Interview, Kitso, 11 August 2013.*

Kitso made about R70 a day from the carwash that he was working at. This was the most he could make as he was sharing the money with some of his friends who worked with him. On days that business was slow, he could even take R5 home and this usually happened during the week. Kitso had to share all his earnings with his family and therefore used the money to buy food; he never had anything left for himself, as long as everyone else were well fed. Alexander and Wale (2013) also found in their study that the participants survived on a hand-to-mouth basis. These were usually young men who were involved in various informal money making activities. I also observed that while popular discourse celebrates entrepreneurship and has shifted the spotlight from job seeking, for these young men mere survival was the main goal as 'profits', 'expenditures' and 'bookkeeping' were only but a fancy language for the *top-shayelas*[22].

My interview with Tumelo also illustrated the unsteadiness of precarious work and why it is unreliable. He also worked at a car wash and made R50 on good days. He spent most of it on food and dedicated the rest towards looking for a stable job. Small businesses are therefore usually perceived as an immediate response to poverty while a stable job is essentially desired. This is because formal work is understood to give direction to a better future and also puts one in a better position to afford basic resources (Ceruti, 2013). Alexander and Wale (2013) add that precarious work is often undesirable because of the hazardous and unpleasant conditions that come with the work; they take note of a participant who worked long hours selling scrap metals in hot summer days. Tidimalo also attested to the harsh conditions of selling ice-lollies on the main road intersections. He was 27 years old and stayed with his grandmother and older brother. He shared this:

> *"I wash cars and get those R20s, they make a difference. There are those piece jobs from the township, you know, washing mini-bus taxis…and sometimes when I have money I sell cigarettes and ice-blocks on the roadside by the main road. People buy*

[22] The rising middle class who in black townships own medium and big businesses.

> *the ice a lot hey but it is hard. We stand there in the sun and sometimes it causes dizziness, I even get nose-bleeds a lot from the heat. Standing the whole day is not pap and vleis hey, sometimes you even have to walk up the main road so that you can get more sales, we are many here, there is lots of competition..." (Interview, Tidimalo, 26 September 2013).*

Of necessity, Tidimalo hopped from one form of work to another. He felt compelled to withstand the unpleasant conditions of his work given that no one in his family was employed. It is for this reason that Alexander and Wale (2013) argue that 'underemployment' cannot be considered 'employment', they show that the kind of work that the underemployed do is often driven by the escalating need to meet basic needs, it is therefore work done out of desperation and is usually undesired. Kgopolo also shared his experiences of working as a car guard. He worked long unregulated hours and was not even assured an income at the end of the day. To save money, he had one meal while on duty and did not have any tea or coffee benefits. He further shared the following experience regarding his work:

> *"When a person comes out of the car I must greet him so that he can see that I am not a tsotsi and I will remind him to lock his car; but most of the time they think that I am only doing that just because I want R2 from them. But when they come back and find that maybe something from their cars was stolen they now ask me where their belongings are and I tell them straight that you gave me an attitude when I greeted you so stop asking me questions then I continue with my job. If it's a lady for example, she will then go fetch her husband and they will start accusing me of stealing, saying that I will take out whatever that was lost, I will politely ask the lady "who did you tell to guard your car because I even greeted you and you never responded?". There would usually be securities included trying to figure out what exactly happened and I tell them the same story, that I'm not only guarding her car and that there are many other cars in the parking lot. So that's my experience when it comes to working with people and you know a customer is always right, some of them do take me to police station for their lost items but they never win the case because I don't have time to steal when I'm guarding other cars, some come in and some go out, I don't have time to steal" (Interview, Kgopolo, 15 August 2013).*

Such problems seem inevitable in his line of work as the labour legislation does not protect informal workers (Barchiesi, 2011). It is such experiences that led most participants to seek

better employment in the formal sector but were usually turned down. As shown in the literature review, the equation between job seekers and employment opportunities in South Africa doesn't balance. While busy with field work, it also came to my attention that most local general dealers and other small businesses had placards saying: *awukho umsebenzi, ha hona mosebetsi mo, there are no jobs here*. This was often to discourage young men from attempting any plea with the owners for work as this was prevalent in the area. I had initially felt that this was rude until I had a conversation with one of the store owners in the Moletsane area. He explained to me that they put up these placards so as to prevent humiliating job seekers. According to him business was not doing well enough to bring in another staff member, but the humiliation that he was referring to was about the young men who often beg on their knees for jobs even when they are told there is nothing. The *Awukho umsebenzi/no jobs* phenomenon seems to be affecting most young people in townships. Mangena (2012) speaks about his experience of looking for a job and being welcomed by the gruesome placard. His degree and multiple short-course certificates did not spare him from working piece jobs which included packing beer crates at the local tavern. On the other hand, those without tertiary education are the hardest hit by this phenomenon as small businesses are usually their only hope for employment; this was true for most participants in this study. Mlatsheni and Rospabé (2002) argue that poverty and the urgent need for immediate material gain compels young people to look for work immediately after matric as opposed to pursuing their studies.

Donald was 23 at the time of the interview and spoke a great deal about the difficulties of looking for a job. This is what he said:

> *"Donald: I'm unemployed, looking for a job but I haven't had any luck.*
>
> *Naledi: How have you been looking thus far?*
>
> *Donald: So far I've applied for a couple of learnerships and have done door to door" (Interview, Donald, 16 August 2013).*

Donald's situation connotes desperation even in the formal line of work, in that he applies wherever he finds an opportunity to do so. Hustling principles therefore also apply in formal employment. This was also the case with Mangena (2012), who out of panic applied for any job he could. Alongside the tavern job, he also distributed flyers on the street corners and has worked, once, on a till. Although statistics show that youth comprise the largest component

of the discouraged unemployed, this trend was not proven true by this study as most participants were persistently looking for work. Participants continued submitting their CVs, even though they were beginning to worry as they received no responses. This is what Thoriso said:

> *"It's tough, but I have gone to some agencies looking for a job and they said that they will call me and tell me if there is an opportunity somewhere, where I can go. But so far I haven't received any calls. But there was one agency that called me and told me that I can come to them and said that they can help me prepare for interviews. So they prepared me and after that they said that they will call the companies so that they can call me, but so far I haven't received any calls" (Interview, Thoriso, 25 September 2013).*

Similarly, Thutego shared the following:

> *"I sent my CV at Metrorail, they were looking for people and even now they still haven't called us, I have applied for a couple of leanerships. I am always looking at my phone expecting calls but it never rings" (Interview, Thutego, 14 July 2013).*

Thutego was wondering if his CV was ever looked at or considered for opportunities and was therefore beginning to question himself. The U.S. Department of Labour (2009) reports that the so called 'discouraged job seekers' adopt such an attitude after persistence in a failing process and as a result get discouraged after countless rejections. Thutego had not given up however, even though he was losing hope. Kingdon and Knight (2004) assert that the younger age-cohorts constituting the youth (16-25 years) don't usually give up on looking for work and their study shows that this group is unlikely to stay unemployed for more than three years. The 23 year old was volunteering at his local church and also participated in projects relating to gardening, youth development, alcohol abuse and HIV/AIDS. He was hoping that volunteering would boost his CV and thus put him in a better position to get a job, this was not happening however as Thutego relied on selling pine gel to make a living. Kgotso shared the following regarding his experiences looking for work:

> *"I have once worked at a shop selling car parts. I worked for six months; I started on the 10th of February 2012. Then after that I saved some money to help me look for another job and up to now I haven't found one. And then I tried to get my driver's license also with that little money I had saved, it costed me around R6000. So I took*

code 10, from there I started struggling with transport money for job hunting, I'm really struggling, they told me to get PDP but I've been struggling with that" (Interview, Kgotso, 17 July 2013).

Besides struggling to a find job, Kgotso makes reference to another critical issue of working on short-term contracts. These are considered formal work but Barchiesi (2011) shows that they have long term crippling effects. Casual work robs workers of employment benefits such as medical aids and retirement provisions. The low wages also disqualify workers from affording basic living conditions such as rents, water and electricity which are expensive. As it seems, this type of work also paints a picture of a recurring hand-to-mouth situation – not alleviating poverty as it is intended to. Hence Kgotso qualified as the 'working poor', in addition to that his job served only as a part time relief given that he soon re-entered the world of the unemployed. The same was also true for Rebaone; he counted a number of such jobs that he had found but was back to being unemployed at the time of the interview.

5.3. Crime and unemployment: interrogating the dichotomy

Although most participants took the legal route of hustling, for some, past or present, it involved some criminal activities. Barolsky (2012) argues that in a context of economic marginalisation, impoverishment and extreme inequalities, crime only voices out the quality of life in that society. Statistics are further clear that youth unemployment constitutes the largest proportion of the unemployed, with most never having worked before or having only been employed in low wage jobs. Crime therefore, seemed an immediate response for this challenge accompanied by the pressure to 'man up' and do something.

Furthermore, similar to Barolsky's (2012) study, participants were convinced to participate in criminal hustling during their high school years, often through the influence of their peers. For others however, crime was the last resort often resulting after failing to secure a formal job. Hence Scholars agree that change in the labour markets, whereby more sustainable jobs with good incentives are generated, levels of crime will decrease substantially, causing a ripple effect. Vanagunas (1984) testifies to this; his study found that when the rates of unemployment increased, car highjackings and robbery became more prominent, suggesting that where employment opportunities existed the reverse would be true. In other words, crime is a direct reflection of socio-political and economic dynamics within a context; hence policies aiming to reduce the phenomenon should be able to speak to those challenges.

According to Simpson (2012), the unemployment rate in Soweto stands at 53%, which is relatively high compared to other regions of the city. Crime on the other hand continues to be scaling up and muggings, burglaries and car thefts are the most prevalent crimes in the area (Palmer Development Group, 2004). This is what Lerato said concerning unemployment and crime in the area and its impact on the community:

> *"I believe that unemployment causes crime rate to go up. It affects us because for one they take our belongings like when they meet people coming from work they are desperate for some things so they end up doing wrong things like muggings so it affects us, no one has the right to take your belongings. Another thing is that most of our parents are not working and for example if we need things they can't help us financially; due to unemployment so we end up committing crime. For example in winter we need jerseys, clothes and shoes and they can't do it for us so that's where crime starts also. Even at school, we ended up eating from the feeding scheme while our friends were eating bunny chows" (Interview, Lerato, 3 August 2013).*

Lerato's statements illuminate the two-faced nature of crime. For one, it is a survival of the fittest for those who are trying to make a living for themselves and their families. On the other hand, crime poses a threat to the wellbeing of the community, inducing fear and infringing the rights of the innocent. Tshepiso started getting involved in crime after failing his matric. Perceiving a gloomy future ahead and failing to find work, he felt left with no other choice but to commit crime. He was once involved in fraud but his conscience did not allow him to stay longer thus resorting to selling marijuana. This is what he said:

> *"Naledi: how do you hustle? What do you do exactly?*
>
> *Tshepiso: ok, honestly* [pause], *I sell weed. And then sometimes I gamble, you know madice* [dice].
>
> *Naledi: ok and how much do you make out of that?*
>
> *Tshepiso: weed makes a lot of money, I don't want to lie but eish you have to be careful 'cause once you get caught it's over" (Interview, Tshepiso, 16 July 2013).*

Tshepiso later shared this regarding what his family thinks about selling marijuana:

> *"They gave up, they are just fine. They know it's a tough world out there and I don't have a choice. Plus the money helps them a lot. Well my mother wants me to find a proper job but knows that I really tried so drugs (recites) were the only option" (Interview, Tshepiso, 16 July 2013).*

Tshepiso shows that he had decided to sell drugs and engage in illegal gambling because he felt he did not stand a chance to make it into the formal sector. In fact, he refers to the formal sector as a *"tough world"* and speaks of not having a choice because of limited possibilities of entering the formal sector, hence the crime. His calculations also take into cognisance the ability to make a lot of money from selling drugs. Studies show that where individuals perceive crime to be more beneficial than formal employment or other legal activities, crime rates will increase as there is not much sensitisation to look for employment (Calvó-Armengol, et al., 2007). Thus, while others hustled through informal trading and piece jobs, Tshepiso stuck to crime. This is because as shown in the former section, legal hustles were unpredictable and often occurred in unfavourable circumstances, as opposed to selling drugs in the comfort of your own home, while bringing in ten times what the legal hustler makes.

Sifiso who was once also involved in some criminal activities admitted to have also adhered to this sentiment, at that time crime seemed to be offering more incentives than small legal enterprise, unfortunately however he ended up with a criminal record which is now affecting his opportunities of finding formal work. This is what he said:

> *"Sifiso: I used to do house burglaries, robbery, anything that had to do with theft, then I got a wakeup call but most of the guys who were doing these things with me ended up in jail, I got lucky and I took that as a lesson because having a criminal record is not good.*
>
> *Naledi: Do you have a criminal record?*
>
> *Sifiso: Yes I do, I got arrest a couple of times but most of the time I survived because I was still a minor, I would only get a community service sentence, maybe to go clean a clinic for the whole week.*
>
> *Naledi: What do you think led you into this?*

> *Sifiso: Growing up back in high school life was hard; they would give me R1 as pocket money so I had to hustle for more, selling sweets back then was a slow engine, carrying a packet of sweets everywhere was just not on, I needed good cash" (Interview, Sifiso, 18 September 2013).*

Sifiso got a wakeup call a little too late; he already had a criminal record and was as a result struggling to find work. Sifiso also alludes to the fact he started engaging in criminal activities at an early age. His mother was at the time the only breadwinner and his father was nowhere to be found. The low wages his mother earned was not enough to meet all their needs and consequently the children were left to *phanda* for some of the things they needed. Barolsky (2012) also found that the young men who were involved in crime in her study were not receiving psychosocial and financial support from home. To the other extreme, the unfortunate results of crime can worsen the chances of ever entering the formal sector and even worse, deepen the levels of hardships because of the possible the imprisonment of the provider (Yang & Lester, 1994). A criminal record also affected Tidimalo in the following way:

> *"Okay, to be honest my sister I have been arrested before you see, I was really naughty. Just to be honest with you...I did some criminal activities...And then I came out and my family found a job for me to work as a security guard in the city. But they told me that they won't even consider me because I have a criminal record. So I lost out on a job just like that" (Tidimalo, 26 September 2013).*

At the time of the interview, Tidimalo was no longer a criminal and in addition to washing cars and selling ice-lollies, he was also a participant at IYLDP. Crime is usually perceived the only resort as the participants kept referring to the lack of choices; this was alongside a context of free bursaries and government funded learnerships. In addition to this, Yu (2013) mentions that there are a number of under-supplied fields in South Africa which require more young people to enrol for. A number of organisations[23] have also been established to assist with funding small businesses in the quest to address unemployment. Yu (2013) however also adds that youths don't have adequate networks to access information regarding these opportunities, and where they do the opportunities often don't meet their expectations. The youth have also been found to lack soft skills and emotional maturity thus lacking the

[23] Examples are the National Youth Development Agency and the government support for Small, Medium and Microenterprises (SAMMEs).

confidence to compete for opportunities. Another factor leading young men to resorting to crime even where other opportunities exist is that where poverty is rampant, impatience with formal systems arise as most seek immediate financial gains.

5.4. Conclusion

By far, studies on crime and unemployment seem to be presenting a coin image to the situation. However, as we have seen in the above section young men in this study didn't feel compelled to either find a job or commit crime, but found ways of navigating other legal options to generating income. With that said however, crime kept being referred to, presented as a third strand to the cord but only as the weaker one. Even Tidimalo who once was involved in criminal activities argued that crime is not a good 'option' as it had negative consequences.

This chapter has shown that complete absence of work was not possible for the young men interviewed as poverty was rife. The young men therefore had to 'make things' happen through partaking in any income generating activity that they could think of. However, as shown, these activities usually took place under difficult and quite unpleasant circumstances. This led the young men to desire work in the formal sector given that besides monetary incentives it offers stability and other benefits. Unfortunately, the young men could not secure formal employment as the South African labour market is stringent, especially to citizens without tertiary education.

As a result, some participants found crime more profitable than informal work and made money from illegal activities. Some of those participants however, also shared their experiences regarding the backlash of crime. Criminal records were now hindering them from finding formal work, which illustrates that crime can impute permanent punishments. The following chapter focuses on the dynamics of seeking help from psychosocial services, as unemployment is shown to pose serious problems on the everyday wellbeing of young men.

CHAPTER SIX

The dynamics of help seeking for men

6.1. Introduction

Chapter four focused on the different pressures that men experienced to express their manhood in financial ways and the social ridicules they suffer as a result of not attaining this standard. Chapter five followed with a discussion that showed how lack of employment, poverty and other daily hardships forced young men to look for precarious work even though in ideal situations the men desired good paying jobs with encouraging working conditions. This chapter strives to show how not living up to society's ideas of masculine provider role and not having general access to work and money has an impact on men's psychosocial wellbeing. It also looks into the dynamics of seeking psychosocial help through exploring enhancers and barriers to accessing these services.

Generally, the interviews proved to be quite burdensome and emotionally draining for most of the men; this was also true for me as the interviewer[24]. For example, Tidimalo exclaimed that my interview questions had opened a can of worms, as I had touched a subject that he preferred to be left alone. After the interview, Tidimalo asked to stay a while longer so that he could compose himself and leave the room looking as normal as possible. He was close to crying but worked hard at not shedding a single tear. Kgothatso on the other hand struggled to hold it together during the interview and was in tears the majority of the time. He just went on and on about how not having a job made him feel useless and worthless. It was as if Khothatso had kept all this emotion inside for too long and as a result was exploding. Similarly, Kitso was teary for half of the interview and even left before we were finished; if my observation was correct, he had gone out so that he could cry. The interview process therefore felt like I was rubbing salt in a wound, one that had been left to chance to heal. Healing for these men seemed a little far-fetched as their reality dictated that as long as the wound was left alone no commotion would arise from it. These experiences alone illustrate the intensity of distress that accompanies unemployment and what these young men are faced with daily.

[24]I speak about these experiences more extensively in the methodology chapter.

6.2. Tigers cry too

The notion of 'tigers don't cry' is a popular one and has been found to be used by both men and women. This saying amongst other things connotes that men don't show emotion or express their feelings as this would question their manhood. It also portrays men as tough and indifferent. However, in the context of high unemployment where men's identities are tied to financial provision a psychosocial breakdown is inevitable. In this study, men reported various signs of depression and admitted that they were stressed which is in contrast with the idea of men as salient and in control and also shows that men do experience vulnerabilities. With this said, the saying 'tigers don't cry' seems to acknowledge that men have emotions but impedes on expressing them. Kgothatso shared this regarding how he feels about being unemployed:

> *"...I wish that I could also help because it hurts knowing that I have matric but I can't...sometimes I think that I am useless because people out there have job, I am just like a guy who smokes nyaope* [drugs] *because I wake up and do nothing so there is no difference between the two of us. These kinds of things really affect me, I sometimes think that I have no purpose in this world, but then I believe in God, I tell myself that maybe this is how it is suppose to be for now, it is just a challenge that I have to face and things will be fine at the end..." (Interview, Kgothatso, 27 September 2013)*

Kgothatso here equates himself to someone who smokes *nyaope*, a cocktail drug that is found in predominantly poor black townships. According to Conway-Smith (2013, October 31) youth turn to *nyaope* out of boredom, but other reasons have been found to include poverty and unemployment. Thus, while some use the drug for fun, for many others *nyaope* is a coping strategy that helps them endure extreme poverty and lack of employment opportunities. Generally, the latter group consists of youth who have given up all together and now participate in criminal activities and other small ways of making money. Kgothatso compares himself to the *nyaope* boys because he feels that even though he is living right and tries his best to improve his life, he has nothing to show for it and therefore feels useless and without purpose.

The use of drugs and alcohol was presented by a number of participants as a coping strategy or a remedy for stress. Kitso shared that he used to smoke dagga in order to forget about his

troubles. He reiterated that all his troubles were tied to money, his family was rejecting him because he was unemployed and without fancy clothes and money to party on weekends he felt displaced in a community where expensive clothes and drinks enhances men's status. When I asked him how dagga helped, he said he doesn't remember much as he would get high to a point where he passed out. Kgopolo also shared a similar experience and argued:

> *"I want to try and forget what I have and don't have so that don't steal people's laptops and so on, my stress will only go up so I smoke dagga to get rid of all that stress. If I don't take dagga I will have a mindset of stealing, because I'll be alert that I need this and that" (Interview, Kgopolo, 15 August 2013).*

So for Kgopolo not being alert or aware of his situation makes things better for a little while, since once the effects of the drug wares off the reality of his poverty and unemployment returns. Drugs were therefore a short cure for stress and hopelessness. Mandla on the other hand admitted to the abuse of alcohol and showed how his problem led to him losing his girlfriend. He indicated that at that time, alcohol was the only way he could deal with 'stress', especially because he could not afford to do the things that he used to for her, such as taking her out and giving her money for some of her needs. Mandla said:

> *"It affected me big time because I ended up having a lot of stress, and when I have a lot of stress my friends will come and buy beers and I will start drinking and not make time for my girlfriend. I ended up losing the girl I love because of stress..." (Interview, Mandla, 25 September 2013).*

The abuse of alcohol therefore played a role in breaking down intimate relationships and the breakdown of the general social functioning. Even though Mandla was drinking to relieve stress, the drinking seemed to create more stress in his life. Another participant Duma had also indicated that he was a smoker and had only started because he was stressed. Nylén, Voss and Floderus' (2001) study also found that unemployment led to the abuse of drugs and alcohol and excessive smoking. Again, Allgower, Wardle and Steptoe (2001) amongst other depressive symptoms found the use of drugs and smoking prevalent in their findings. Empirical studies however dismiss these claims that alcohol and drugs relieve stress, in fact, studies show that the abuse of drugs and alcohol causes health, impairment and legal problems that actually create more stress.

Two of the social workers interviewed, Thandeka and Arina also attested to this problem and argued that the abuse of drugs and alcohol is a social ill that radiates from unemployment and lack of other economic opportunities. They further argued that the abuse of drugs and alcohol create more social problems such as crime and dysfunctional homes. Thandeka once worked for SANCA[25] and therefore had experience of working with alcohol and drug addicts day to day. According to her:

> "*The problem is not only poverty; we are living in a day and age where money spins the man's world around. Do you understand the concept of cheese boys? Apparently they stand a better chance of dating the girls they want. So without money you can't date 'thee' girl. The other thing is that these young stars live expensive lives, for you to fit in, you must wear your Levi's, wear that flowered T-shirt* [laugh], *the skhothane ones. They don't drink black label, this youth is living in a hectic era. I think this is where it starts, those who are unemployed feel like outcasts and see drugs as a way out, some even commit suicide..." (Interview, Thandeka, 14 September 2013).*

Thandeka's statements make a crucial point and highlight Barolsky's (2012) argument that material acquisition symbolises 'having made it' for most young men. Thus employment not only eliminates the problem of poverty, but also puts men in a better position to symbolically and materially show their worth. In line with this, Bartley (1994) argues that unemployment is stressful for men because many issues relating to manhood are tied to money. Although most researchers dispute the poverty argument and stress that the reason unemployment compromises psychological health is because of non-financial benefits, the findings in this study are not in total agreement. So far, the two chapters have illustrated the different benefits of work relevant to men in this study which included: fleeing poverty, social status, the provider role and the performance of other social roles. Furthermore, the man as provider reason ranked high for most of the men which were augmented by poverty and the pressure to rescue their families as tradition renders men responsible for this task. Mosoetsa (2011) argues that because the topic on the link between psychosocial wellness and unemployment is not popular in the South African literature, Western ideas on work override the reality that most South African men are faced with (du toit, 2003).

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[25] The South African National Council on Alcoholism and drug dependence offers psychosocial services to individuals and groups that are dependent on chemicals.

This contradiction is also illustrated by Yankelovich's (1982) research on attitudes towards work. The study revealed that 78% of respondents believed that work carries a moral imperative to do one's best apart from practical necessity or financial remuneration, while 7% saw work as just an economic transaction, the last group which constituted 15%, was reported to view work as just a means of accumulating resources in order to make a living. This study was conducted in the USA and du Toit (2003) agrees that it would be a big error to assume that the findings can be generalised to other countries. Another big study that was conducted in eleven countries: Australia, Belgium: Flanders, Canada, Croatia, Israel, Italy, Japan, Poland, Portugal, South Africaand United States revealed that the value of work could be understood in three ways, 1. Work goals; 2. Work involvement; and 3. Work alienation (Super & Sverko, 1995). Although this study is praised for looking into the third world and economic affluent countries concurrently, what the research doesn't look at is the disparities that exist within each country. South Africa may be ranked a third world in comparison to other countries but within the country itself, inequality is high[26].

The work on *Class in Soweto*, particularly Alexandra and Wale's (2012) *Too poor to be unemployed* is one of the prominent studies that take South Africa's situation into cognisance, illustrating that unemployment is a luxury that a poor man cannot afford. Class thus, distinguishes itself as an important dynamic to consider when looking at the value of work. For example while middle-class men in Khunou's (2006) study considered fatherhood an experience encompassing nurturance, young poor fathers in the study of Panday, et al. (2009) could not play the nurturing role, as the provision of basic needs became their major and most important task.

With that said, participants also showed the complexities of being a man in modern day South Africa, where not only one ideology contributes to how men frame their identity. For Kgotso, work was important for material needs such as clothes but also general progress in life, which because he was using his peers and family members as a yardstick, meant career advancement and work enjoyment. He expressed a strong link between depression and unemployment and used words such as *pain, no life, guilt and hurt* to describe how he was feeling. Furthermore, Kgotso experienced paranoia as he would feel that others assumed him

[26] I have shown the gini-coeffecient of South Africa in the literature review section.

to be a thief when something was missing even though no one had really accused him of this. Kgotso said:

> *"I feel depressed, and sometimes I feel like I'm guilty and I don't know guilty of what. You get home sometimes and they tell you that something is missing. That automatically translates to me being the culprit, you see. Sometimes I see people my age accomplishing things while I'm not doing anything. On the other hand it's hard to find a job. Clothes also get old and my brother is the one who usually buys me clothes. There's no life hey, Zimbabweans and other foreigners are the ones getting jobs and us South African citizens apply all the time but are unsuccessful. Sometimes this really hurts me hey, when people in my family are progressing and my life is stagnant. It is really painful..." (Interview, Kgotso, 17 July 2013).*

It appears here that Kgotso considers the lack of both material and non-material benefits of work as major contributors to his 'depression', suggesting that both matter to him. This was also because while struggling with just basic needs, his peers were progressing in their careers, exposing him to another level of deprivation. Like Ceruti (2013), comparison to others is significant for how one positions oneself, so Kgotso looks at Zimbabweans and his peers and family members as a yardstick to measure where he is in life and where he should be. Kgotso's experience therefore shows that the work benefits dynamics are also a relative experience.

The pressure from peers was also echoed by Tshepiso's experience below:

> *"I didn't cope at all, but ai, most people here in the township don't work so you don't see much of a problem. But it's hard rounding with the sun (laughs). And you finish the bread as well. People don't see you for who you really are, you are nobody. It's worse when you see people you went to school with driving nice cars" (Interview, Tshepiso, 16 July 2013).*

The issue of relativity surfaces twice in Tshepiso's arguments. Firstly, he takes note of the fact that he could not cope at all but said because many other people in the township were not working this put him at par with his peers and therefore compensated for his worries. Unlike his second experience where he felt that by others doing well, his negative perception of himself worsened and he felt more *like a no body*. Again we see the comparison with others playing a role in how the young men position themselves in the world.

While this study was not set out to measure constructs such as depression and stress, participants kept referring to them, showing congruence with literature that correlates unemployment with depression and stress (Allgower, et al., 2001;; Bartley, 1994; Eisenberg & Lazarsfeld, 1938; Nylén, et al.; 2001; Novo et al., 2001). The conditions were self-diagnosed however, with none of the participants having sought professional help. It also came to my attention during field work that the terms are loosely used in the township to connote different things. The word 'stressed' for example was usually used to replace 'irritated' and 'worried' in a sentence. I asked Kgotso what he meant when he said he was depressed and he shared that it is because he is always worried and struggles to sleep sometimes. Although lack of sleep and worry do constitute some symptoms of depression, they cannot be labelled as depression without a thorough assessment from a professional. Either way, Kgotso felt that his mental health needed some attention even though he was not sure what the problem was.

Arina, one of the social workers interviewed, recognised a need for public education regarding psychological conditions and argued that these were not taken seriously in the townships. She further argued that the widespread clusters of social ills in the community have led to the normalisation of psychosocial distress, "*we have learned to accommodate dysfunction*" she said. Indeed, a number of participants reflected Arina's argument during the interviews, they had faced so many stressful situations that they had learned to accommodate the depression and stress that emanated from them. Kitso shared that:

> *"It is like I have a wound in my heart that will never fade I cry every day but sometimes they are tears of joy so I always tell myself that I didn't choose this life for myself, I have a purpose in life and I am very positive" (Interview, Kitso, 11 August 2013).*

In the extract above, Kitso doesn't give much weight to the wound in the heart and crying everyday dilemma. He continued to say he did not choose that kind of life for himself, and sounded like that made it okay, that he was destined for crying every day and he didn't have control over that – it was meant to be.

Thus while Arina recognises the need for public education, it was not taking place and without the relevant knowledge Kitso could not recognise any sense of dysfunction in his life.

Below Kgopolo shows acceptance for his situation, disappointments and hurt have become a big part of his life and consequently he sees nothing wrong with that:

> *"I've had so many disappointments in life, as I told you I was raised by my grandmother, she was the only one looking after me and she was old so when my grandmother died I told myself that I will do everything on my own I won't ask for anything from anybody so that is why I say I don't have stress in my life I see it normal..." (Interview, Kgopolo, 15 August 2013).*

In the context where you feel defeated, that there is nothing you can do, normalising the situation seems like the only option for some peace of mind, that is why Kgopolo finds solace in knowing that he is all alone. Furthermore, alongside Arina's argument that social problems are so many that the distress that emanates from them is seen as normal, literature suggests that men tend to normalise symptoms of dysfunction and that this is because as men, society expects them to show strength in times of adversity (Bertakis et al., 2000; Courtenay, 2000; Fox & Rainie, 2012; George & Fleming, 2004; Pi-Sunyer, 1991;).

6.3. Men don't talk because it is unmanly to tell

Although it remained evident that the participants were experiencing different forms of psychosocial challenges, seeking professional help proved difficult for some of them. Participants felt that it was unmanly to talk about their feelings especially because it was uncommon for men in their community to visit social workers and psychologists. Scholars are presently critical of the influences of masculine identity on the health help seeking behaviour of men, however, at the same time current findings on the topic including this study show correlations between the two. Silence in traditional masculinities is also perpetuated by the culture of 'keeping men's business secret'. This we see in the tradition of initiation schools where men are not allowed to disclose to either women or other men who have not been initiated what happened in the mountains. This phase of 'manhood' becomes the beginning of a cycle of silence concerning what is viewed as men's problems.

This is what Thutego said:

> *"Thutego: No, she* [sister] *wanted me to attend counselling or go for therapy, but I refused. I tried but it didn't work for me because they would ask me how do I feel, and for me it's hard to open up to a stranger. People say it helps, but for me I don't think so.*
>
> *Naledi: What was difficult when you were asked how do you feel?*

Thutego: Obviously I was sad, and they would ask me to describe that feeling... At that time I couldn't afford anything, even clothes. And another thing is that I hate crying when there are people around, I would rather bottle it inside rather than crying in front of people.

Naledi; why do you think that is a problem for you?

Thutego: I don't feel like manly when I cry.

Naledi: When you say manly what do you mean?

Thutego: I believe that a man mustn't show too many emotions, there should be a difference between a man and a woman. I believe that a man must demonstrate power and strength, not a man who shows his feelings in public. That is what being manly means to me" (Interview, Thutego, 14 July 2013).

Receiving professional help was set out for failure from the onset as Thutego's statements show that he did not believe that he was going to receive any help. The Health Brief Model (in Khunou & Munatswa, forthcoming) shows that when a man doesn't believe that a certain behaviour change will improve his condition, he will not find it worthwhile to seek help. Furthermore, the benefits to this behaviour change should outweigh perceived losses, which was not the case with Thutego. For him talking about his feelings compromised his manhood and was therefore undesirable. He also felt that it was a waste of time as it seemed obvious that having material lack was saddening. Thutego identified with traditional ideals of being a man which suggest that 'tigers don't cry'. Furthermore, it was his sister that had suggested that he goes for counselling and doing so was to only please her. Khunou and Munatswa (forthcoming) indicate that women who are in close relationships with men often act as enhancers to seeking professional help. It is the female service providers that are perceived as threats towards one's manhood. This was illustrated by Thutego's hesitation to publically display his feelings, he felt that the practitioner would question his ability to be rational and in control; he had indicated that the practitioner that he saw was a woman.

This is how Tumisang illustrated the influence of traditional masculinities on his help seeking behaviour:

"Tumisang: I am one person... when you come to me with a problem I would give you a good advice but I can't tell people about my problems I would rather keep quiet and

even at home they know that I am quiet person but when they have problems they come to me because they know I have good advice.

Naledi: Why do you think that is the case?

Tumisang: I don't know hai sistaz I really don't know... guys are not open like girls but I know that it is not good to keep your problems with you but I really can't let them out."

The above extract reveals three important points. Firstly, Tumisang feels that as a man he cannot receive advice from others but finds it acceptable to help others with their problems. Secondly, Tumisang suggests that it is natural for men to not share their feelings even though he finally says it is not a good thing. Gender stereotypes have therefore limited Tumisang's opportunities to seek professional help. Levant (1990) alludes to Brannon's (1985) model that seeks to explain the link between traditional masculinities and help seeking behaviour. The model proposes four components: 'no sissy stuff' refers to the idea that men should not express feminine characteristics; 'the big wheel' asserts that men should strive for respect and achievement; 'the sturdy oak' refers to men not displaying any weaknesses and 'give 'em hell' which purports that men should behave risky and be adventurous. Gender-specific motivation in the use of psychosocial services was relevant in Pini; Piccinelli & Zimmerman (1995); the results didn't show any differences between men who worked as health general practitioners and men from the general public. However, the same profiles of women showed that more women general practitioners sought psychosocial help. Addis and Mahalik (2003) also looked into a number of studies that show that men of different ages, ethnicities, nationalities and racial background were found to utilise psychosocial services less frequently than women. Rickwood and Braithwaite (1994) similarly support this finding as being among a number of predictors that their study considered for help-seeking behaviour; identification with traditional norms of being 'manly' hindered men from seeking help.

Sceptics have however dismissed the role of masculinities in help-seeking behaviour and three reasons have been provided to that end (Addis & Mahalik, 2003). Firstly, there is a problem with methodologies that rely heavily on self-reports and the use of convenience in sampling (Galdas, Cheater & Marshall, 2005). Secondly, though masculinities are assumed to be socially constructed, they are in such instances treated as if they are internal and stable, this does not account for why some men will seek help for certain problems and not others. Finally, such an assertion concludes that gender identity is inherently a personality trait and

does not account for the fluidity of masculine performances in different contexts; that while certain men may identify with traditional norms, they may actually also cry (Connell, 1995; Addis & Mahalik, 2003).

6.4. Questionable professionalism and perceived ineffectiveness of programs.

Professionalism and perceived effectiveness of help provided by professionals was another predictor for help-seeking behaviour. Participants were not confident that what they discuss will be kept confidential. This was a serious concern besides social workers, counsellors and psychologist being bound by their professional bodies to abide by the ethical rule of confidentiality. Nonetheless, because participants were not well informed about psychosocial help services, they somewhat did not know the rules that apply. In Kgomo's (2011) study however, the young male students understood the rules of confidentiality and professionalism and therefore were more willing to attend psychosocial programs provided at their campus.

Tshepo did not trust that what he would share during his session with a social worker or psychologist would remain confidential, and said:

> *"Eish, hai sistaz counselling is not my stuff and I have to tell my story again and again. I don't like talking about how hurt I was in life. It is not okay to tell people about your personal life because you don't know if they will keep it secret or whether they will go on telling people about your life" (Interview, Tshepo, 20 September 2013)* .

Secrecy or keeping his story private seems to be important for Tshepo. He was reluctant to speak about his problems with a professional lest the entire community finds out about his issues. Takeuchi, Leaf and Kuo (1988) maintain that this is due to the shame and stigma associated with using psychosocial services; using such services is misconstrued to mean that there is something wrong with you. The authors conclude that personal and group shames allude to this, that family, friends and other members of the community would view them differently if they knew what is bothering them. Kgomo (2011) discusses social stigma intensively and argues that men do not seek help because they fear negative judgement from others. This is because psychosocial services are linked to mental illnesses, which is generally described negatively in communities.

Thoriso doubted the confidentiality assured by professionals, especially when they are from his immediate community. He shared how he fears to be 'shamed' by their possible disclosure in the following ways:

> *"It's not easy opening up to people, especially when you don't know them. What if that person is friends with people you know... and then…ja you find that these people are close... Ja, it's not easy" (Interview, Thoriso, 25 September 2013).*

Similarly, numerous studies reveal that communities do not trust professionals and therefore resort to self-medicating and other methods that guarantee confidentiality. Khunou and Munatswa (forthcoming) argue that men 'do what works' to avoid the ridicule that health professional impute on help-seekers. Furthermore, the quality of service provision in South Africa remains questionable as the media and scholars continuously report on the lack of professionalism, inadequate resources and poor service delivery. Most men therefore tend to avoid this by not utilising services at all. This calls for public education and awareness regarding service users' rights and which channels are available to report negligence and misconduct. Professional bodies that claim to protect service users must become visible and take the bull by its horns.

Participants were not only sceptical of professionalism but also doubted the effectiveness of psychosocial services. Lesedi also shared this during the interview; she was a social worker in the nearby social agency, which, she wished to not be disclosed. She argued that clients often expect social workers to change their circumstances immediately and don't understand that the social worker-client relationship is a reciprocal process where clients are active participants in the change process. According to her, social workers are not magicians and therefore require clients to commit to also partake in bringing change into their lives. Sheafor and Horejsi (2006) also stress that clients should be willing to actively participate during sessions. In addition to that, the end product is determined by the willingness to complete tasks and the awareness that social workers are facilitators and not dictators. The effectiveness of programs is therefore determined by both the practitioner and the client. Hence social workers are encouraged to terminate the working relationship where clients do not show interest in being partners and are stagnant in the change process (Sheafor & Horejsi, 2006).

Tumisang did not see any value in the use of psychosocial services and argued that he does not believe that someone else can solve his problems. This is what he said:

> *"You know sistaz, I don't believe that someone can solve my problem because they will tell you to do this and that and he/she doesn't know how you feel... I like to solve my own problems. I don't believe in counselling..." (Interview, Tumisang, 1 August 2012).*

Although the initial purpose of counselling is not solving people's problems, Tumisang gave this as a reason for his dislike for psychosocial services. As Sheafor and Horejsi (2006) explain, the social worker-client relationship facilitates a process of empowerment whereby clients become encouraged to make decisions that will bring about change. Social workers do not themselves take away the challenges that clients are experiencing. Furthermore, the sense that professionals do not understand their clients is an important observation. This is often expressed by help-seekers, that even though professionals are trained to empathise, they do not always experience it during sessions and feel that professionals are cold and detached (Khunou & Munatswa, forthcoming).

6.5. Men need real help: 'talking about feelings doesn't feed a hungry child'.

While the participants had a basic idea of psychosocial services and could mention a few that existed in their community, they did not feel that the services were relevant for them and for their particular problems. This finding contradicts my previous study with young fathers in the area, as none of them could identify a single psychosocial service provider. Nonetheless, because the service providers in the area did not speak directly to economic development and employment, participants did not feel eligible as work and material needs were perceived an effective response to their psychosocial challenges. Participants prioritised help that would render them active in the economy rather than emotional and mental wellbeing as they felt this was their pressing issue. Given that IYLDP is centred on issues of unemployment, I investigated the kinds of problems that men presented while engaging individually with the social workers and this is what Thandeka shared:

> *"Men didn't normally come for hardcore problems, I think it is because they generally don't feel comfortable sharing their feelings. The kinds of problems that I usually dealt with were regarding IDs for example, whereby the guy wanted to apply for a job but didn't have an ID then I would connect him to Home Affairs. Men are*

> *just concerned with getting jobs, bursaries, learnerships and internships; even if you go to the reception there and ask what services men inquire about they'll give you similar answers" (Interview, Thandeka, 14 September 2013) .*

IYLDP was therefore mainly focusing on meso and macro programs and less on one-on-one interventions. The organisation continues to function without an in-house social worker and uses group-work methods to offer life skills and economic development opportunities. The same was echoed by men during the interviews as they mentioned that they had joined the program because it put them in a better position to find employment. The participants kept referring to the certificate that they would get at completion of the program, as well as some of the training they found useful, such as computer lessons. Thandeka however, later argued that one of the reasons that men do not use social work interventions for psychosocial issues was that the program itself is designed in such a way that it emphasises skills and leadership. Public announcements and pamphlets did not at all include social work services for counselling as an integral part of the program; hence even the men did not understand the roles of social workers at the centre. Thandeka said:

> *"Once the intake process was completed we had to go in at one of the earlier sessions to announce that we were offering social work services. I believe the organisation was relying on student social workers as they did not have a social work practitioner. The only social worker was the executive director, but I mean his position did not allow him to interact like that with participants" (Interview, Thandeka, 14 September 2013).*

This finding came as a surprise given that multiple studies have proven that unemployment is a stressful event. At the same time, the efforts to capacitate the participants with skills that will render them as self-reliant and active participants in the economy could be understood as policies that have been emphasising such interventions. The alarming unemployment rate in the country has had everyone running around for strategies that will qualify citizens for participation in the economy as it is believed that economic freedom will set many up for breaking away from poverty and all that accompanies it. Such a proactive approach is encouraging, given that these men wouldn't be depressed if they had job opportunities; therefore the approach doesn't look at dealing with the aftermath but strives to deal with the root of the problem. Participants also prioritised such an approach, whereby they felt that therapy would not take away their problems and therefore sought tangible help. This is consistent with Khunou and Munatswa's (forthcoming), findings that the social roles

associated with being a man and money overrode the need for relieving health conditions. In a context of high poverty levels, this ideology can be expected.

Kgothatso did not see a need to seek professional help and stressed that the only help that he needed was finally getting an Identity document. This is what he said:

> *"I do know that there are social workers, but I don't know much about them. All need is an ID" (Interview, Kgothatso, 27 September 2013).*

Kgothatso later shared this:

> *"Yes I think it might be useful but then I also think I will just go there and stress myself about talking about how I feel, but I know that talking with someone might help me and might give me ways that I could solve this problem so I think it could help me"(Interview, Kgothatso, 27 September 2013).*

Again here Kothatso shows that by only talking about the problem he won't get any results. He however showed some interest in talking because the problem that he was referring to was material of nature – he was referring to the ID matter. He was born in South Africa but his family, soon after his birth, relocated to Lesotho. His mother had not applied for a birth certificate at the time which has now become a problem as he needs a South African ID. This problem had presented itself as a stumbling block in study opportunities and finding a job. Nonetheless, Kgothatso had mentioned that being unemployed was affecting him emotionally but felt that by removing the 'ID obstacle' he would be fine, thus his solution to his emotional problems would be the resolution of the material problems.

Kgopolo also felt that he would seek psychosocial help only if he would get help with finding an income to support his child *"...and not just talk about my feelings"* he said. These sentiments reflect traditional ideas of masculinities that assume men to be rational as opposed to emotional. The provider role is also important in how unemployed men become single minded in their attempts to resolve this challenge. Furthermore, these ideas suggest that while women talk about how they feel, men seek logical ways of solving problems (Kgomo, 2011). Again, the need to find a job is also practical under the circumstances.

Although participants felt that psychosocial services were not helpful and included only talk with no action, studies show that most men who have sought psychosocial help have found these services helpful (Kgomo, 2011; Martinson & Nightingale, 2008, Sonke Gender Justice,

2008). Kgothatso and Kgopolo had never utilised psychosocial services before and therefore based their claims on speculation. Moreover, while it is true that individual counselling involves talking, the social work profession prides itself in the concept of empowerment, recognising individual agency to make the right choices for oneself (Sheafor & Horejsi, 2006). Clients are perceived as active participants on issues that concern them, and if anything, social work interventions seek to enhance mastery and eliminate feelings of powerlessness. It would therefore seem to not be totally true that psychosocial services do not produce tangible results. In fact in Kgomo's (2011) study, one participant shared that seeking help had helped him feel in control again as depression had made him feel inadequate to face the future.

On the other hand, theories on radical practice find these sentiments by Kgothatso and Kgopolo valid as they emphasise change at the structural level. Mmatli (2008) criticises the use of case work as she believes it is used as a cooling agent that only helps people stay helpless and live with their conditions. According to her, "case work has been criticized for failing to address the underlying causes of political and structural causes of individual distress" (p. 300). She argues that social work in African countries is not suitable enough to tackle problems of its clientele as most such problems are political in nature and need to be tackled at such a level. The mental health model of psychology echoes similar ideas (Ahmed & Suffla, 2007). Mainstream psychology has been condemned for assuming that the problem lies with the individual and/or his family, the model looks at mental health issues as stemming often from contexts in which they are found and therefore mobilises help at such a level (Ahmed & Suffla, 2007). The model therefore stresses prevention and realises that curative ways of tackling mental health do not help with dismantling causes from the onset. As shown in the literature review, the history of macro-economic policy in South Africa has had a humongous impact on the distribution of growth, benefiting the rich while the poor only get poorer. The mandate on job creation has failed dismally, and the shift from one policy to another has yielded limited to no results. To make matters worse, the government is playing truancy on its reporting duty regarding policies and such unaccountability renders our leaders unconcerned about the citizens, forfeiting their oaths to remain people centred. Mmatli (2008) argues that such unaccountability calls for social work as a social justice profession to engage directly in politics in order to best represent the voices of its clients. By occupying powerful seats, social workers will then begin to forge effective policies that seek to eradicate structural problems, remain accountable to citizens given the profession's

underlying principles and therefore create environments that minimise distress at the individual level.

Unfortunately, the job creation and skills capacitating project has not been such a successful one (Wildenboer, 2008; McGrath & Akoojee, 2007). Even the struggle to secure employment in the formal sector is continuing. Furthermore, as shown by Banerjee, et al. (2007) unemployment has been on a rise since democracy while at the same time economists predict an unpleasant future despite efforts to strengthen the economy. It is for this reason that the aftermath of unemployment should be given full attention. This is not to say that psychosocial interventions should replace efforts to create employment or the skilling of citizens to surpass in those jobs, but rather to respond to the widespread unfortunate results of unemployment that remain deadly and hazardous to individuals and communities.

6.6. 'Women seek help – men die': men want help – men die

Not all men found psychosocial help irrelevant, some shared that they would actually utilise the services if they were available. Participants argued that they never realised that their problems were serious enough to receive professional attention, as psychosocial services around their community did not recognise unemployment as one of the major contributors to psychosocial dysfunction. Public discourse and therefore efforts have been channelled to issues of reproductive health and violence against women and children and as a result men are unable to recognise the harsh effects of unemployment on their psychosocial wellbeing. This is similar to Kgomo's (2011) findings, where participants lacked confidence in professional psychosocial services on their campus, given the lack of exposure to them from their communities. The feminisation of health and psychosocial services erroneously suggest that men 'don't care' while on the other hand they are in a way discouraged to seek help.

One of the participants Mandla, expressed a need for psychosocial services but argued the following:

> *"Mandla: Yes but I don't know those places.*
>
> *Naledi: But would you use them if you knew of any?*
>
> *Mandla: I would go because I am talking about how I am feeling right now" (Interview, Mandla, 25 September 2013).*

Men do feel. Mandla's assertion above indicates that he cares about his feelings and that his feelings matter. Möller-Leimkühler (2002) agrees that gender stereotypes have disadvantaged men from receiving psychosocial help. This is because symptoms of psychosocial dysfunction such as aggression, hostility, irritability, alcohol abuse and anger have generally become acceptable as gender appropriate expressions for men. For example Möller-Leimkühler (2002) argues that depression is under-diagnosed in men because practitioners overlook symptoms, presuming that they are just being 'manly'. Similarly, Selebano (2012) shows that programs to assist men in preparation for fatherhood were non-existent due to gender stereotypes that deduce men to be uncaring and reinforcing the idea of man as provider.

Lesedi expressed her disappointment in how men are excluded from programs while it is often them that are filling jail cells and often due to acceptable hostile-aggressive behaviour. She argued that the high levels of violence amongst men are as a result of socialisation, the acceptance, normalisation and reinforcement of aggressive behaviour. Additionally, Lesedi argued that men's cry for help is so much in our faces but that we miss it so easily, she referred to examples such as domestic violence, rape, drug and alcohol abuse, passion killings, suicides and anger problems. Lesedi added that:

> *"For me attention is going to all the wrong places, yes women need shelters when they are abused, children too. I understand...but for me, until we dismantle this monster patriarchy then the battle is far from over. Boy-children need to be socialised in a way that encourages negotiation and the appropriate expression of feelings. These are just a few examples that I can think of. Interventions are needed in communities to spread such messages, to be taught in schools...do you get me?" (Inteview, Lesedi, 19 July 2013).*

I didn't quite get Lesedi's point until I attended one of the launches of the 16 Days of Action to stop violence against women and children. The launch incorporated a number of presentations which included past offenders and each of them in their succession echoed the same message, that had they known that there were other ways of being a man they would have not set foot in jail. The men spoke about their experiences with anger problems, low self-esteem and anxiety, arguing that because they didn't know how to handle these better, they retaliated through violence, which is usually an acceptable way to be a man but also a usually undiagnosed effect of psychosocial distress. Möller-Leimkühler (2002) argues that

traditional masculinities play a dynamic role in obscuring a need for psychosocial help, as symptoms have become erroneously understood as an expression of manhood. Furthermore, Lesedi also argued that this obscurity renders psychosocial services ineffective towards men, usually waiting for them to become dysfunctional before offering assistance to them. This is what she said:

> *"...Which is often in the form of rehabilitation. I know a lot of guys who attended at Nicro[27] and found the process life changing. But why should the culture of aggression first be expressed in extreme ways before it is seen as problematic. For me if aggression was from the onset identified as a problem and not seen as being man enough then we wouldn't be rehabilitating so many men. In fact, I think men are exposed more to psychosocial services when they get into conflict with the law than when they are out there in the community" (Inteview, Lesedi, 19 July 2013).*

Sifiso validates Lesedi's point as he attested to not knowing of any psychosocial services for men except the one that he was introduced to as part of rehabilitation as a juvenile. Sifiso found the sessions useful and quite comfortable as they were exclusive to male participants. Sifiso also added that this was the first time he managed to freely open up about himself as the environment was allowing. Sifiso said the following:

> *"Sifiso: I once attended a program called...I forgot the name but we used to attend at Meadowlands clinic where we were dealing with issues like anger management, facing everyday life in a positive manner. It was part of my rehabilitation; I had to attend programs which would help me live my life positively, like anger management classes.*
>
> *Naledi**:** How did this have an impact on you?*
>
> *Sifiso: It really helped me because even now when I think of making an income I don't think of doing crime, like hijacking someone's car or house burglaries..." (Interview, Sifiso, 18 September 2013).*

The rehabilitation program seems to have had a positive effect on Sifiso's self-concept but like Lesedi said the approach was more reactive in nature. Again here the issue of prevention

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[27] Nicro is a South African National Institute for crime prevention and the Reintegration of Offenders. Amongst other things, Nicro uses diversion programs to rehabilitate and reintegrate young offenders into their communities.

surfaces, indicating that programs designed for men are usually to 'fix' them and not to address challenges that they face daily. There are three types of prevention identified under the mental health model. Primary prevention refers to administering programs to the entire population (men) before an event even occurs. In this instance programs enhancing positive thinking and self efficacy for men could be administered before men even lose their jobs and become prone to psychosocial challenges (Ahmed & Suffla, 2007). Secondary prevention seeks to reduce the severity of disorders; this means that interventions are administered in the early stages of a problem. Tertiary prevention on the other hand aims to ameliorate the recurrence of a disorder; this happens when a disorder is already evident but is prohibited from persisting (Ahmed & Suffla, 2007).

On a positive note, what Sifiso shared indicates that men's programs can be effective. A report by Sonke Gender Justice (2008) alludes to the fact that not all men are reluctant to change their perceptions about seeking help. Men who were previously regarded traditional or stagnant have, in different contexts, changed their ideas and benefitted from various programs designed specifically for men. The *Stepping Stones* program is one such example, this community training and dialogue program has changed norms regarding violence and has helped raise awareness about HIV/AIDS. This shows that when given an opportunity, 'men can change'. Levant (1990) also reports on programs designed for men that yielded positive results. The study was conducted with fathers and revealed that fathers' communication skills with their children improved as well as their perceptions on their families. The fathers had realised that prior to the sessions they were taking their families for granted, a behaviour that improved post the administration of the program.

Kgotso found out about psychosocial services through engaging in a small talk with a social worker on the street and was eventually invited to a session. He spoke remarkably of psychosocial help that he had received and shared that:

> *"Kgotso**:** I'd go back because the lady also advised me to come back if I experienced anymore problems and that if there is something I don't understand and need clarity on... just anything that I want to talk about.*
>
> *Naledi: please tell me more about this experience.*
>
> *Kgotso: it really helped me with getting over the relationship* [with his ex girlfriend], *forgetting about the girl and moving on. She* [the social worker] *is the one who*

> *advised me to come attend this program (IYLDP). It was from there that I saw life from a positive light. It was a positive experience for me!" (Interview, Kgotso, 17 July 2013).*

Kgotso mentions that he had a positive experience with the services but that he only found out about them through a passer-by social worker. Hence Arina argues that there remains a need for information sharing pertaining to the services available to men. This she believes can be achieved through vigorous public education, in this way more men will benefit from programs just as Kgotso did. Arina also added that such services should be more developed to become responsive and therefore effective in tackling men's issues.

The effect to which programs are in place for men and the political will to centralise their voices is absent from literature as most scholars regard attitudes concerning help-seeking highly determined by ideologies of masculinities, as though these were inherent processes. In contexts where policy and practice unwittingly support traditional notions of men as salient and invulnerable, how then should men in turn perceive a need to seek help? How can men trust that they will receive the help that they need? In addition, scholars have also considered personality traits and cultural detriments without paying attention to class struggles and general access to resources. Given the history of class, gender and race in South Africa and the shifts that have occurred since democracy exacerbating these structural dynamics, it would be a big error to exclude issues of access, particularly when dealing with a black, male sample that has been mistakenly equated to its white counterparts and therefore suffers many unwarranted exclusions.

6.7. Conclusion

Participants reported a number of depressive symptoms ranging from lack of sleep, weight loss, lack of purpose, low self-esteem, pessimistic about the future, not finding joy in what used to be pleasurable, loneliness, isolation, crying every day, severe migraines, suicidal thoughts, feeling unwanted, feeling dead, being in a dark pit, feeling cursed, self blame and therefore self hatred and feeling as though God and/or ancestors have turned their backs on them. These findings have a strong correlation with previous endeavours on the subject as they have found similar trends (Bartley 1994; Donovan & Oddy, 1982; Eisenberg & Lazarsfeld, 1938; Montgomery, et al., 2001; Novo, et al., 2001; Nylén, et al., 2001;). Moreover, longitudinal studies also suggest that these effects may get worse as the men get older. Wadsworth, Montgomery and Bartley (1999) show that with prolonged unemployment

comes raised risks of smoking, alcoholism, anxiety and depression. This is because men tend to lose hope while at the same time responsibilities pile up, especially for married men and fathers. Nylén, et al.'s (2001) longitudinal study also revealed that unemployed men were dying rapidly, resulting to a five-times higher mortality rate. Work is therefore an important constituent for men as it gives a sense of worth, increases self-esteem, and gives a feeling of mastery. With economists predict a lack of improvement in the labour market however; it becomes unbearable to imagine the future of these young men.

There remains a high need for public education where psychosocial services are concerned. Social work agencies need to publicise services and disseminate the relevant information about what psychosocial problems are and how social work services can intervene. This will minimise confusion and encourage men to seek help when facing psychosocial wellness related challenges. The reason why most men did not seek help was because they were misinformed. Moreover, services need to be relevant and responsive to men's problems; this is supported by the radicals, who believe that problems should be tackled at the structural levels in order to make an impact on individuals on micro levels.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Summary and conclusion

The male provider role continues to dominate and therefore shape masculine identities. This study has shown how various structures: policy, the family institution, communities and somewhat traditions, reinforce the stereotypical norm of the male provider. Unfortunately, these pressures to conform have not only inspired the young men to work hard but have also exerted some negative forces on their social identities, leading to psychological dysfunction. The men felt stuck in hopes and dreams that were not taking form and were thus frustrated, experiencing rejection and disappointments from all sides. The results: undiagnosed stress and depression, stigma and spoiled identity. Furthermore, the study has shown a lack of clear understanding of mental illnesses amongst the men. They further did not perceive a need for psychosocial services as they felt their pressing need was that of finding work. Some of the men also felt that counselling was uncomfortable as 'men don't share their problems', though others mentioned that they would use the services if they were available.

More than anything, this study has demonstrated the existence of a masculinities continuum, whereby different men move along the stream, depending on the situation. This continuum suggests that masculinities are fluid, and I must emphasise here that this is different from changing hats, as that articulates being completely different in different contexts. However, because masculinities are learned in social interactions, these behaviours or beliefs cannot be totally erased as one engages with different contexts, but rather different forms of being masculine increase or decrease along with time and location.

Furthermore, there is a need for policy makers and practitioners to realise that men do not belong to one group and therefore should not be regarded as such. There remains great necessity to study both women and men's situations, as in this lies mammoth potential for true gender equality. As Oyegun (1998) argues, by understanding how gender is created for both women and men in various spaces and times, platforms are created to vigorously redress injustices, without valuing one side over the other or undermining the levels of injustices experienced by one group to the other. Scholarship is thus tasked to engage critically with matters of inequalities inherent within the scope of gender, especially in contemporary ages whereby gender is largely an economic and class experience.

Practice should discern the different forms of structural deprivations for men (such as black young men being predominantly unemployed) and formulate strategies based on these realities. The argument that men are not victims of structural oppression has been proven a lie, especially given the pressures expressed by different societal structures for men to form one category – salient and invulnerable. A need is expressed here for communities to be conscientised about the damage caused by rigid forms of masculinities. Furthermore, interventions should be customised for men while the feminised face of psychosocial services should be deconstructed.

Alongside radical psychosocial strategies I wish to accentuate the urgent need for more concrete change at the structural level. The state needs re-energising regarding its mandate on job creation. The public is hungry for a dedicated leadership structure that will not only focus on drafting glorious mandates, but most importantly will gird itself up for action. The fact that there has not been any reporting on AsgiSA since 2009 means there is lack of commitment and accountability from the state.

The same is true for social work and other psychosocial professionals; practitioners should not wait on clients to present problems at their offices. Through research, advocacy and activism, social work should live up to its role as a social justice profession. Mmatli (2008) argues that social work in African countries is not suitable enough to tackle the problems of its clientele. High unemployment rates amongst black men, economic inequality and marginalisation from services are political issues and must be tackled at such a level. These are a reflection of political decisions that, when implemented, trickles down to structural predicaments that social workers are now expected to solve. The scope of social work should not be defined by those high in the bureaucracy, but rather, social workers themselves ought to become self directive, guided by the discipline's values, missions and visions. Thus, social work in South Africa needs to adopt political activism as a method of intervention by lobbying; participating in electoral politics; political education; diligent voting; differentiated implementation of political strategy and further effective social education that focuses on producing social workers that understand and value political activism as a form of intervention (Mmatli, 2008). Social workers cannot continue to pick up the pieces left by ineffective policies that only intensify the current status quo, South Africa is desperate for agents of social change that understand the root cause of marginalisation and are working towards dismantling that course.

In sum, this study calls for intercession in the following ways:

1. Community involvement

Various structures in the community (religious groups, government officials, education departments, the media, leadership, etc.) should investigate their roles in dismantling oppressive traditions of masculinities and aim to capacitate the unemployment men with skills that will render them self-reliant and capable to create and access socio-economic opportunities. Support from the family and peers should also be securable for the men and these can be done through social cohesion initiatives.

2. Lobbying and advocacy

Social workers must engage in constant endeavours to break the stigma against unemployed men who cannot provide financially for their families, this can be achieved through engaging with communities in ways that evoke critical consciousness. The works of Frantz Fanon, Paulo Freire and our very own Steve Biko are paramount here. Furthermore, social work education should train professionals in techniques that are relevant for men's issues and therefore develop methods and practice that are sensitive to men, taking the role of context into serious consideration.

3. Coherent gender development

Policies on unemployment; health and mental health cannot continue to exclude men given the social exclusions that men experience. Unemployment and the inability to fit the social norm of provision is one of the leading factors in violence, excessive alcohol consumption, crime and suicide. These issues highlight the high need for policies to fortify men's issues.

4. Research

Scholarship is charged with showing the need for men to be considered ecologically through highlighting the impact of race and class. This will help establish the fact that not all men benefit from patriarchal structures. Furthermore, this will emphasise the need for policy on economic development to take heed of such exclusions. There also remains a need for research on psychosocial interventions that cater for men's challenges.

The aim of this study was to explore the perceptions of men regarding the provider role and how those perceptions obstruct and or enhance their psychosocial functioning during unemployment. This also involved looking into men's access and utilisation of psychosocial services and therefore included three social workers.

Chapter two of the report looked into a detailed literature review. Part one explored literature on the conceptions of gender and how it has evolved from being understood as a natural process to one that is born in social institutions. The following part considered the notion of masculinities and how it influences men's identities in relation to work and financial provision. This discussion launched a series of theories that sought to explain the relationship between men, work and money and the conclusion ultimately suggests that men in contemporary society do not conform to one set of masculinity. Furthermore, the section zoomed into what it means to be unemployed as a man and shows a statistical analysis that shows the complexity of this scenario in South Africa. This was followed by a discussion on various policies adopted in South Africa to accelerate economic growth and create employment. The section focused on the shift from GEAR to RDP and showed both flaws and successes. AsgiSA and JIPSA were also interrogated showing that there was a lack of political will to monitor and evaluate progress in relation to the mandates. The chapter also looked into the influences of unemployment on crime and explored different theories on the dichotomy. The last part of the literature review looked into the psychosocial effects of unemployment on men and drew from various literatures to describe what men go through. The South African Mental Health Act was also examined, highlighting the progress made thus far, achievements and setbacks.

Chapter three addressed itself to the methodology employed by the study and dealt with issues of recruitment strategies through exploring the sampling techniques employed. The interview processes were included, considering my experiences with the in-depth interviews with both the young men and the key informants. I also conducted a contextual analysis of the space within which the study was conducted, narrating the complex relationship between agency and structure. The chapter finally paid attention to ethical considerations.

The fourth chapter encompassed the men's experiences with transitioning to manhood. The chapter showed how money is a symbol for readiness into manhood as social transitions for men were marked by expenditure. These transitions included dating, marriage and fatherhood.

Chapter five focused on the young men's experiences with precarious work. The chapter showed that poverty led the young men to do any form of work and usually under harsh conditions. The young men desired better work but could not find jobs. The chapter also looked into the young men's experiences with crime, and showed that unemployment and poverty may lead to illegal hustling.

The sixth and final chapter of analysis looked at the effects of unemployment on the psychosocial functioning of men. The chapter showed extents to which men struggle with dysfunction but also their perceptions towards psychosocial services. The chapter also looked into strategies employed to address men's psychosocial wellbeing as well as the capacity to do so in a country usually criticised for its glorious policies on paper but very poor in implementation.

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Men's Health, Masculinities and Work: The Psycho-Social Effects of Unemployment on Black Men from Soweto.

Appendix A

A: 1 Unemployed black men from Soweto

CONSENT FORM FOR THE AUDIO-TAPING OF THE INTERVIEW

I hereby consent to tape-recording of the interview. I understand that my confidentiality will be maintained at all times and that the tapes will be destroyed two years after any publication arising from the study or six years after completion of the study if there are no publications.

Name of participant: _____

Date: _____

Signature: _____

Witness: researcher

Name: _____

Date: _____

Signature: _____

Thank you

Naledi Selebano

(0780227548)

Men's Health, Masculinities and Work: The Psycho-Social Effects of Unemployment on Black Men from Soweto.

Appendix A

A: 2 Social workers

CONSENT FORM FOR AUDIO-TAPING OF THE INTERVIEW

I hereby consent to tape-recording of the interview. I understand that my confidentiality will be maintained at all times and that the tapes will be destroyed two years after any publication arising from the study or six years after completion of the study if there are no publications.

Name of participant: _____

Date: _____

Signature: _____

Witness: researcher

Name: _____

Date: _____

Signature: _____

Thank you

Naledi Selebano

(0780227548)

APPENDIX B:

B.1

Men's Health, Masculinities and Work: The Psycho-Social Effects of Unemployment on Black Men from Soweto.

Interview guide

Unemployed black men from Soweto

1. What attributes and actions describe you as a man?
2. Why do you believe you define manhood in such a way?
3. What does staying employed mean to you and why?
4. What was it like when you were employed?
5. How has life been like since losing your job?
6. Ever since you got unemployed have you been actively looking for a job? Please elaborate.
7. Where do you go when you need psychosocial help and why?
8. Do you have any knowledge of psychosocial services in your area?
9. What kind of help do you need most now in your life?

Probing Areas:

Educational background.

Skills level.

Class.

APPENDIX B:

B.2

Men's Health, Masculinities and Work: The Psycho-Social Effects of Unemployment on Black Men from Soweto.

Interview guide

Social workers

1. How often do you provide services to men?
2. Do they come voluntarily?
3. What kinds of issues do the men you service bring?
4. What factors influence men to seek help from your agency?
5. Are any of your services advertised specifically for men?
6. What issues discourage men from using your services?

Probing Areas:

What family/social issues bring men to the agency.

APPENDIX C

C.1 Unemployed black men

Men's Health, Masculinities and Work: The Psycho-Social Effects of Unemployment on Black Men from Soweto.

Participant information sheet

Good day,

My name is Naledi Selebano and I am doing Master's in social work by research at the University of the Witwatersrand. As part of the requirements for the degree, I am doing research to explore the perceptions of unemployed men regarding the provider role and how those perceptions affect their psychosocial functioning during unemployment. It is hoped that this research will contribute to policies on men's health as well as social work interventions aimed at enhancing men's psychosocial health.

I therefore wish to invite you to participate in my study. Your participation is entirely voluntary and refusal to participate will not be held against you. If you are interested in taking part I will arrange for an interview with you at a time and place that suits you and the interviews will take approximately one hour. If you feel at any time within the process of the study that you wish to withdraw you may do so as well as to refuse answering a question you feel uncomfortable with answering it.

Information gathered will be shared with my supervisor: Dr Grace Khunou, who can be contacted on 011 717 4518 or grace.khunou@wits.ac.za. Furthermore, the information gathered will be kept for two years following any publication or for six years if no publication emanate from the study. The research data will be stored in a password protected computer, while tape recorders and transcripts will be locked in a cabinet accessible to only me and my supervisor. Please be alert that your name and personal details will be kept confidential and no identifying information will be included in the final research report.

The interview will include sensitive issues; there is the possibility that you may experience some feelings of emotional distress. Should you therefore feel the need for supportive counselling following the interview, I have arranged for this service to be provided free of charge by the Mould Empower Serve (011 982 1072) within the Ipelegeng Community Centre.

Please feel free to ask any questions regarding the study. I will answer them to the best of my ability. I may be contacted on 078 022 7548. Should you wish to receive a summary of the results of the study; an abstract will be made available on request.

Thank you for taking the time to consider participating in the study.

Yours sincerely

Naledi Selebano

(0780227548)

APPENDIX C

C.2 social workers

Men's Health, Masculinities and Work: The Psycho-Social Effects of Unemployment on Black Men from Soweto.

Participant information sheet

Good day,

My name is Naledi Selebano, I am currently registered for the course: Masters in Social Work by Dissertation at the University of the Witwatersrand. As part of the requirements for the degree, I am conducting research on exploring the effects of strong identification with the idea of man as provider on the psychosocial functioning of black men during unemployment. It is hoped that this study will contribute significantly to policies on men's health as well as social work interventions aimed at enhancing men's psychosocial wellbeing at three levels of intervention (micro, meso and macro).

I therefore wish to invite you to participate in my study. Your participation is entirely voluntary and refusal to participate will not be held against you. If you are interested in taking part I will arrange for an interview with you at a time and place that suits you and the interviews will take approximately one hour. If you feel at any time within the process of the study that you wish to withdraw you may do so as well as to refuse answering a question you feel uncomfortable with answering it.

Information gathered will be shared with my supervisor: Dr Grace Khunou, who can be contacted on 011 717 4518 or grace.khunou@wits.ac.za. Furthermore, the information gathered will be kept for two years following any publication or for six years if no publication emanate from the study. The research data will be stored in a password protected computer, while tape recorders and transcripts will be locked in a cabinet accessible to only me and my supervisor. Please be alert that your name and personal details will be kept confidential and no identifying information will be included in the final research report.

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charge by the Mould Empower Serve (011 982 1072) within the Ipelegeng Community Centre.

Please feel free to ask any questions regarding the study. I will answer them to the best of my ability. I may be contacted on 078 022 7548. Should you wish to receive a summary of the results of the study; an abstract will be made available on request.

Thank you for taking the time to consider participating in the study.

Yours sincerely

Naledi Selebano

(0780227548)

Appendix D

D: 1 Unemployed black men

Men's Health, Masculinities and Work: The Psycho-Social Effects of Unemployment on Black Men from Soweto.

CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPATION IN THE STUDY

I hereby consent to participate in the research project. The purpose and procedures of the study have been explained to me. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I may refuse to answer any particular items or withdraw from the study at any time without any negative consequences. I understand that my responses will be kept confidential.

Name of participant: _____

Date: _____

Signature: _____

Witness: researcher

Name: _____

Date: _____

Signature: _____

Thank You

Naledi Selebano

(0780227548)

Appendix D

D: 2 Social workers

Men's Health, Masculinities and Work: The Psycho-Social Effects of Unemployment on Black Men from Soweto.

CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPATION IN THE STUDY

I hereby consent to participate in the research project. The purpose and procedures of the study have been explained to me. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I may refuse to answer any particular items or withdraw from the study at any time without any negative consequences. I understand that my responses will be kept confidential.

Name of participant: _____

Date: _____

Signature: _____

Witness: researcher

Name: _____

Date: _____

Signature: _____

Research Office

HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (NON-MEDICAL)
R14/49 Selebano

CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE	**PROTOCOL NUMBER H13/04/20**
PROJECT TITLE	Men's health, masculinities and work: the psycho-social effects on unemployment on Black men from Soweto
INVESTIGATOR(S)	Ms N Selebano
SCHOOL/DEPARTMENT	Human & Community Development/Social Work
DATE CONSIDERED	19/04/13
DECISION OF THE COMMITTEE	Approved unconditionally
EXPIRY DATE	20/05/2015
DATE 21/05/2013	**CHAIRPERSON** (Professor T Milani)

cc: Supervisor : Dr G Khunou

DECLARATION OF INVESTIGATOR(S)

To be completed in duplicate and **ONE COPY** returned to the Secretary at Room 10005, 10th Floor, Senate House, University.

I/We fully understand the conditions under which I am/we are authorized to carry out the abovementioned research and I/we guarantee to ensure compliance with these conditions. Should any departure to be contemplated from the research procedure as approved I/we undertake to resubmit the protocol to the Committee. **I agree to completion of a yearly progress report.**

_____ _____/_____/_____
Signature **Date**

PLEASE QUOTE THE PROTOCOL NUMBER ON ALL ENQUIRIES